

PREFACE

It is almost ten years that we have overthrown the yoke of oppression. In fact, we are about to go to the polls for the third time to exercise our right to vote as a free and sovereign people. This political freedom is a great achievement, which we need to cherish and protect.

But it is also true that political democracy has not solved many of our problems. Those who were poor and landless under minority rule, continue to be the poor and landless under democratic rule.

Many of our people live in shacks, more and more are losing their jobs, crime is a major problem and corruption is rampant. The social degradation and malaise of the majority of the people are threatening the political gains that we have made. AZAPO holds the view that democracy and good social order cannot be maintained in a situation where the minority racial group controls all the wealth whilst the indigenous live in squalor.

Our biggest challenge now is to wage a relentless and concerted struggle against poverty and the social ills that plague our country. Through this manifesto, AZAPO invites all patriots of our beautiful country to tackle our problems together. Your support of this struggle will manifest itself in the number of votes you cast for AZAPO so that it can, through your mandate, implement the proposals contained in this Manifesto.

Your vote is your weapon to change the lives of our people for the better. Use it wisely!

MOSIBUDI MANGENA
AZAPO PRESIDENT

ELECTION MANIFESTO

PREAMBLE

The Azanian People's Organisation recognises that not much change has occurred in the lives of ordinary South Africans, especially the poor and the unemployed. Instead unemployment has risen as many people lose their jobs. AZAPO is aware that many black people are homeless and that many families helplessly watch their children go hungry.

But we in AZAPO and Black people in general, know much more than this. We know that for as long as the present situation continues, then black economic empowerment, black advancement and the transfer of economic power to the majority will not occur. We know that the beneficiaries of capitalism still hold on to economic power and privileges. They rent black individuals and black controlled companies to make sure that they remain in control.

AZAPO knows that as long as these trends continue, the standard of living of the poor will not improve. To us, political power must translate into economic power, which will in turn give the poor a better chance to life. The poor need delivery in order to live a decent life.

Consequently, AZAPO believes that democracy will not work in our country as long as land and wealth are concentrated in the hands of a few. To us, democracy must also show itself in the ownership and control of the economy by the majority of the citizens, in order to realise their aspirations.

AZAPO rejects all value systems that seek to make Black people foreigners in the land of their birth. This rejection is accompanied by a conscious effort to define and fight for a better future for the poor. When AZAPO refers to our country as AZANIA, she spells out her rejection of the name South Africa and its colonial connotations. For AZAPO, a new society should be new in name and deed.

Inspired by her commitment to Black Consciousness and the total liberation of our people, an AZAPO Government will vigorously pursue the following:

FORM OF STATE

To AZAPO, central government should be directly responsible and answerable to the electorate. AZAPO believes that AZANIA (South Africa) is a UNITARY State, wherein administrative functions of government, execution of government policies and directives are the responsibility of central government.

Consequently, an AZAPO Government will

- Seek to abolish provincial governments and replace them with a few administrators answerable to central government.
- These administrators will work closely with local government to ensure effective service delivery and development.

EDUCATION FOR ALL

AZAPO regards education as an instrument for empowerment and socialisation of human beings

from formative years to the realisation of their fullest potential. Education is central to the development and growth of a nation. It is an essential service and, as such, a responsibility of central government.

An AZAPO Government will ensure that,

- Educational planning and supervision remain in the hands of central government.
- Government provides leadership in curriculum development, certification of courses and regulates all educational activities.
- Educational curricula are designed to serve the cultural, social, intellectual and industrial needs of the country.
- A realistic early childhood development programme is implemented in all communities with crèches and day-care centres.
- Free and compulsory education is provided from pre-school to grade twelve (12) or age eighteen (18), whichever comes first.
- For further and higher education, parents will pay fees according to what they earn, excluding other expenses unrelated to fees.
- A National Education Redress Fund is established to assist needy students. This fund will award bursaries to deserving students. Government will be the major contributor to this fund, while the private sector and other organs of civil society will also be encouraged to contribute to this fund.
- The restructuring of the tertiary institutional landscape continues in line with the principles of equity and redress. This

process will have full government support.

- Indigenous languages are tools through which our people can reclaim their human dignity, respect and identity by making every effort to develop these languages to the level where they can address important issues in commerce, science and technology.
- Both educators and learners abide by a teaching and learning code of conduct. Schools and the learning environment will be improved to reasonable standards helpful to the learning process.
- Adult Basic Education is promoted and improved in order to reduce the high rate of illiteracy in our society, especially in communities of our people.

EFFICIENT HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

AZAPO believes that it is the responsibility of the State to provide free primary health care services to all. Many people suffer from malnutrition, tuberculosis and other diseases because they are poor and lack access to proper health facilities.

An AZAPO Government will ensure that

- Clinics are established for most communities, and where possible, more hospitals will be built, especially in rural communities.
- The aged and the terminally ill receive free medical care and home-based care where necessary.

- More nurses and doctors will be trained in order to contend with staff shortages at most clinics and hospitals.
- The general working conditions of health professionals and all health workers are made more attractive to enhance efficiency.
- Traditional medicines and herbs are studied further and used as part of the national health system.

COMBATING HIV AND AIDS

AZAPO believes that it is the responsibility of all organs of society, all citizens of this country and the state in particular to combat HIV and AIDS. AZAPO further believes that HIV and AIDS should be de-stigmatised and be treated like any other disease.

An AZAPO Government will ensure that

- Necessary steps are taken to prevent and stop the spread of Aids and promote and fund scientific research towards finding a cure.
- NGOs, HIV and AIDS lobby groups, voluntary caregivers pharmaceutical companies and other stakeholders in the health sector form part of a broad-based plan to combat HIV and AIDS.
- HIV positive pregnant mothers are supplied with medicine to minimise the transmission of HIV and AIDS to unborn children. AZAPO believes that it is less expensive to prevent transmission of HIV and AIDS than to treat it.
- HIV and AIDS sufferers are entitled to a social grant to alleviate the burden

encountered by reason of inability to fend for oneself.

CONDITIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE JOBS

AZAPO believes that the creation of jobs and reduction of unemployment is a process. AZAPO is also aware that most people, especially our people in rural communities are unemployed and also lack the necessary skills, literacy and numeracy required by most jobs.

Consequently an AZAPO government will

- Ensure that there is training and retraining of personnel by the Sector Education and Training Authorities (Seta's) to meet the demands of the current production needs.
- Ensure that the skills development programmes put in place will be based on the principle of self-employment so as to reduce reliance on the state as employer.
- Encourage direct domestic involvement in job creation programmes.

AZAPO also believes that

- The promise for jobs cannot be sustained without the majority of our people being in meaningful control of some economic activities.

DECENT AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING

We believe that housing is a basic need that should be provided by the state.

On its part an AZAPO Government will

- Set up a housing corporation and encourage housing co-operatives, which will build decent houses to be rented to the homeless by municipal councils in the towns, cities and villages.
- Ensure that people are able to change from renting to buying once they can afford it or acquire automatic ownership after renting for a stipulated period.
- Ensure that those who can afford to build for themselves are assisted through simple rules for approving plans and registering title deeds.
- Reverse the present housing policies and plans, which promote inferior housing for our people.

WOMEN IN SOCIETY

AZAPO recognises that the struggle for liberation cannot be complete without the liberation of women and men from many years of patriarchal attitudes, prejudices and practices, which resulted in women's psychological and physical exploitation and oppression, largely at the instance of men due to their false sense of superiority.

AZAPO is opposed to

- Discrimination on the basis of gender.
- Gender violence.
- Job discrimination.
- Domestic violence.
- Rape and condescending attitudes towards women folk in general.

Consequently an AZAPO Government will

- Actively champion and support programmes that are geared at the eradication of patriarchal attitudes, prejudices and practices.
- Eradicate all inequalities between men and women.
- Work towards the establishment of an anti-sexist society.

YOUTH SECTOR

AZAPO recognises that the youth are an important component of any society and that it is the youth who should be nurtured into future upholders of the values and norms of a given society. It is the youth that are the future leaders of society. In AZANIA, due to having lived in an oppressive society, some of our youth have either turned to criminal activity, drugs or other forms of intoxicating substances that are detrimental to their health and that of society as a whole.

An AZAPO Government will

- Formulate a vibrant and dynamic youth policy that will deal with developmental issues, youth service and the creation of a permanent youth forum to thrash out issues relating to the youth.
- Ensure that the youth policy spells out strategies to prevent the youth from substance abuse and involvement in crime and gangsterism. The youth policy will elaborate on the establishment of youth academies that will cover all spheres of youth life with the intention of imparting lifelong skills.
- Ensure that all youth undergo compulsory community service training as a means to inculcate discipline, responsibility and a culture of respect for human life.

- Ensure that special training facilities are developed and put in place to train the youth to become useful citizens of AZANIA.

COMBATING CRIME

AZAPO believes that crime in the form of rape, murder, armed robbery, drug trafficking, child molestation, corruption and reckless driving is unacceptable. The most shocking of all these crimes is the merciless and senseless rape of babies.

To this end an AZAPO Government will

- Ensure that those who commit such and similar crimes should have their Constitutional right to bail limited.
- Together with organisations of civil society, like religious bodies and cultural organisations, explore means and ways of reclaiming the lost moral values, ethics and mores of society – especially the restoration of human dignity.
- Educate people on respect for human life.
- Introduce legislation to disarm civil society. Only state organs like the police and the army, as well as institutions designated by law will be allowed to carry guns.
- Ensure that the production, display and sale of toy guns are prohibited as a means to change the mindset of society.
- Ensure that severe sentences for serious crimes are imposed.
- Encourage communities to set up units of neighbourhood watch, and also participate in the various community policing forums.

ACCESSIBLE JUSTICE SYSTEM AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

AZAPO believes that the powers of the executive, judiciary and the legislature should be separated. The separation of these powers will among other things ensure that we have an independent judiciary. An independent judiciary will ensure that no one irrespective of status is above the law.

Consequently an AZAPO Government will

- Ensure that convicted criminals earn their up-keep in prison for the duration of their sentences.
- Improve the cooperation between the police, the courts and prisons in order to fast track the arrest, conviction and imprisonment of criminals.
- Introduce measures to purge the judiciary, police services and military of all apartheid loyalists and enthusiasts.
- Ensure that legal services are accessible to the poor and the unemployed by regulating the price structure of private legal services.
- Also increase the Legal Aid Fund to enhance the efficiency of handling cases.

AN IMPROVED SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

AZAPO pledges to eliminate most hardships associated with payout of old age pension and disability grants.

AZAPO commits herself to

- Increase and improve facilities for the aged and disabled.
- Provide for all social grants, based on a minimum living wage.
- Adequately address single parenting and issues of maintenance
- Consider a social wage for the unemployed.

CLEAN WATER, SANITATION AND ELECTRICITY

AZAPO believes that the provision of water, decent sanitary care and electricity to all citizens is the primary responsibility of government.

An AZAPO Government will therefore

- Ensure that all citizens including those living in rural areas and in informal settlements (Mekhukhu) have access to clean water and hygienic sanitary facilities.
- Make essential services affordable to the poor and the unemployed by among others fixing all rate charges.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

AZAPO has observed that most of the populations living in traditional villages are poor and have no infrastructure whatsoever. Besides these rural communities there are those people who live on the farms of others. Their livelihood depends entirely on the benevolence of the individual farmer on whose land they reside.

Consequently an AZAPO Government will

- ❑ Give special attention to both rural communities and the landless farm workers as part of general development.
- ❑ As part of its Rural Development Strategy prioritise the deplorable conditions of farm dwellers. All unoccupied land will be audited and earmarked for redistribution to the landless people and for development.
- ❑ Subsidise commercial crop and animal farming to enhance economic self-reliance.

LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES

AZAPO notes that the alienation of our people from their land was without compensation or compassion. The restitution process intended to reverse all this tends to emphasise monetary compensation while ignoring the potential economic value of the land and its cultural significance.

An AZAPO government will

- ❑ Vest the ownership of the land, including everything below its surface, the air above it and the sea around it, in the hands of the State.
- ❑ Apportion land for farming, commercial, industrial, sporting, recreational, housing, educational, scientific research, conservation of fauna and flora and other purposes aimed at the economic, social and cultural advancement and upliftment of Azanian people as a whole.
- ❑ Ensure that minerals and natural resources are utilised to improve the livelihood of the nation by introducing sustainable programmes for poverty alleviation, job creation and primary health care.

COMBATING CORRUPTION

AZAPO believes that public institutions should retain their legitimacy, good image and continue to enjoy public confidence.

To this end an AZAPO Government will

- ❑ Ensure that officials who hold public office should declare their business interest to the public as required by good ethics associated with their offices. Such declaration will prevent public officials to advance individual business interests at the expense of the public.
- ❑ Tighten the code that regulates the conduct of parliamentarians, politicians and public officials in general.
- ❑ Combat corruption in all its forms and follow up through means of the state anyone involved in acts of corruption, be it state officials, public representatives, members of the private sector or ordinary citizens.
- ❑ Get the South African Revenue Services to be tough on tax evaders and fraudsters by tightening the revenue collection systems.

SELF-RELIANT ECONOMY

AZAPO believes that rampant market forces have failed to ensure the equitable redistribution of wealth and have therefore disqualified themselves as the salvation of the poor.

An AZAPO Government will therefore

- ❑ Adopt a self-reliant economic policy where the objective will be to attain state control of the means of production.
- ❑ Encourage the unity and economic co-operation of African governments because it is important for the survival of African economies.

MEANINGFUL BLACK ECONOMIC CONTROL AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

AZAPO has chosen the path of compensation, which will take all the conditions of the poor into consideration and strive to do away with all inequalities.

An AZAPO government will

- ❑ Develop a national economic empowerment strategy with emphasis on industries such as mining, forestry and fishing.
- ❑ Through the economic empowerment strategy provide favourable and sustainable conditions of increasing employment and business opportunities to the masses of our people in both the rural and urban areas.
- ❑ Institute schemes that will be geared at uplifting the economic status of the poor.
- ❑ Ensure that all economic activities are transparent and that corporate governance improves.
- ❑ In addition to wealth distribution ensure that there is skills development, enterprise development and economic growth.
- ❑ Restructure most economic institutions and commercial banks.

profitably, and those who keep many plots and houses in the towns and cities to make money.

- Control the flight of capital from AZANIA to other countries such that local companies are afforded an opportunity to invest in the country.
- Create favourable conditions for foreign investment. However, such investment will operate under conditions that will be set out by the government to advance the interests of the country.
- Ensure that through its fiscal and taxation policies, more government spending is directed towards investment and development of infrastructure. Less money will be spent on consumption items.
- Reduce the overall tax burden on individuals, especially low and middle-income earners as they are hardest hit by the present tax system.
- Consider other forms of taxation such as taxation on luxury goods, capital gains tax, property / land tax and others.

LABOUR UNIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS

AZAPO believes in the centrality of the working class in the struggle for economic emancipation and therefore encourages the establishment of a democratic, independent working class movement.

This working class movement will

- Ensure that government pursues a socialist oriented economic programme geared at eradicating poverty and ameliorating the lives of the workers in general.

PRIVATISATION

AZAPO notes that privatisation has led to uneven and skewed economic development patterns in both rural and urban communities and across geographic areas in this country. As a result unemployment has risen in most sectors of our economy.

An AZAPO Government will therefore

- Reverse the privatisation of state assets in order to create and maintain jobs for citizens of this country.
- Oppose and reverse the privatisation of health services and assume responsibility for delivery of such services.
- Resist efforts towards the privatisation of the entire transport system and even reverse privatisation in those areas of the transport system, which it considers to be in the public interest.
- Reverse the privatisation of essential services such as the provision of water, electricity, sanitation and housing.

CLEAN ENVIRONMENT

AZAPO believes that every citizen has a right to a healthy environment. However over time poverty stricken communities have been victims of an unhealthy environment, largely due to ignorance and lack of capacity to defend their right to a healthy environment.

SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES

- ❖ Establish a special Ministry of SMME to fast track absorption of informal businesses into the economy and to develop the sector.
- ❖ Review all laws that prohibit, hamper, or restrict growth of SMME's
- ❖ Have Government grants for establishment and development of rehabilitation programmes for township and rural businesses.
- ❖ Have central co-ordination of activities governing SMME's at National, Provincial and Local levels.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

An AZAPO government will

- Adopt policies and implement programmes that promote industrial development and entrepreneurship in the rural communities and other economically depressed areas in our society.
- Promote and support Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises, especially in the critical areas of training and access to finance.
- Through its economic plan develop and support a thriving manufacturing sector.

FISCAL POLICY AND TAXATION

An AZAPO Government will

- Place heavy taxes on those who own large farms, which they are not able to use

An AZAPO Government will therefore

- ❑ Strive to protect and conserve existing natural elements and resources such as the land, water, minerals, air, animals, plants, wildlife and marine life.
- ❑ Monitor the disposal of industrial waste and encourage continuous research into how best this can be done;
- ❑ Ensure that industries and industrial plants provide resources, which will be allocated for such research;
- ❑ Encourage the use of recyclable materials to develop an environmentally friendly path to industrialisation and human development.
- ❑ Engage in programmes to reverse the destruction of the environment.
- ❑ Embark on a vigorous awareness campaign on the importance of a healthy and clean environment.
- ❑ Impose heavy fines, and in extreme instances disbar companies and businesses that show no respect for regulations and legislation promoting a healthy environment.

VIABLE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEM

AZAPO notes the growing deterioration and threatening collapse of the public transport system. This situation is further worsened by relentless calls for the privatisation of the entire transport system. AZAPO also notes the lack of sufficient regulation of the privately owned system of transport.

An AZAPO Government will

- ❑ Through legislation ensure that both the rail passenger transport and the taxis offer quality service to our people.
- ❑ Also ensure that law enforcement agencies are empowered through legislation to provide safety and security on both trains and taxis and at train stations and taxi ranks countrywide.
- ❑ Strive for the provision of an efficient and co-ordinated public transport system, which takes into consideration the need for the conservation of energy and preservation of nature or the eco-system.
- ❑ Work towards an integrated government-initiated land, sea, air and rail transport system for the shipment of freight and cargo.
- ❑ Create enabling legislative instruments to facilitate the monitoring and regulation for all transport systems serving the public.

EMBRACING CULTURAL AND TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

AZAPO believes that the culture of the majority group in any given society must ultimately determine the broad direction and character of the national culture emerging from it. This need not negate the styles and practices of those who feel differently, but on the whole a country in Africa must inevitably exhibit African values and be truly African in style.

Consequently an AZAPO Government will

- ❑ Ensure that traditional institutions are respected and recognised at local government level throughout the country.
- ❑ Advocate and facilitate negotiations at local government level with the aim of placing the question of traditional institutions on the national agenda.
- ❑ Ensure that there is a healthy relationship and harmonious coexistence of Local Government, Councillors and Traditional Leaders, by clearly spelling out the powers and functions of each.

RESTORING THE DIGNITY OF THE DISABLED

To AZAPO, disability means a physical reduction in the functioning of parts of a person's body and that it occurs as a result of the way in which society is structured. Our homes, factories and state buildings, except for a few, reveal that they were not designed to accommodate people with disabilities.

Therefore, an AZAPO Government will

- ❑ Remove all those barriers, which make it difficult for persons with impairments to function in their communities.
- ❑ Endorse United Nations-sponsored protocols, which relate to persons with impairments and also create conditions of equity so that the situation of disadvantage suffered by persons with impairments over the years is reversed.
- ❑ Through all these efforts ensure that persons with impairments become active participants in the shaping of the society they live in.

SPORT FOR ALL

Sport plays an important role in the life of a people. Amongst other things, it enhances the health of those who participate in it.

An AZAPO government will

- Make it possible for every citizen to participate in the sport of her/his choice.
- Ensure that sport is free from being controlled by the rich who organise it for purposes of material gain.
- Encourage competitive sport alongside other sport types.
- Also encourage indigenous sport and promote it.

FOREIGN POLICY

AZAPO recognises the equality of all nations and therefore believes that foreign policy should respect national independence and international friendship.

An AZAPO Government will

- Establish diplomatic relations with all friendly countries irrespective of their political systems. Such diplomatic relations would be on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.
- Recognise the right of all nations to self-determination and cooperate with all progressive countries, organisations and international agencies to advance the course of freedom and independence for all the oppressed of the world.

- Cooperate with all countries and organisations fighting against Racism, Zionism, Colonialism, Imperialism, Super-Power domination and interference.
- Strive for the unity and advancement of the African people throughout the continent.

PRIORITIES FOR AN AZAPO GOVERNMENT

AZAPO has identified the following issues, which should be addressed as a matter of urgency:

- Education.
- Health.
- Employment.
- Housing.
- Crime.
- Social Security.
- Infrastructure (Clean Water, Sanitation, Electricity).
- Rural Development.
- Land.
- Widespread Corruption.

ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION