

SWANU of Namibia



Socialist Manifesto For 2014 Elections



Topic: “Caring & Sharing”

**Theme: Vote Swanu for
Land, Wealth, Education,
Social Justice and
Accountability.**

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SWANU MISSION

To become the strong party of most Namibians with a common ideology striving to bringing about genuine economic liberation to all the people of Namibia.

SWANU VISION

The establishment of a society based on the solidarity between individuals and equal opportunity for all.

SWANU CORE VALUES

Caring, Solidarity, Comradeship, Social Justice and Sharing.

HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY

The task of continuing and directing the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia was passed to a new generation after the 1904 Genocide committed by Germans against Namibians. The new generation, which became a successor to the heroes and heroines of the Great Patriotic War against German aggression and Portuguese invaders in the northern half of our country and the South African racist regime, was consolidated in 1959 through SWANU as the first national liberation movement of all the people of Namibia.

Therefore, SWANU as an immediate successor continued to represent the interests of the victims of colonization within the broader framework of the national liberation struggle. It is in this context that we see our role being broader than just politics. We also have social responsibilities.

FOREWORD



Hon. Usutuaije Maamberua, MP
SWANU President

Since that 27th day of September in the year 1959 when SWANU was founded, the party has always had the best interests of Namibians at heart. This is an immutable fact that has been re-enforced countless times since it was initially demonstrated during the highly successful defiance campaign against the forced removals from the Old Location.

Despite those turbulent beginnings and the many challenges of the Apartheid era, the party is proud to have stayed true to and consistent with its views and ideologies. All these years, we still do not have cause to change our steadfast stance. In fact, we believe more than ever that Namibia's current socio-economic predicament needs the kind of thinking and policies to which SWANU espouses. The need for SWANU's policies to become the reality of Namibian governance is perhaps best underscored by the ever-growing gap between our country's rich and poor.

Although the current government

deserves credit for keeping our nation from crumbling after independence, there is still a lot of room for improvement and the time has come for a new government to usher in a new and prosperous era in Namibia's story. SWANU is best placed to do just that.

Namibia needs a more accountable government - SWANU is accountable. Namibia needs a more equitable and socially just society - SWANU promises and is the most capable "to give the land, wealth and social justice back to the people." Namibia needs forward-thinking leadership rather than reactionary policies - SWANU's history is a testament to the party's far-sightedness and trustworthiness.

The Nation should be lauded for the grandiose Vision 2030, but the lack of accountability and poor execution on the part of many government ministries threatens the attainment of Vision 2030. In fact, each year that inches us closer to the milestone 2030 makes it clear that Namibia will fail to deliver on its vision of an industrialized Namibia in the remaining 16 years.

It is not acceptable that 24 years after independence about a third of Namibians find themselves without work. Poorly managed hospitals and reports of infant mortalities due to negligence are not signs of a sufficiently healthy society.

Astronomically high failure rates year in and year out amounting to around 50% for grade 10 learners nationally do not bode well for our future. Neither do the lack of employment opportunities for the youth, nor do the high rates of

urbanization and homelessness in our main towns and capital city. Finally, one of the highest income inequalities worldwide is an unmistakable sign of a ticking time bomb. Change, surely, is needed. SWANU is that change.

SWANU is proud to present this manifesto as an outline of how it intends to guide our contrastingly beautiful and young nation towards prosperity for all. A sincere and fact-based analysis of our society's status quo is featured, and realistic solutions under a SWANU government are highlighted. The solutions proposed in this manifesto are faithful to the party's basic and inclusive tenets of socialism. Furthermore, these proposed solutions are underscored by the slogan of "*Caring and Sharing.*"

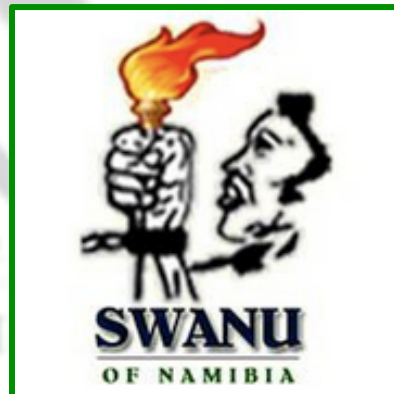
The aforementioned slogan implies that a government that truly cares for its entire population will promote values of equality in all aspects of society. This means that, without discrimination based on race, religion, age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, socioeconomic status or political affiliation, every Namibian has a right to decent health care, quality education, and fair access to the nation's wealth and factors of production, among others. SWANU cares deeply for all Namibians, and is wholeheartedly committed to sharing proceeds from the nation's abundant resources equitably. This commitment is illustrated by the party's theme for the imminent elections.

SWANU's theme for the 2014 elections is to "*Give the land, wealth and social justice back to the people, and to be accountable.*" Under this theme, SWANU has identified 5 priority areas that would receive immediate attention

should the party be elected into governance. These areas are, in no particular order, Land, Wealth, Social Justice, Education and National Unity. As a party, we recognize that these 5 priority areas overlap in more ways than one, but that means true progress in one area will have a domino effect on the rest.

It is these 5 priority areas that are explored and explained in-depth by this manifesto. We strongly contest that these priority areas are the key to expediting our society's socio-economic progress and subsequently ushering in a new and prosperous era. The first step towards true, holistic and inclusive prosperity is for you, fellow Namibians, to make the right choice in the upcoming elections.

Hon. Usutuaije Maamberua, MP
SWANU President



SPECIFIC POLICY ISSUES

Land

Land will be nationalized, so that all land will be owned on leasehold only.

Health

Healthcare will be free to all citizens. Thus a universal health care insurance to cover all citizens will be introduced immediately.

Information Technology and Communication

All schools and government institutions will be fully equipped with IT. IT will be part of all schools curricula from primary education.

Education

Will be free from pre-primary to tertiary levels. Vocational training schools and institutions will be located in each region.

Resettlement

This will strictly on only be for the neediest of our society. Training and farming equipment provisions will be included.

Mining

Epangelo Mining Company will be a 50% (minimum) shareholder in all types of mineral mining companies and its shares shall be held in trust for all Namibians who will be the sole beneficiaries of the dividends from Epangelo Mining Company.

Agrarian Transformation

Until such time that Namibia has attained food self-sufficiency food production in poor communities will be driven mostly by the State. No taxes on basic food stuffs will be levied.

Fishing Resources

Only poor urban and rural based communities will be allocated fish quotas henceforth.

Natural Calamities

A national insurance facility against natural calamities including droughts, floods, etc. will be established to compensate losses in these regards.

Good Governance and Accountability

We shall enact Governance and Accountability to guide financing of political parties, tightening rules governing lobbying, strengthening laws on the conflicts of interest and corruption in general.

Land and Access to Economic Justice

Ancestral land matters will be re-opened for discussions. Any citizens living below the poverty line will be compensated by the State to be brought above the poverty line. Renewable energy will be subsidized, environment protection will be prioritized.

Genocide Reparations Demand

Immediately when SWANU is in power, a Genocide Reparations Negotiations Team will be established, consisting representatives of Genocide Victims and GRN, as well as International Experts, etc.

Monetary and Fiscal Policies

Full employment would become the main mandate of the Central Bank and the National Planning Commission, which will be part of the Ministry of Finance. Economic growth target will be 10% per annum.

Water and Electricity

These will be nationalized and be declared part of the basic rights of the people. All REDs will be abolished.

Social Justice

Counselling, rehabilitation, foster parenting, elders homes, will be priority.

State Revenue

The dictum: "From each according to ability and to each according to Need" shall apply. Revenue collection will be enhanced through identification of all of all sources. Industrialization and manufacturing will attract appropriate incentives. Transformation of informal business into formal business will be incentivized.

1. SWANU'S IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

1.1 Ideology

Swanu is guided by its three (tri-partite) ideological underpinnings of Socialism, Revolution and Democracy in establishing economic management and resources distribution. These three ideological pillars are meant to assist in bringing about meaningful, fundamental, and effective transformation in the standard of living of the broader masses of Namibians so as to guarantee the future of our coming generations. It is for these reasons that we say: ***Give The Land Back To The People.***

1.1.1 Socialism

SWANU, in the Namibian context, adopted a socialist ideological stance because of the imperatives of the liberation struggle and of the socio-politico-economic environment which was anticipated in an independent Namibia.

“Only a life lived for others is a life worthwhile.”

— *Albert Einstein*

Socialism seeks to promote equality among people by providing them with many of the same social benefits. Examples of benefits that individuals in a socialist society are provided with are education, health care, and care for the elderly and the vulnerable. Whereas the eighteenth century liberalism of John Locke and Adam Smith gave us our constitution and limited government,

Marxism provided the intellectual foundations of the welfare state.

Namibia, because of its history of colonialism and Apartheid, is perhaps – more than other nations – well suited for socialism. Under colonialism and Apartheid, the overwhelming majority of the populations were denied access to means of advancing themselves socio-economically. Consequently, Namibia currently has one of the highest income inequalities globally. Capitalism, to the degree in which it is practiced in Namibia, cannot right those economic wrongs of colonialism and Apartheid – only socialism under a SWANU government can.

SWANU is not alone in promoting socialism over capitalism. The struggle to replace global capitalism with worldwide democratic socialism is being forged by the converging actions of many groups and individuals courageously speaking out on a host of interrelated human rights and workers' rights issues. What more evidence do we need if we can not be wiser by these

examples:

- During his inaugural speech as the first black president of the United States of America, Obama expressed the need for what he called a “watchful eye over the markets”;
- At the Davos Economic Development Summit, capitalism has basically been abandoned; and
- The November 2011 Declaration of Principles of the Party of

European Socialists (PES) set the European socialist agenda.

1.1.2 Revolution

Revolution should be understood in the following definition from Oxford Shorter English Dictionary: 'radical alteration of a particular condition, state of affairs'. Therefore, a 'radical alteration' is indeed needed in order to rectify our course and ensure meaningful socio-economic progress for Namibians, particularly those previously marginalized. This revolution is necessary not tomorrow, but today – the times are ripe for it.

1.1.3 Democracy

It is our submission that in order for Namibia to enrich and deepen its democracy, the concept of Separation of Powers as provided for in the Consitution of the Republic must be implemented to the letter and spirit.

Furthermore, within the ambit of democracy and equality, SWANU gives its full and unconditional support to the objective of meeting a 50-50 gender balance in all of the country's public institutions. As a sign of SWANU's uncompromising stance on this issue, the party has already inculcated a 50-50 balance in its structures.

1.2 SWANU's Record over the Past 5 years in Parliament

SWANU is the only political entity in Namibia that, amongst others has:

- Made a submission to the Presidential Health Inquiry Commission that, among others, suggested the adoption of a

socialized healthcare system and incorporation of interpretation services in the health institutions.

- Made a submission to NIED (National Institute of Educational Development) on basic primary education curriculum reform.
- Made a contribution to the flood victims in the north by donating **clothing and food items**.
- Caused government to erect a Genocide Statue.
- Consistently brought the plight of the farm evictees and other disaster victims in Namibia to the attention of Government and also has materially assisted the victims at **Otjiku, Hochfeld, and Otumborombonga**.
- On its 54th Birthday anniversary, SWANU addressed the National Assembly on many topical issues that affect the socio-economic and political development in Namibia.
- Through its substantive, highly technical intervention caused, probably for the first time, the Procurement Bill to be withdrawn.
- Consistently relied on its ideology and socialism in making political statements e.g. budget debates, socio-economic related motions in parliament etc., as a way to maintain its relevance to the Namibian situation and to avoid making statements in an ideological vacuum.
- Became the first political party to attain the Zebra lines or 50/50 during its Consultation Conference of March 2013.
- A female Vice President.

2. SWANU'S PRIORITY AREAS

SWANU has identified five priority areas that are central to transforming Namibia for the better. These priorities areas are Education, Land Matters, Wealth Creation, Social Justice and National Unity. Under each of these areas are sub-points that comprehensively cover all the important socioeconomic issues in our country.

2.1 Accountability

2.1.1 Status Quo

Generally, the management structure of the Public Service is too heavy with an overload of unnecessary and unproductive boards and managers, which amounts more to a waste of resources than actual work. Structures and positions are often created, not out of necessity but to accommodate individuals for personal benefit.

We are cognizant of the fact that the best policy cannot get off the ground unless guided by competent, committed and dedicated managers and leaders. The failure of service delivery in Government thus far can be ascribed to one overriding factor: incompetent people being in positions of management and leadership.

Additionally, SWANU recognizes that Namibia's political landscape is heavily one-sided and dominated by a single party, thereby threatening democracy. A democracy is only robust and credible if there is a sufficiently strong political opposition to challenge the ruling government and hold it accountable. As such, the political playing field will need to be evened out.

Furthermore, political patronage is rife in Namibia, and it is therefore too common for public servants to be more loyal to a single party than to the country. In the eventual case where the country's governance changes hands, such prevalent political patronage will only serve to destabilise the country

2.1.2 SWANU's Solutions

When in power, SWANU will ceaselessly endeavour to make government more accountable in terms of financial fair practice and performance. In this effort, SWANU will retain the basic structure of the Parliamentary system and the Constitution will remain the overarching law of the nation. Therefore, any reforms will be lawful and will remain faithful to the constitution. The following are the changes that SWANU will institute in this regard:

- Reform the funding rules for political parties. Instead of basing funding on the percentage representation in Parliament, all parties would receive the same level of funding;
- Remove political appointment of important positions such as that of Regional Governors. Instead, people in the regions will elect Regional Governors, and other positions will be filled through appropriate and fair application processes;
- Institute a budget performance review in order to ensure that funds are used optimally;
- Strengthen and protect the independence of democracy-sustaining institutions such as the

- office of the Auditor General and the Ombudsman;
- Publicly shame and call any corrupt officials to answer and pay for their transgressions;
 - Clearly communicate to the entire nation the channels for reporting corrupt practices, and strictly ensure and protect the confidentiality of such channels;
 - Have all political office bearers and parastatals declare their assets and compile accountability reports annually;
 - Ensure that each step of any public procurement is published on the Internet and other avenues for interested patrons to read. The names of competing companies and their profiles (including names of owners) will be included in the said publications;
 - Empower the grassroots with the power to vote out incompetent officials; and
 - Require all managers to undergo training in the science of management, and to become experts in their field of work.

2.1.3 Financing the Envisioned Change

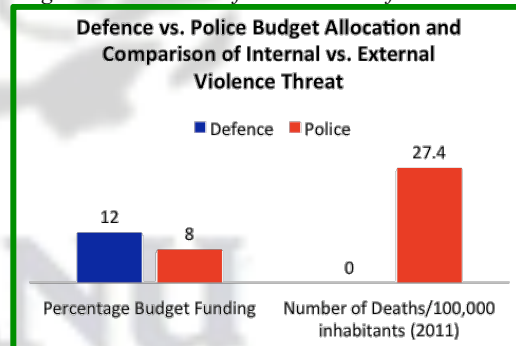
SWANU's envisioned changes will require daring changes in the way the country's finances are expended. According to the international auditing firm PricewaterhouseCoopers (2014), expenditure on government personnel takes up the bulk of the government's annual budgets. SWANU will therefore seek to make the government leaner.

SWANU will consolidate several ministries and discontinue others. It is

unbelievable that the Ministry of Defence receives more funding than the ministries responsible for housing and agriculture combined. Namibia faces a greater threat internally from rapidly increasing crime rates (violent crimes included), yet the Ministry of Safety and Security receives much less funding than the Ministry of Defence. The homicide rate for Namibia in 2011, according to the 2011 Global Homicide Study by the UN office on Drugs and Crime, was at 27.4 for every 100,000 inhabitants whereas Namibia has not lost a soldier in combat for many years.

SWANU will consolidate the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry. Consolidating and doing away with some ministries is important, because it will free up resources (people and money) that will be redistributed to important ministries such as those dealing with education, health, etc.

Fig 1. Misallocation of Resources: Defence vs. Police



State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) will also be radically reformed so that they become the income generating companies that they were mandated to be. Making government leaner and making SOEs more profitable will supplement tax income greatly.

2.2 Education



2.2.1 The Status Quo

Ideally, everyone would be trained in one art or another, and they would be paid for the skills they employ for the collective good. A country is only at its best when the sum of its human capital is at its most optimal.

Unfortunately, Namibia's government has fallen far too short of this ideal and too many of our countrymen find themselves in abject poverty with little hope for gainful employment. One of the primary causes of this dire situation is a very poor education system. In no uncertain terms, our current government has an archaic and failed education system in place. The education system in Namibia is out of touch with developmental and employment needs on the ground thus leaving school-leavers job-less or doing something that is not their passion or area of competence for the sake of survival.

Teachers are over-burdened with administrative work leaving little time for self-advancement, preparation and actual teaching. The country has a very high secondary school dropout rate as a consequence of the unnecessary rule that learners who fail grade 10 should drop out. Each year, an average of around

50% of mostly 16-17 year olds are kicked out of the mainstream education system. The Namibia College of Open Learning (Namcol) has not proven enough of a success to return a significant number of grade 10 failures to the mainstream education system, and there simply are not enough vocational training centres to take in the overwhelming amount of those who failed grade 10. This has been the case for each of the 24 years of our independence. Is it any wonder, then, that we currently have high rates of substance abuse among youth, teenage pregnancies, crime and other social vices today?

Furthermore, those learners who do make it past grade 10 have the grade 12 hurdle to leap over. Once again, too many young Namibians stumble over this hurdle and do not obtain sufficient marks to gain admission into universities. This means that another significant percentage of young people is denied further education. Although it is easy to blame these high failure rates on the learners themselves, the government should instead take the brunt of the blame. Reports of below par skills in mathematics and English among our teachers are far from flattering, and it is difficult to expect learners to do well if their teachers are not sufficiently capable.

For those few learners who do pass grade 12 and qualify for institutes of higher learning, many find that there are not enough places in the programs they want to study or do not have enough money to pay for university. The Namibia Students Financial Assistance Fund (NSFAF) is slow to make out loans

and there are not enough scholarships and bursaries to go around.

Those who do find a way through tertiary education are often not prepared for the workplace and this results in a significant skills gap for the nation. A Namcol report recently stated that all new mines in Namibia import 45-55% of all their skills, because our education system is not producing enough competent individuals. Figure 2 is adapted from a study commissioned by the Namibia Employers' Federation in partnership with the Ministry of Labour & Social Welfare, the National Union of Namibian Workers and the Trades Union Congress of Namibia in late 2010 and illustrates the perception of Namibian businesses and employers on the skills deficit in our country.

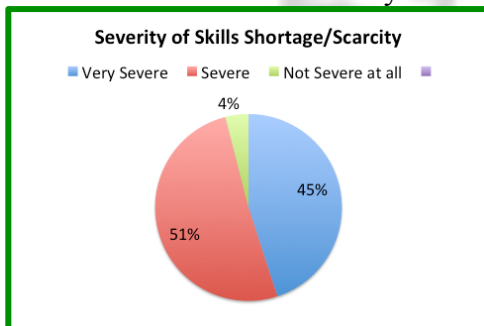


Fig 2. Severity of Skills Shortage/Scarcity in Namibia
The education system is deliberately designed by foreigners to keep us underdeveloped and dependent on foreign technical and scientific assistance, and domination for continued exploitation of natural and human resources.

2.2.2 SWANU's Solutions

Overall, Namibia's education system is a very saddening and very troublesome state of affairs. Without having to read into the statistics, it is clear from walking down the streets of Katutura or DRC in Swakopmund and townships across the country that change is needed

with immediate urgency. SWANU is that change, and it has viable solutions for Namibia's failed education system. The solutions are broken down into the different areas under education that will lead to the most tangible improvements for the country.

I. Improving Skills

In order to mitigate the skills shortage that the country is suffering, SWANU will:

- Provide basic training centres for unemployed youth to develop skills such as computer literacy that will improve their employability while they seek jobs instead of having them be idle; and
- Engage the private sector and the country's universities and colleges to collaborate on clearly defining the skills needed in the employment market so that Namibia's tertiary education system can better focus their courses to optimize the employment of their graduates.

II. Advancing Equality

SWANU will advocate for education as a means of equalizing the nation. Furthermore, the quality of education has to be equalized across social class, so that financial background does not determine how well educated a child will be. To achieve this, SWANU will:

- Engage academicians and other stakeholders to bring as much clarity as possible on the link between education and income equality and to generate a roadmap for how equality can be attained as efficiently as possible;
- Streamline the Ministry of Education so that the ratio of government finances spent on background administrative staff to

frontline staff like teachers and principals is reduced i.e. offer more financial incentives for teachers and principals to perform better; and

- Have annual teacher evaluations to identify areas of improvement and provide training.

III. Increase Employability

The country's employment rate is very poor, and more needs to be done to make job seekers more attractive for employment. SWANU will:

- Incentivise Namibian businesses to employ more young people by giving them tax breaks for every 5 people under 35 years of age they employ;
- Businesses will be encouraged to give free internship to learners to gain practical experience during holidays;
- Innovation will be made a part of life skills education;
- Majoring in a given direction will start at an early age according to talent so that by the end of secondary education learners are equipped for the job market; and
- Subject choices will be widened to include all of society's needs, and the aspirations of the learners.

IV. Promote Research and Development

In order to avoid the ineffective practice of importing solutions for local problems, more needs to be done to promote local research and development so that we can generate our own solutions. In this regard, SWANU will:

- Engage the private sector and the country's universities to invest more in Research and Development in

areas of national importance such as mining, health care, engineering, food science, etc.

V. Provide Better, Free and Compulsory Education from Pre-Primary to Tertiary Levels

Access to education is a major problem in Namibia for the country's many poor, especially at the tertiary level. SWANU, in this regard, will:

- Budget for effective, quality, compulsory and free education from pre-primary to tertiary level;
- Engage private and civil society organizations to establish a sizeable university scholarship fund for at least 50% of all the highest performing grade 12 learners from lower class and lower middle class families. Since tuition will be free, the scholarship will cover things like textbooks, etc.;
- Reform the NSFAP so that loans are disbursed earlier and more efficiently and strengthen their debt collection branch so that more loans are recovered and given out to new students for textbooks, etc.;
- Science will be the basis of education in all spheres;
- Administrative workload on teachers will be cut to the bone;
- Teaching aids like labs and libraries will be provided to all schools; and
- SWANU will incorporate career guidance counsellors into the teaching staff at each school so that young learners know what to aim for.

VI. Improve Vocational Training

Naturally, not all learners can be expected to excel in the traditional education tract. Nonetheless, these

learners also deserve an education that is of sufficient quality. SWANU, therefore, will:

- Establish more vocational and technical training centres nationwide;
- Give parents the option of sending their children to receive vocational and technical training from the 8th grade onwards, instead of having them suffer through at least 3 years of high school when they do not have the desire nor the propensity to excel in the mainstream education system; and
- Technical education will be lifted above mere craftsmanship like auto-mechanics to higher levels of engineering at a mass scale.

VII. Improve Pre-Primary Education

The quality of education a child receives at the beginning of their academic career is a critical determinant of how they will perform in future. SWANU, to improve this, will:

- Incentivize more teachers to take up pre-primary education.

VIII. Information Technology

The world is increasingly becoming dependent on information technology, and being left behind in this regard is a recipe for disaster. To ensure that this does not happen, SWANU will:

- Institute mandatory computer classes for all public school learners from grade 1 onwards;
- Incorporate in the public school syllabus computer programming as a subject from grade 5 onwards; and
- Will host Information Technology fairs and competition to increase interest in the field among Namibia's young people.

SWANU's myriad solutions will have immense implications for Namibia's education system. The improvements will be tangible and clear for all to marvel about. One implication will be a reduction in the secondary school dropout rate, which stands at around 50% annually currently. Figure 3 illustrates how SWANU's proposed solutions will cut this in half over the next 5 years.

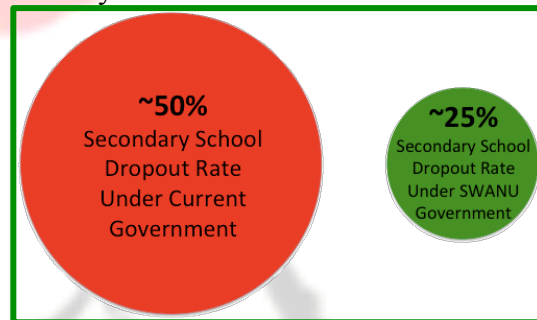


Fig 3. High School Dropout Rate Comparison

2.3 SOCIAL JUSTICE



2.3.1 The Status Quo

Sovereignty, statehood and nationhood are predicated on the ability of the STATE TO ENSURE physical, emotional and psychological safety and security to its citizenry. All Namibians are the same under the country's constitution, and as such have the same rights and freedom. Therefore, every Namibian should enjoy the same level of security in inhabiting this land and our law enforcement institutions and structures such as the police, the army and the justice system must be made

responsive, efficient and effective to the demands of our people for safety and security. This is a matter of urgency. Feeling safe and feeling like a first class citizen should not be exclusive to a few Namibians based on race, economic wellbeing, gender, age or any other form of grouping. However, this is not the case and Namibia cannot, therefore, be labelled a socially just society.

The current government has failed dismally in making all Namibians feel like first class citizens. Some of their failures have been rather public and therefore a stain on the country's reputation internationally. Reports of corruption in high public offices still plague the country, and yet those cases of corruption brought to the light still only represent a small fraction of the overall corruption in the country. It is quite disheartening and discouraging for most honest Namibians who work very hard and have to watch many take shortcuts to wealth. Any credible government has to do more to eradicate corruption in public offices.

Another symptom of a social unjust society is high levels of unemployment, particularly if those levels are highest in the most prevalent age demographic of the society. This is exactly the situation in Namibia, with the youth being the most unemployed demographic in the country. How can the youth look to becoming the leaders of tomorrow when they have to constantly fight despair today? In addition to the youth, the elderly are not treated as well as they should be by the current government. This country owes a colossal debt to its elderly, and yet they are repaid with a meagre N\$600 pension monthly. Such a small amount does not suffice, especially

considering that many of Namibia's elderly take care of grandchildren and the fact that food prices are ceaselessly on the rise.

In addition to the youth and the elderly, the state of Namibia's women and children also leaves a lot to be desired. The exceedingly high rate of gender-based violence and specifically the gruesome killing of Namibian women is a dark stain on the country.

Unfortunately, the government has not shown much innovation or urgency in trying to protect Namibian women and children from all manner of abuse. It is an immutable fact that the reported cases of abuse are only a drop in the ocean, and that there are probably many more cases of abuse that go unreported. Furthermore, overall crime appears to be on the increase nationally. Crimes such as housebreaking, hijacking, bank-robbery, ATM card cloning/skimming and murder have become regular and too familiar to even the youngest Namibians.

Beyond the vices of crime, Namibia's health care is also a far cry from what it should be. A significant percentage of the population remains without medical aid, but a greater percentage of the population relies on public hospitals and clinics for their health-related needs. The majority of Namibians who use public health facilities often have to endure long hours at the hospitals and clinics, sometimes only to receive the most basic of medical attention. Two of the country's biggest hospitals are in total disrepair in terms of operations and infrastructure. For about a week Windhoek's Central State Hospital was without water and patients had to bear the stench of toilets that were not flushed.

The Katutura State Hospital's toilets are often not cleaned and there are reports of insufficient beds and consequently cancer patients and their families sleeping on the floor. Such a sorry state of affairs is an insult on the dignity of many Namibians who have to put up with the result of the government's inadequacy.

Finally, **poverty is a human rights issue** and it is rife in Namibia. We should eradicate poverty in our society at all costs. Poverty is not only material deprivation, but above all it is a negation of rights. Humans are being violated wherever there are human beings condemned to live in misery. Namibia should not ignore the original objective to guarantee and defend human dignity in an integral way. This is because human rights lose their meaning and force if they are separated. Poverty and social injustice overall are not predestined phenomena, and therefore they can be rectified.

2.3.2 SWANU's Solutions

A SWANU government will strive tirelessly towards a socially just Namibian society, and will institute the following solutions to achieve that goal.

I. Reduce Corruption

There can be no shortcuts to wealth, and no Namibian citizen should feel unfairly marginalized due to discriminatory practices such as tribalism and nepotism.

To fight corruption, SWANU will:

- Strengthen and empower the offices of the Auditor General and the Ombudsman in order to more effectively ensure that corruption is kept in check and reduced dramatically;

- Periodically examine the bank accounts and assets of top officials; and
- Have accounting officers appear on national TV to explain their actions and situations as the need arises.

II. Institute 50/50 in Government Positions

SWANU takes this very seriously, and as a testament to this the party remains the only entity in high level Namibian politics to have a female vice-president. When in power, SWANU will continue its commitment to empowering women and ensuring that they enjoy positions of power as well. SWANU will:

- Increase the number of high government positions held by women so that the country moves closer to 50/50 gender representation in management of national affairs.

III. Protect Children

Too often children are thought of as leaders of tomorrow, forgetting that they are human beings today who require a safe environment to develop into responsible and productive adults. Namibian children remain threatened by crime and other socioeconomic ills. SWANU, in this regard, will:

- Make social services such as counselling more accessible by opening centres in select high population areas and increase the social services workforce.

IV. Increase Employment

Unemployment keeps people entrapped in poverty, and efforts to increase employment have to be initiated with urgency. SWANU will:

- Undertake massive infrastructure development projects in order to create employment; and

- Incentivize the private sector to create more jobs, especially for youth.

V. Reduce Gender-Based Violence

Violence along gender lines is exorbitantly high in Namibia, and drastic measures have to be taken to stem this trend. SWANU, to this effect, will:

- Provide further financial support to single mothers so that women are not kept in abusive relationships due to finances;
- Create an easy-to-dial dedicated telephone line where gender violence cases/incidents can easily be reported to the police; and
- Enact stricter and much harsher laws to punish those who commit gender-based crimes such as rape, battery, murder, etc.



VI. Increase Old Age Pension

At the level of the family unit, too many of Namibia's elderly are neglected and forgotten. Therefore, it is imperative for any government to look after its pensioners, particularly because a lot is owed to this generation. SWANU, therefore, will:

- Increase Old Age pensions to N\$2200.00 per month, concomitant with the monthly subventions of the veterans; and

- Increase the budget for servicing and maintaining Old Age Homes.

VII. Institute Basic Income Grant

Social welfare grants have been relatively successful in giving poor families a hand-up out of poverty. This could also be very powerful in Namibia. SWANU, therefore, will:

- Implement the Basic Income Grant program to provide financial respite to families unemployed breadwinners; and
- Require families benefiting from the grant to demonstrate tangible efforts to seek employment instead of just depending on the grant.

VIII. Improve Public Healthcare

As already mentioned, Namibia's public health system is in shambles. Reports of bed shortages at the country's largest hospitals and long queues to get medical attention are stain on the conscience of civilized people. Radical action is required to rectify this situation. SWANU will:

- Invest heavily in renovating the nation's biggest hospitals in the Katutura State Hospital and the Central State Hospital;
- Streamline the nation's hospitals and clinics so operations are smoother and cycle times for patients are significantly reduced;
- Start phasing in universal medical aid for those who cannot afford conventional medical aid; and
- Build a new state hospital to reduce the pressure on the current two hospitals.

IX. Give Reparations

SWANU strongly advocates for reparations to be made to families of descendants of those massacred in the 1904 genocide. Therefore, SWANU will

continue to work tirelessly in demanding reparations from the German government.

X. Eradicate Crime

Crime is increasing at a rapid rate in Namibia, and significant efforts need to be made to stem this increase. SWANU will institute radical measures to fight crime in Namibia, and will:

- Increase the police force and provide them with regular training to keep their skills up to date with the ever evolving criminal world;
- Institute tougher punishment for those who engage in crime; and
- Review the sentencing imposed for animal theft.

SWANU's solutions to social justice issues in Namibia will result in significant improvements for the country. One such improvement will be in reducing the unemployment rate. Figure 7 below illustrates just how high the unemployment rate is at present, but also shows the projected reduction thereof within five years under a SWANU-led government.

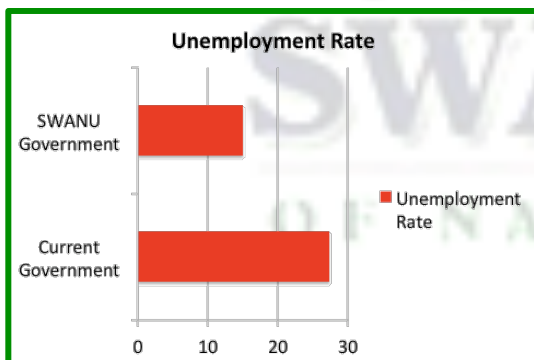


Fig 7. Unemployment under current government vs. under SWANU government within 5 years

2.4 LAND

2.4.1 The Status Quo

Land has always been close to the heart of SWANU as a party and as a fighter for disenfranchised and marginalised Namibians. SWANU understands that all Namibians are equal and they should all feel the same sense of belonging to this contrastingly beautiful nation.

However, this is currently not the case since too many Namibians do not own a literal piece of the pie. Too many families do not have a proper base or home from which to raise their children and shelter them from the elements. Furthermore, Namibia's traditionally agricultural peoples are forced into urban areas as a consequence of hailing from rural land that is congested, dry and not arable while an elite few own thousands of hectares of prime land – a vestige of Apartheid. This is clearly shown by figure 4 (adopted from a Ministry of Lands and Resettlement presentation on land tax) on the next page.

By walking among the corrugated shacks in the informal settlements of Windhoek and Namibia's myriad towns, it is clear that the current government has failed its people. These aforementioned settlements are highly congested and are consequently a hub for crime and diseases such as tuberculosis and cholera.

The homelessness or poor sheltering in the country's informal settlements is not the only problem. There are hardly any basic services such as clean water, plumbing nor electricity. Whatever there

- low-income high-rise flats for the country's urban poor;
- Fully furnish these high-rise flats with electricity and basic plumbing provisions;
- Have erven for houses be free for the poor;
- Give soft loans for housing and so stop over-pricing and speculation;
- Enable civil servants to use pension monies to build houses; and
- Oblige private businesses to build houses for their employees.

II. Increase Land Ownership

Beyond housing, land is vital for economic activity. The main reason the people of Namibia fought colonization from its onset is to protect or regain their land. To date, the land has not yet reverted back to its original owners. On the contrary, colonial deprivation of land and its privatisation is now extending into the communal reserves left for the indigenous people by colonialism.

The collective struggle for land has been replaced by individual scramble for the leftovers of the colonial conquest. Convinced that Namibia will never be free as long as the land is in foreign and private hands, SWANU will give the land back to the people. To solve this problem of disproportionately large land in very few hands, SWANU will (excluding resettlement):

- Swiftly and effectively clamp down on illegal fencing in rural areas by forcefully removing fences after prior warnings and enforcing fines to repeat offenders;

- Nationalize all land into state hands;
- Return communities that were uprooted by colonialism to their ancestral lands;
- Have commercial farms be rented only from the state and not owned;
- Have farm sizes depend on individual economic activity;
- Have any superfluous land be forfeited to the state;
- Abolish willing-buyer-willing-seller and the state will not buy back land never bought in the first place;
- Have the Constitution amended to outlaw privatisation of land so that land will not be a commodity to be bought and sold but a national asset; and
- Expropriate foreigner-owned land.

III. Improve Green Schemes

SWANU applauds the current government for its efforts in setting up green schemes. However, it is very clear that these green schemes are far from achieving their objectives, and are highly inefficient and not profitable. These green schemes, if optimized, can be powerful in creating employment for many Namibians and increasing the country's food security. In this regard, SWANU will:

- Promote agrarian transformation (please note, not even agrarian reform – we are not reformists); and
- Ensure the enhancement of the reforestation programmes.

IV. Fair Resettlement

The most arable land in Namibia remains in the possession of only a handful of individuals, an unacceptable state of affairs. What is illustrated in figure 4 needs to be redressed through fair and transparent resettlement, and in this regard SWANU will:

- Publicly display and regularly update the resettlement waiting lists so that Namibians know when they can expect to be resettled;
- Resettle farmers and provide training support to ensure that productivity from given land is not significantly reduced;
- Speed up the acquisition of land for resettlement; and
- Encourage youth to participate in the land resettlement process.

V. Infrastructure Development

Land is required for infrastructure development, so that the country can become a more viable option for critical foreign investment. Furthermore, developing infrastructure is a prerequisite for sustainable economic progress. Therefore, SWANU will:

- Provide clear plans for infrastructure development and implement those plans with urgency as a means of also providing employment.

VI. Increase Local Food/Farming

Old-fashioned family agriculture will never be able to feed the nation as well as form the basis for agro-industry in spite of over 60% of the population being engaged in unless there is an agrarian reform. The most recent drought to hit the country revealed many shortcomings and confirmed Namibia as a food insecure country. Change is needed, and SWANU will:

- Ensure that agricultural subsidies are enhanced;
- Ensure that ploughing services are restructured and re-introduced with substantive government participation;
- Seek professional consultation in improving and expanding the country's green scheme projects so that food security is attained in the near future;
- Encourage and motivate family agriculture to form cooperatives with neighbours for large-scale production;
- Introduce appropriate modern cultivation technology;
- Use irrigation to eliminate dependence on rain;
- Link marketing to nearby agro-industry, national consumption, and export;
- Link the education curriculum to the needs of modern agriculture and agro-industry;
- Elevate the status of food production in public career choices—a position now occupied by non-productive office work; and
- Set up agricultural colleges countrywide.



VII. Improve Tourism Industry

Namibia's tourism industry continues to grow at encouraging rates, but without much tangible benefits for the poor. To rectify this, SWANU will:

- Provide training and necessary resources to rural populations to better benefit from the country's rapidly expanding tourism industry.

VIII. Ensure Better Transportation

With new technologies, the country is more connected than ever in terms of communication. However, the affordable movement of people and goods around the country is still not up to par and is monopolized (particularly movement of goods) by a few. Therefore, more needs to be done to increase mobility of Namibians and their goods within the country, and SWANU will:

- Set up better and more diversified transportation infrastructure in order to connect Namibians in all of the country's geographical corners; and
- Revitalize the railway system so that more people can utilize this mode of transportation for themselves and their goods.

IX. Water Supply

Currently, water is a commodity the scarcity of which is capitalised on by unscrupulous profit making at the expense of human life and wellbeing. The approach in service delivery must be bottom-up whereby the most basic need is provided to everybody first before going over to the next layer of need.

Failure to follow this approach has resulted in people in some areas dying from disease after drinking dirty water; communal agriculture being dependent on rain; low-income town-dwellers

spending a big chunk of their meagre income on servicing municipal debt for water and electricity and being forced to neglect other essential needs like food, health and education. Water will be the most basic service a SWANU government will provide. To achieve this, SWANU will:

- Have the provision of affordable water start with household consumption with pricing being aligned to individual ability to pay;
- Give special consideration to vulnerable groups like poor single mothers, the elderly, the disabled, and child-headed households;
- Have the second category of providing water be for production;
- Place special emphasis on irrigation for rain-dependent crop-growing communities;
- Set up a separate ministry dealing solely with water as against a mere department; and
- Use all available and developable bulk water sources to the full.

X. Natural Disasters

SWANU will explore permanent remedies towards the perennial flooding in the Northern Regions. The ecological impacts as evidenced by the alarming rate of deforestation, population pressure and past colonial military devastations can certainly not be addressed by means of land reform programs.

SWANU government shall:

- Set up a budget vote for agrarian transformation in the Northern Regions;

- Harvest the huge water resource there for a Green Revolution to counter the effects of encroaching desertification and deforestation. This position is informed by experience from Libya that introduced a Green Revolution in the Sahara Desert; and
- Establish well-trained disaster relief teams to respond promptly and effectively to and disaster situations such as flooding.

We need political will and vision to carry out these ambitious development projects. This is not a pipe dream; times are changing fast.

XI. Sustainability

Namibia is blessed with immense natural beauty and diversity, and ensuring that both that beauty and diversity lasts far into the future is a duty not to be taken lightly. Although Namibia's pollution is miniscule relative to other countries, measures should still be taken to prevent land, air and water pollution from becoming disproportionately too much. In this regard, SWANU will:

- Incentivise the practice of recycling all sorts of waste by giving tax breaks to companies engaged in recycling;
- Consult experts on sustainability on ways to increase innovation in this sphere;
- Increase funding for research and wildlife conservation efforts to protect Namibia's wildlife;
- Increase the penalties for poaching in order to discourage this activity;
- Set up a fund to mitigate the damage caused by wild animals such as elephants in rural areas so as to reduce tensions between animals and humans;

- Set up standards in the manufacturing sector and other industries to ensure that measures are in place and adhered to in order to minimize unnecessary pollution of Namibia's natural resources; and
- Host a national conference on animal rights issues so as to bring about reasonable resolutions to national issues such as seal culling, among others.

SWANU's envisioned solutions will have a remarkable effect on the sense of equality felt by Namibians. More people would own a literal piece of the pie, and the country will be more connected than ever, for example. Figure 5 on the next page highlights just one improvement under a SWANU-led government within the next 5 years.

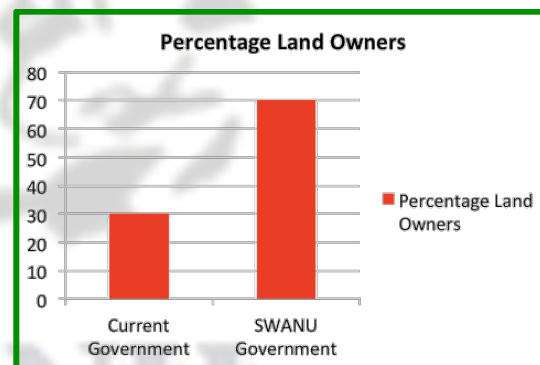


Fig 5. Comparison of Percentage Land Owners in Namibia currently and under SWANU in five years

2.5 WEALTH

SWANU recognizes that Namibia continues to have one of the highest income inequalities globally. Having such an unequal society in terms of wealth is a threat to the peace and stability that Namibia has enjoyed thus far. SWANU further recognizes that the masses in Namibia have been dispossessed of nearly everything, and

they remain so 24 years after independence, yet the wealth and resources are in abundance.

The neo-colonialist arrangement experienced in Africa between the formerly colonized and many foreign corporations will never address the unequal distribution of wealth for the people in Namibia nor will the exploitation of our marine resources by the cohort arrangement between local black bourgeois (so-called BEE) and some imperialists entrepreneurs and others.



2.5.1 The Status Quo

Undoubtedly, the nation's extremely high inequality is exacerbated by the low financial literacy and financial inclusion rates among Namibians. This means that the poor majority do not have the basic knowledge of properly managing their little income and growing their wealth.

Furthermore, the complex tax structure that the government employs is highly inconvenient and makes it tough for businesses and individuals to fully comply. PricewaterhouseCoopers (2014) recently revealed that for paying taxes

(tax rate and number of hours needed to comply), Namibia ranked 114th internationally. For such a small country in terms of population, this is rather surprising and unacceptable.

On the government level, wealth creation for the country is also in a state of disarray. State Owned Enterprises established for the purpose of generating extra income for government to use in its development endeavours are instead a financial burden and require regular bailouts. Additionally, the government issuing of fishing, mining and oil exploration licenses is not as transparent as it should be and the process is too complex and therefore inaccessible for regular Namibians. As a result, instead of offering a wealth creation opportunity for many Namibians, only a select few benefit. For Namibians engaged in agricultural activities the government has failed to provide adequate training and subsidies for them to consistently grow and expand their operations.

2.5.2 SWANU's Solutions

SWANU shall immediately create a society based on fair distribution of wealth and equal opportunities for all. The party believes that this is possible if all basic means of wealth distribution and exchange are democratically supervised and controlled for the benefit of the broader spectrum of our people.

1. Tax Reduction and Simplification

As previously stated, Namibia ranks poorly in terms of the effort required for tax compliance. This is discouraging for foreign investors, and more importantly it, a hindrance for many small and medium enterprises. Furthermore, Namibia stark income inequality

requires tax rates that are reflective of that. Therefore, SWANU will:

- Simplify tax payment and reduce tax for low-income individuals.

II. Create Equitable Fishing Quotas



A lot of wealth is generated annually from fishing, but too many Namibians do not share in that wealth. Therefore, SWANU will:

- Henceforth allocate fish quotas only to poor urban and rural-based communities.

III. Promote Equitable Resource Distribution

Namibia is a country of abundant reserves of natural resources. If shared more equitably, income from these resources can lift a significant number of Namibians out of abject poverty. Therefore, to facilitate this, SWANU will:

- Fight discrimination to access national resources on the basis of political party affiliation; and
- Create the enabling environment and shall mostly concentrate on redistribution of resources.

IV. Population Mining Partnerships

As with fishing, a lot of wealth is created through mining in Namibia. However, benefits from this industry are only enjoyed by an elite few. To rectify this, SWANU will:

- Form partnerships with the local population to engage in mining ventures.

V. Increased Agricultural Subsidies

According to the National Household and Expenditure Survey published in 2012 by the National Statistics Agency, 23.1% of Namibian households countrywide reported subsistence farming as their main source of income. Most of these are Namibians in rural areas who are trapped in poverty. To assist them, SWANU will:

- Provide consistent, sufficient and reliable agricultural subsidies to empower our farmers to create wealth for themselves by producing food for all Namibians.

VI. Increased Personal Wealth

In order to extricate oneself from poverty, it is not only necessary to earn a consistent income. It is just as important to use that income productively and to make each dollar go further. Too often there are stories of a parent using the family income for alcohol consumption when there are outstanding school fees and little or no food on the table. To curb this requires financial literacy training, and to this effect SWANU will:

- Partner with local commercial banks and civil society to improve and expand financial literacy training in secondary schools, vocational training centres and include it in the Adult Literacy Program; and
- Incentivize employers to offer financial literacy education in their organizational development initiatives, particularly for their low-skilled employees.

VII. Industrialization

The development of Namibia is held back by many problems the most important of which is lack of manufacturing industry to swallow up big numbers of unemployed and school leavers. Employment causes many social problems like crime, drug and alcohol abuse, and gender-based violence perpetrated mostly by frustrated men. Currently, government policy is focused on the social effects of unemployment rather than addressing the economic and financial causes. In order to ensure the fast development of industries SWANU will:

- Be the driver of industrialisation as the ruling government;
- Allocate most of the capital budget towards industrialisation – both at the central and regional levels;
- Give special attention to the agro-industry seeing that it is the easiest sector for industrialisation under our circumstances of scarcity of scientists, skilled labour and technology;
- Oblige mining companies to do value-addition or face tough taxation and forfeit any future concessions: an example is zinc that can be used to make corrugated iron which is in high demand locally, but can also be exported in the region;
- Give capital budgets to regions and local authorities will be earmarked for setting up factories and other productive endeavours by the local councils themselves;
- Required industrial businesses to make use of university graduates and local experts with interest in the development of the country before any technical and scientific assistance from outside;
- Institute schools teaching machine building for innovation in appropriate technologies and lessen dependence of imports of machinery;
- Give local authorities training budgets to train prospective workers in factories in the pipeline;
- Encourage institutions of higher learning to do research into what can be done with local and traditional raw materials in terms of manufacturing;
- Give the existing home-based manufacturers generous assistance to expand;
- Require foreign retailers to stock locally manufactured products first before any imports;
- Have the social responsibility of companies be supplemented with industrial responsibility so that a given percentage of their profit goes to either them starting value addition or put the money into a industrial fund; and
- Have the state own concessions and businesses currently given to black individuals for the benefit of all citizens;

VIII. Electricity Security

A country's industrialization and economic activity is fuelled by the consistent availability of electrical power. Mines and other industrial players require significant amounts of electricity to maintain their operations, school children require electricity to light up their study halls and even the sharing of information through television and radio requires electricity. It is no secret that Namibia faces an electricity shortage and pays significant rates for imported electricity. Measures need to be taken to expand electrification to rural areas and to ensure that the nations lights are kept on at reasonable prices. SWANU will therefore:

- Incentivize the use of renewable energy at the household level by giving generous loans for households that want to invest in solar panels and solar water heaters;
- Provide a conducive investment environment for independent power producers so as to increase local generation capacity and provide jobs in that sector;
- Expedite the completion of the Kudu Gas Project as much as possible without compromising on the quality of the job done so the nation can become a net exporter of electricity sooner rather than later;
- Set up infrastructure to expand electrification to rural areas so that tangible business growth occurs in those areas;
- Encourage innovation in the renewable energy sector so that the nation capitalizes on its abundant renewable energy endowment.

IX. Monetary Policy

SWANU of Namibia is fortunate to have a president who has extensive education and vast experience in finance. As such, the party unequivocally supports the independence and neutrality of the Bank of Namibia as a central bank. A SWANU government will not interfere in any way with the operations of the Bank of Namibia.

2.6 NATIONAL UNITY



Namibia is a diverse country with a highly multi-cultural and pluralistic population. Consequently, it is important that feelings of nationhood, patriotism and mutual respect pervade all the ethnic, political, religious, gender, etc. groups that inhabit Namibia. Cohesion is critical to sustaining the peace and stability that the country has enjoyed for 24 years since independence.

2.6.1 The Status Quo

Although Namibia is not literally at war, there are still many indications that the country is divided. The most prevalent divisions are rooted in tribalism, but there are also strong political divisions that plague the country. A case in point is the politicizing of national events by the current ruling party and the verbal and sometimes physical abuse of members of other parties by the ruling party's members.

2.6.2 SWANU's Solutions

By making a success of the previous four priority areas outlined and discussed in this manifesto, the SWANU government will ensure that all Namibians feel equal and discard any feelings of "other-ness" towards fellow Namibians who might be different from them. To achieve comprehensive national unity, SWANU will:

- Make it strictly illegal to politicize national holidays by wearing party paraphernalia or holding party events during national holiday celebrations;
- Initiate a "Celebrate Diversity Day" on which people from different ethnic groups are urged to wear the traditional dress of other local ethnic groups;
- Abolish all forces of discrimination of culture and education. Develop a national culture and adequate education reflecting the progressive tradition of our people, and serving the needs of our social development;
- Establish a National Cultural Group to eradicate all manifestation of discrimination in the field of culture and education;
- Set up a State Commission for Physical Culture and Sport;
- Have the new culture reflect the progressive elements of our people's history, life and aspirations;
- Reform the educational system with a view to make it serve the needs of our social and economic development. Accordingly, subjects irrelevant to our needs will be discarded;

- Exert great efforts to establish institutions of learning for our people – for the young and old. School fees at all level will ultimately be abolished. Education shall be compulsory from the age of 6 to 16 years;
- Encourage local literature by sponsoring a publishing house for literature dealing with Namibian culture and history;
- Encourage visual art such as painting and film that deals with Namibian culture and history;
- Instituting strong punishment for public servants found guilty of practices such as tribalism and nepotism;
- Initiate a public awareness campaign to expose Namibians to opportunities for local tourism so that they can gain a greater appreciation for the contrasting beauty of the nation; and
- Proactively encourage the diversification of primary and secondary schools nationwide, so that Namibian children are exposed to peers from other ethnicities early on.

SWANU recognizes that a united nation presents a strong front for engaging other countries for all manner of cooperation. A more united Namibia will better engage the international community on financial, cultural and educational matters. Indeed, national unity is imperative before Namibia can advocate for regional and continental unity through SADC and the AU.

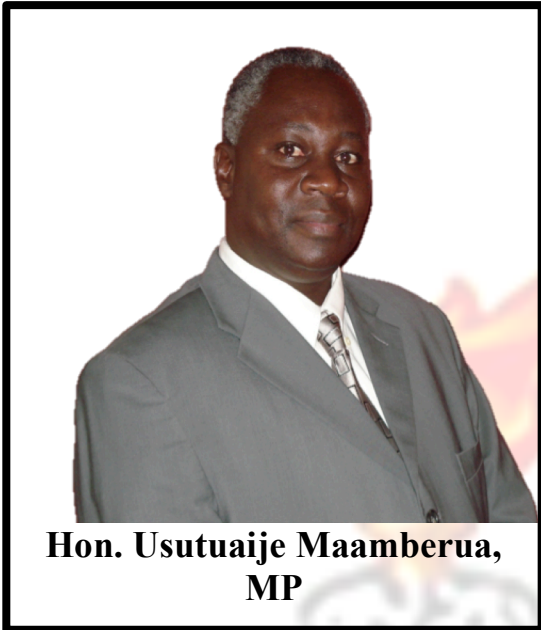


Vote for Namibia's oldest party.

**Vote for the nation's most
consistent party.**

**Vote for the party that has always
and will continue to fight for all
Namibians, particularly those
Namibians who are disenfranchised
and marginalised. Vote SWANU of
Namibia, and keep the flame of true
freedom alight.**





- President Profile:**
- ❖ Joined SWANU: 1977
 - ❖ Exile: 1978 – 1990
 - ❖ African Development Bank Advisor: 1993- 96
 - ❖ PS: Ministry of Finance: 1996 – 2003
 - ❖ Senior Lecturer at UNAM: 2003 – 2009
 - ❖ Member of Parliament: 2010 – Present
 - ❖ Chairman, National Assembly Public Accounts Committee: 2010 - Present

- Values**
- ❖ Integrity
 - ❖ Accountability
 - ❖ Honesty
 - ❖ Responsibility
 - ❖ Diligence
 - ❖ Caring
 - ❖ Sharing

- Qualifications:**
- ❖ MBA (Business Administration) – Heriot Watt (Scotland)
 - ❖ MSc (Accounting & Mgmt. Science) – Southampton, England
 - ❖ LLM (Economic Law) – UNAM
 - ❖ PhD Candidate (Accounting) – Wits University (RSA)

SWANU OF NAMIBIA			SWANU	X
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Patji!

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 •Facebook Page: SWANU of Namibia • Twitter: SWANU_Namibia • YouTube:
 SWANU of Namibia