

2024 MANIFESTO





Our Vision for Namibia

SWANU of Namibia envisions marching towards the tree of liberation, where Namibia is a nation built on equal opportunity for all. Here, the Namibian people have substantial ownership of major resources, ensuring wealth is redistributed into their hands and enabling everyone to taste the fruits of freedom."



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Foreword by SWANU President: Comrade Evilastus Kaaronda

Difficult journeys require good companions and the journey to any national elections is no easy walk in the park and SWANU of Namibia is indeed a good companion! It's been thirty-four years since Namibia became independent and the upcoming elections will be an opportunity for our people to not only take stock of the last five years of SWAPO mis-governance and abuse of public trust, but also to judge as to whether Namibia should continue to slide down the precipice of self-destruction. Indeed, Namibia will go to the polls to choose a companion they trust and under whose leadership they want their future to be.

The land for which our people waged the liberation war remains in the hands of the whites; the slave like working conditions under the then South West African Native Labour Association continue to exist in a free and independent Namibia under labour hire; unemployment especially among the youth of our people keeps rising for the thirty-four years of independence; poverty and equality remain pervasive. Employment must therefore be placed at the heart of economic and social policies and this is what SWANU of Namibia will do as a good companion in this journey beyond the national elections.

Our task with the upcoming elections is to connect with the voters on one to one, house to house basis as well as using all avenues accessible to us and present our envisioned Namibia in which its ancestral natural wealth will be commonly owned by and used for the benefit of all Namibians.

SWANU of Namibia has for the past sixty-four (64) years of existence consistently proven through its unblemished reputation that Namibians deserve a leadership that is principled and not tainted or compromised by corruption, self-enrichment and greed. Our people deserve better and as SWANU being the party that initiated the journey to the Promise Land, it will deliver the Namibian people to that Promise Land

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1.0 Introduction





1.0 Introduction

Swanu, as the first national liberation movement in Namibia, was formed in 1959. Among many of the Party objectives, the key ones were to:

- (a) Establish a classless society based on socialist principles, with opportunities for all;
- (b) Return the stolen land back to the indigenous people;
- (c) Fight against fragmentation into ethnic groups and separate development and
- (d) Empower the masses of Namibian people by introducing measures that will stimulate industrial development of Namibia through grassroots participation.

Given the above set of objectives the Party is characterized by the believes as indicated below.

- (1) Swanu believes in social justice and democratic governance.
- (2) Swanu believes in bringing about fundamental socio-political and economic changes.
- (3) Swanu believes in a political system where there is a free and unconstrained debate on issues.
- (4) Swanu believes that money and wealth should not be the sources of disparities of power and influence between rich and the poor.
- (5) Swanu believes the establishment of a system of self-governance that is necessary for a genuine democratic and socialist system.

The objectives and believes listed herein can only be realized with the fulfillment of themes as briefly discussed below.





Give the land back to the people will always be Swanu's outcry to restore the injustice of the past. The indigenous land was stolen from the rightful owners – and that was the main reason that led to the national struggle for liberation. Therefore, without the return of land, one cannot talk about total achievement of liberation – liberation without land is meaningless to say the least. It is more than thirty years since the independence of Namibia, but still 70% of the arable land belongs to the minority white community. Swanu demand the situation to change immediately – justice delayed is justice denied – enough is enough.

Another aspect that is denied to our people is wealth. The yellow color in Swanu flag stands for the vast natural resources in Namibia. Namibia is blessed with mineral riches, fertile soil and extensive vegetation; yet the distribution of our resources is unequal – it is why Namibia is ranked as the second most unequal country in the world. Swanu demands a module that allows for workers to own at least 10% of ownership in the big industry. Such a mode of operation will pave way for near equal distribution of the country resources.

Swanu, in this manifesto, is emphasizing that quality health care is a fundamental human right. Presently, there is a skewed distribution of health facilities due to poor post -independence allocation decisions need. There is a need to built at least two more referral hospitals and also, to provide incentives for young doctors to work in rural areas (where most people are). Such mode of operation will pave way for a healthy Namibia.

If Namibia achieves the paradigm of healthy nation, that can easily pave way to quality education – one cannot learn if your health is compromised. As such, Swanu believes that putting people first through relevant education, that is free for all, is cardinal to the development of any nation.

Namibia was introduced to several education systems like the Bantu education system, the Cambridge education system and recently, the hybrid system that has grade eleven as the highest secondary grade. As such, Namibia education system could be characterized as being amorphous – there is not direction as to what the prevalent education system is.

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Swanu proposes a system that is grounded on indigenous values and that has work oriented curriculum. Education systems like those of Botswana and Zimbabwe can be used as learning tools. A healthy and education can definitely be a prelude to a prosperous economy.

Swanu proposes an economic development that promotes both rural economy and job creation. It is the believe of Swanu that rural economy is untapped. Necessary tools should be availed to the rural area to increase productivity. In addition, mining in the rural area should also be encouraged – foreign investment should not only be the catalyst for mining in the rural area. With farming and mining thriving in the rural area, unemployment in the rural area can easily be alleviated.

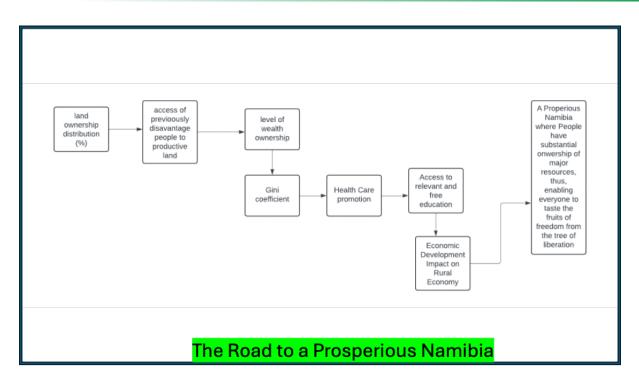
Finally, Namibia as a country that passed through more than one foreign administrative governments should reflect back and take stock of injustice that were done to its people in the yester years, especially the period during the German colonial era.

The Namibian people, in particular the Ovaherero, the Ovambanderu and the Nama people, were treated inhumanly, left without land and livestock, lost their culture and some even lost their language, because of the war against the German government. Swanu believes that such injustice should be addressed immediately without any delay – any justice delayed is justice denied. Swanu believes that a restorative justice is owed to these people and to the Namibia nation at large. This restorative justice must be implemented immediately without any further delay.

The bigger picture that Swanu see through the implementation of these themes is illustrated in the relationship of these themes as shown below.











2.0 The Themes





Theme 1: Give the land back to the People

1.1 The Present Situation

Land, one of the factors of production, is fundamental to any human growth, being it agricultural, mining or any other usage. Unfortunately, thirty-two years after Namibia's independence the majority of the land still belong to the minority.

Namibia's land status was decided in 1884 when the major west European countries deliberated about the colonisation of Africa, and accordingly allocated various parts of Africa to themselves. Consequently, the then South West Africa (now Namibia) was allocated to Germany. This resulted in thirty (30) years (1884 – 1914) of brutal German settler occupation of South West Africa. This act ushered in a period of white conquer and dominance of the African people through dispossession of the most affluent and productive land in the central parts of the country by violent and cruel means and driving them to other areas not well suited for agricultural activities, for instance the desert-prone east of the country with limited gracing and water for both crop production and livestock rearing. Land dispossession resulted in indigenous communities, particularly those occupying the most arable and productive areas which the German settlers wanted for themselves, being forcefully moved into less arable areas.

The defeat of Germany during World War I, and its loss of control over its colonial territories, landed South West Africa under South African control, and eventually colonisation after its Annexation attempt had failed at the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Land dispossession continued unabated, and Apartheid South Africa through its racist laws ensured that Afrikaans-speaking poor whites had access to the same arable and productive land which had been occupied by their fellow whites, the Germans. Many poor whites were brought in from South Africa to benefit from the generous resettlement on farms in South West Africa/Namibia.

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A Land Board and a Land Bank was established to facilitate the settlement of whites on farms in South West Africa. To further entrench and enhance this programme, in 1962 the Apartheid South African government appointed a Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, which was commonly known as the Odendaal Commision or Odendaal Plan. This ushered in Bantustans or Homelands as a way of enforcing and entrenching Apartheid in South West Africa, and ensuring that "separate development" is cemented. Naturally, the creation of Bantustans ensured that land availability for black people was further constrained due to the confinement of black people to their designated "Homelands"/ "Reserves".

The loss of land was one of the main reason for the formation of SWANU in 1959, hence, the battle cry "Patji Ngarikotoke" or "Give the land back to the people". At Independence in 1990, roughly 52 per cent of agriculturally usable land was held under freehold title mostly by white landowners, while 48 per cent fell within the communal areas, which accommodated well over half the Namibian population (Erika von Wietersheim, "This land is My Land", 2021, 2nd Edition). Furthermore, the land distribution statistics until 2018 revealed that less than 5,000 mainly white farmers occupied/possessed 48 per cent of the private freehold land out of the total land, whilst 70 per cent of the black population were dependent on, and/or occupied 35 per cent communal land out of the total land, leaving 17 per cent of the land to the state and to a large extent nature reserves (Namibia Statistic Agency, 2018; Melber, 2019). Thus, the situation at independence and up until 2018 has been stagnant in all sense of the word: the land has not returned to the rightful owners.

The stagnation with regard to land reform can be attributed the Namibia Constitution. Subsequent to the adoption of United Nations Security Resolution 435 as a basis for Namibia's independence, the Western Contact Group (WCG),

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also known as the Eminent Persons Group, consisting of Canada, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America (USA), in 1981 drafted the Constitutional Principles, which in essence aimed at easing the fears of South Africa and the internal political parties in Namibia, including SWAPO, although their substantive leadership was externally-based. Essentially, the Constitutional Principles of the WCG sought to protect the interests of white settlers in South West Africa/Namibia. In this vein, the Constitution of Namibia contains a chapter...Chapter 3: Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms, also known as the "Bill of Rights", which CANNOT BE CHANGED! What a dilemma!!

1.2 The Concern

The concern by SWANU of Namibia is that if the skewness of the land distribution is left unabated the situation could reach a tipping point that may be undesirable to the rest of Namibia. Any issue if pushed far enough will eventually reach its breaking point and Namibia would not like to find itself in a scenario where the endogenous people of Namibia say "enough is enough".

1.3 SWANU Solution to the Land Issue

Independence without land is meaningless, thus the Government of the Republic of Namibia must aggressively acquire land and the compensation should only be improvement made to the land and nothing else.

1.4 How will the solution in **1.3** (above) be implemented

The Namibia Constitution, especially Chapter 3, must be rewritten to suite the Namibian people and not the Western agents. After this aspect of the Constitution has been ratified by the Parliament a third Land Conference must be called to address the skewness of Namibia land distribution and thereafter distribute the land appropriately: the indigenous people must have the preference of land ownership.





Theme 2: Equitable Wealth Distribution

2.1 The Status Quo

Namibia is blessed with a variety of natural resources. This list includes diamonds copper gold, uranium, lead, tin, zinc, salt, vanadium, fisheries, wildlife, iron ore, livestock, grapes, suspected oil, hydrogen and many more.

The annual mineral export for Namibia increases is always on the upward is reflected in Fiugre 1.0 and the royalties are shown in Figure 2.0 However, the biggest question that one has to ask is: how are these gains trickling down to any Namibian on the street; the equity distribution. This equity distribution is embedded in the Gini coefficient as displayed in Table 2. Table 2.0 indicates that the two countries with the highest unequal distributions, in the world, are South Africa and Namibia; what the two countries have in common is the Apartheid system rule and for Namibia, this rule ended in 1989, however, the legacy still continues.



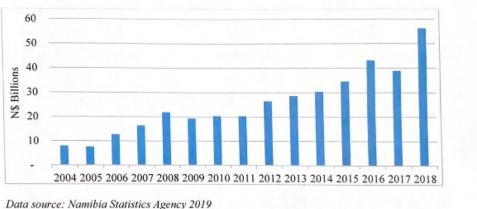






Table 2.0 The Gini Coefficient of Namibia compared to other countries

- 1. South Africa 63
- 2. Namibia 59.1
- 3. Suriname 57.9
- 4. Zambia 57.1
- 5. Central African Republic 56.2
- 6. Eswatini 54.6
- 7. Colombia 54.2
- 8. Mozambique 54
- 9. Hong Kong 53.9
- 10. Botswana 53.3

2.2 SWANU Concern

The concern by SWANU is that if this unequal distribution of resources is left unabated the Namibian people will never taste the true meaning of freedom. The current situation as is means that the poor remains poorer and the rich get richer. Such a phenomenon is in total contradiction to the establishment of a classless society as advocated by SWANU in her basic document (1974).

2.3 SWANU Solution to the Status Quo

SWANU proposes the following:

- (1)For any mining industry in Namibia the Government must have at least a 51% shareholding
- (2)For any mining industry in Namibia the employed workers must own at least 10% of the shareholding.

2.4 The Implementation Process of the Proposed Solution

This model solution (proposed above) must first be implemented to the mining sector, for the first five years, and thereafter expanded to the other economic sectors





Theme 3 Quality Health Care: A Fundamental Human Rights

3.1 The Prevailing Situation

3.1.1 Background

On gaining independence in 1990, Namibia inherited a health care delivery system that was segregated along racial lines, fragmented and based entirely on curative health services. Since then, the government of Namibia (GRN), through the Ministry of Health and Social Services (MoHSS), has adopted a primary health care (PHC) approach for the delivery of health services to the Namibian population. The MoHSS Policy "The Policy Statement, which the government reviewed in 1997" advocates for services that are made universally available, accessible, affordable, acceptable and appropriate to meet the needs of communities. Communities are the focal point for action and all planning and allocation of resources must take into account community needs such as safe water supplies, sanitation, adequate housing, immunization, prevention of epidemics, health education, maternal and childcare services are guided by the government strategic plans such as NDP5 and the Vision 2030.

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3.1.2 Health delivery system

In order to render these services, the MoHSS has divided the country into 14 operational health regions which correspond with the 14 delimited political and administrative regions. These regions are further divided into 34 districts. In the public sector, health care services provided by 30 district hospitals, four intermediate and referral hospitals, 41 health centres, as well as 286 clinics and outreach points. These basic services are managed on three levels: nationally through the MoHSS from its head office in Windhoek, regionally through regional management teams and at district level by district management committees.

Table 1: Distribution of facilities as opposed to population and surface area							
Region	Hospital	Health Centre	PHC clinics	Population	Surface area	Population density	
Erongo	4	2	18	150 809	63, 579km ²	$2.4/km^2$	
Karas	3	3	13	77 421	161 215km ²	$0.5/km^2$	
Hardap	1	3	12	79 507	109 651km ²	$0.7/km^2$	
Kavango							
East	1	2	26	136 823	25 576 km ²	5.350/km ²	
Kavango							
West	1	2	26	86,529	23 166km ²	3.735/km ²	
Khomas	2	3	8	342 141	37 007km ²	9.3/km ²	
Kunene	3	3	24	86 856	115 293km ²	0.8/km ²	
Ohangwena	3	2	31	245 446	10 703km ²	22.9/km ²	
Omaheke	1	1	13	71 233	84 612km ²	$0.8/km^2$	
Omusati	4	6	40	243 166	26 573km ²	9.2/km ²	
Oshana	1	5	12	176 674	8 653km ²	$20.4/km^2$	
Oshikoto	1	3	22	181 973	38 653km ²	$4.7/km^2$	
Otjozondjupa	4	3	16	143 903	105 185km ²	$1.4/km^2$	
Zambezi	1	3	25	90 596	14 528km ²	6.1/km ²	
TOTAL	30	41	286	2 113 077	824 118km ²	2.6/km ²	

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Since Namibia gained her independence, the Government has constructed 75 Primary Health Care Clinics; 6 Health Centers; and 4 District Hospitals. Additionally, 20 isolation facilities were constructed across Namibia. The more facilities in the northern part of the country is a result of allocation criteria which favours high population density rather than the long distance facility as reflected in Table (above). This hugely affect accessibility of health services in these communities, therefore rendering the Policy Statement useless to some.

The regions mostly affected are Kunene and Omaheke regions. World Health Organization (WHO) uses the health facility density as a primary indicator of outpatient service access. This is a measure of a total number of public and private health posts, health centres, district/rural hospitals, provincial hospitals, and regional/specialized/teaching and research hospitals per 10,000 population.



3.1.3 Human Resources for Health

Figure 1 (below) presents Health workforce in public sector per 1,000 population, by region, 2018. Nurses are more equally distributed across regions; however, Oshana and Khomas report the highest nurse density. Zambezi has the highest number of community health workers per 1,000 population.

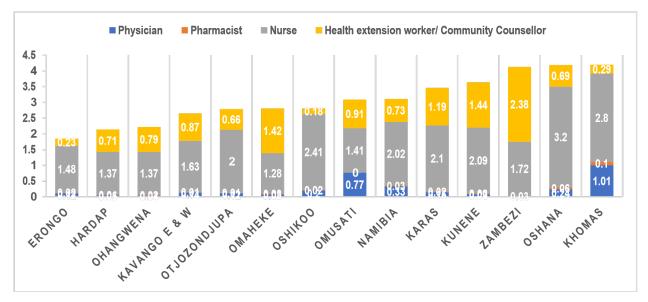


Figure 1: Category of Health Professionals per region

3.1.3 Key Performance Indicators

Namibia performs poorly on health outcomes as compared to other upper-middle income countries. HIV currently ranks highest on Namibia's Burden of Disease, despite the government high expenditure on HIV/AIDS programme. Namibia has the second highest maternal mortality rate (MMR) among upper-middle income countries(UMICs).

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Under-five mortality rate has been decreasing in the last decade but is still almost four times higher than the UMIC average as indicated in Table 2 and 3.

Table 2: Selected Key indicators						
Health outcome indicators	1992	2000	2006	2013		
HIV prevalence, adults (% of pregnant women 15-49)	15.4 (1995)	22.0 (2002)	18.8 (2010)	17.2 (2016)		
Maternal mortality (2015) (per 100,000 live births)	249	271	449	385		
Under-5 mortality (per 1,000 live births)	83	62	69	54		
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	57	38	46	39		

Table 3: Comparison of Health indicator for Namibia with other UMICs								
Health outcome indicators	Namibia	Botswana	South Africa	Ghana	Sri Lanka	UMIC average		
HIV prevalence, adults (% of population ages 15-49)	17.2	23	18.9	1.7	0.1	n/a		
Maternal mortality (2015) (per 100,000 live births)	265	129	138	319	30	41.0		
Under-5 mortality (per 1,000 live births)	45.2	39.3	38.5	51.8	9.1	14.4		
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	32.7	32.3	30.0	37.2	7.8	12.2		

3.2 The Concern

(i) While NDPs are our unique strategic plans, Vision 2030 is not. It was derived from the Malaysia's well-known 'Vision 2020'therefore the targets in the Namibia Vision 2030 are very unrealistic and there is nothing in our actions pointing in the direction of the aggressive actions the Malaysian took to address the challenges they faced.

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- (ii) There are serious gaps in the distribution of health facilities as demonstrated in Table 1. Most health facilities are in a few cities and in the northern and central regions of the country. This skewed distribution on the part of the previous dispensation and partly due to poor post-independence allocative decisions.
- (iii) Furthermore, most conditions facilities have deteriorated since independence, even the facilities which were inherited in a relatively sound conditions are cracking under the weight of problems of poor maintenance, lack of cleanliness leading infestation with mice and cockroaches especially in intermediate hospitals such as Katutura hospital. This is not always due to unwillingness to maintain; this is mostly due to top-down approaches in the management of capital projects. Most budgeted resources a swallowed by building contractors and some government officials as part of their corruption practices.
- (iv) The MoHSS resource allocation resource criteria/formula for recurrent and development budgets is lacking in that it does not include factors to adjust for socio-economic differences in the resource allocation to regions. Such factors could include regional population sizes, poverty levels, disease burden, and differences in costs of service provision. Ondangwa and Ongwediva although in close proximity to Oshana region, are being developed at a level of a region.
- (v) With regard to healthcare workforce, more than half of all public sector physicians are based in Khomas, which also reports the highest physician density per population followed by Omusati. In Hardap, 80% of the doctor's work in the private sector. A shortage of public doctors increases the cost of healthcare.

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3.3 Our Solution

- (vi) This skewed distribution of facilities due to poor post-independence allocative decisions needs to be addressed if the MoHSS is serious about 'Health for all' as per Alma Ata Declaration.
- (vii) Two more hospitals should be constructed to reduce the burden on the two referral hospitals especially the Katutura hospital;
- (viii) The MoHSS resource allocation resource criteria/formula for recurrent and development budgets should be revised as a matter of urgency;
- (ix) Incentives should be created to encourage young doctors to work in the public sector, especially in rural areas.

3.4 Implementation of the proposed solution

The following are the proposed solution as envisaged by SWANU:

- (i) Establish monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for the implementation of Strategic plans (NDPs and Vision 2030) and Develop new strategic plans with clear vision and goals;
- (ii) Review the current framework for resource allocation using a bottom up approach and involving all the relevant stakeholder (internal and external stakeholders;
- (iii) The Ministry is very good at producing policies and guidelines but poor at implementation. These documents should be reviewed and innovative mechanisms should be established to address maternal mortality and to reduce HIV/AIDS prevalence in the country. The implementation of such programmes should not be donor driven; donors often have different agendas and we as receivers of funds tend to just follow.

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Theme 4: Putting People First through Relevant Education that is free for all

4.1 The Situation

During the South African colonial period, Bantu Education was enforced and imposed upon the Black masses in Namibia and turned Blacks into means of cheap labour; restricted competition between Blacks and Whites; promoted Afrikanerism and instilled the notion of 'baasskap' (boss-ship) of Whites among Blacks. Thus, the objective of the Bantu Education was to ensure that, education serves the neo-colonial interests of the political elite (the whites community in this instance) to suit their needs as a weapon of power and social control.

After independence Namibia had to go to Cambridge and Manchester Universities, United Kingdom, and borrowed their education systems and broad curriculum and imposed them in schools. However, it is important to note that the current format of education in Namibia has failed to address the specific needs of the Namibia people. For example, there are shortages of teaches (especially in the rural areas), there are shortages of text books, inadequate infrastructures, students are still being taught under the trees and in some cases in mud and grass thatched structures, learners are still sharing a desk while some are still forced to sit on the floor and the list goes on.

To make matters worse Namibia recently again changes a system where the grade 11 is the highest grade in the secondary system; thus, after finishing grade 11 a student is expected to be ready for the university level. The reason for this change is unclear and at present there are a lot of confusions as to what it the entry level required for university is it grade 11 or grade 12.





4.2 The Concern

The concern by SWANU is that Namibia produces products that cannot be readily be utilized in the community system – education given does not fit the end user; the Namibia education is be grounded on indigenous values; and the process of review and correct is hardly applied in the Namibia education system.

4.3 The Solution

After more than thirty years of independence it is appropriate to take stock of the intended goals and assess whether indeed, they have achieved their intended purposes and there is definitely a need for further curriculum reforms to be undertaken and indigenous knowledge and vocational and technical education should feature prominently in that reform agenda.

The objective of Namibia education system should be grounded on indigenous system with a work-oriented curriculum in that:

- (i) the indigenous system way of teaching can be achieved whereby the tertiary education systems' research and development is aligned with old way of living; for example medication to treat small pox or coughing can be derived from goat manure, or blindness can be overcome with products of urinary derivatives.
- With work-oriented curriculum the system should strive to solve every day problems. For example, at both primary and secondary levels, learners should be taught trades like:
 - a) carpentry skills to be able to fix desk when it is broken,
 - b) basic welding to be able to produce items for land cultivation,
 - c) needle work for understanding issues of fashion design,
 - d) etc





It should be noted that the process of review and correction is essential for any system to be successful and therefore, there must be a continuous inspection and assessment of the education system.

4.4 Implementation of the proposed solution

SWANU proposes two educations from which Namibia must picky bag and these the Zimbabwe education system and the Botswana education system – it is a no brainer to say that the education systems from these two countries have been highly qualitative and effective. Thus, Namibia must first take stock of the current education system and then see as what are the issues that can be learn from the systems in Botswana and Zimbabwe. The proposed product must be grounded on indigenous values and must be work oriented.

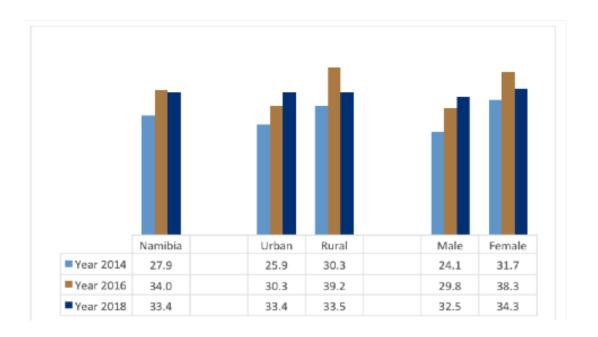




Theme 5: Economic Development that promotes Rural Economy

Namibia population is estimated at 2.8 million of which 46% of this number resides in the rural area. The unemployment rate (for selected years) is shown in the Figure XX, below. It is widely regarded that unemployment rate is one of the key labour market indicators and a good measure for employment creation and participation in economic activities in the country.

SWANU believes that rural economy is untapped. As such, if rural economy is well addressed it will go a long way to resolve issues like economic development at large. Thus, these theme addresses rural economy development as an enabler for other economic sectors in the Country. The SWANU rural economic development program will be directed towards improved quality of life of the inhabitants of the rural areas. People living in rural areas are isolated and are not targeted in terms of economic development. The factors of production are supposed to be functioning in unison due to the fact that if one factor of production is lacking, the success in terms of development will be undermined and failure will be the ultimate result, which is not desirable.





Farming

Farming is the main activity in the rural area ranging from animal husbandry to crop production. However, farming which is supposed to be a fabric of rural society has been infiltrated by monopoly capital. These production activities can be very much capital intensive and this is where the SWANU led government will step in and assist with the necessary resources.

Under the SWANU led government, farmers will be the price maker and not the price taker. Farmers will possess the pricing power and basically holds enough sway to dictate how much customers should pay. This is unlike the current situation where farmers are price takers where they accept the prevailing prices simply because they are not able to influence the market.

The major crops cultivated in Namibia are maize, millet and sorghum and this is done through commercial as well as through subsistence farming. If these types of farming are effectively and efficiently cultivated and marketed, and, Namibia will be able to feed itself sufficiently and therefore poverty and hunger, as well as unemployment will substantially be reduced.

Local Beneficiation in Mining

Mining activities in rural areas which include oil and gas extraction, coal mining, metal ore mining, non-metallic mineral mining and quarrying, and mining support activities will be strengthened and locally owned and controlled under the SWANU leadership government. Ownership of different mines will be dominated by locals as opposed to foreign nationals. Mining companies will be obliged to make significant corporate social investments to communities in which they operate. A proper Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) will be done by experts and the community will be properly consulted before any mining activity commences. Foreigners will not be allowed to enter rural areas and start mining at their own free will. There will be strict laws that will be enacted, as well as rules and regulations that will prevent the dominance by foreign multi-nationals. The current situation where certain nations are monopolising the mining sector will be something of the past.





Job creation and skills development

The agricultural sector offers the greatest potential for alleviating unemployment in Namibia, improved agricultural production is the bedrock of self-employment under the SWANU led government. Increases in farm level productivity are key to job creation and economic transformation in Namibia. However, this can only be achieved if local farmers are protected by encouraging greater production of grain products to meet its food security goals.

Therefore, skills transfer is of vital importance to sustain employment in the farming sector. It is also important to apply new technological skills like bush-to-feed for maintaining animals in times of drought, as well as AI as a means to increase farm productivity. The SWANU led government will resuscitate the extension services which will impart the necessary skills and enhance the continuous training in the farming sector.

The SWANU led government will design programs which will address youth unemployment in rural areas focussing on the structural constraints to job creation, namely on-farm productivity as well as self-employment in the informal sector.





Theme 6 Implementing Restorative Justice

6.1 The Status Quo

When the Germans colonised Namibia around 1884, they had political motives of subjugating the "natives" and take over their land. This was more to create space for the many Germans who did not have a "living space" in their own country. When the nationals proved to be difficult for easy take-over of their land by the Germans, the imperialist invader resorted to violent means of acquiring the land. In the process, they did not only kill them mercilessly but also took away the means of livelihood for the Ovaherero and Nama in the form of livestock and rob them of their cultural artefacts and norms.

The Namibian nationals started resisting the German oppression; this resistance was met with brutal and targeted them for annihilation. This intended annihilation was clearly spelled out in the two Extermination Orders of 2 October 1904 and 5 April 1905 against the Ovaherero and the Nama people, respectively. All these ugly deeds and acts against these two national groups is what constituted Genocide in international laws.

The Ovaherero and Nama people were killed, left without land and livestock, lost their culture and some even lost their language because of these wars. They could not challenge the German Government because they were under colonial governments till 1990 when Namibia attained her independence (however we remain aware of the elements needed to claim the complete independence). The little efforts of submitting a petition when Chancellor Khol visited Namibia, fell on deaf ears as even their petition was not received. In this petition, Paramount Chief Kuaimia Riruako demanded reparations from the German Government.





In 2001, the Ovaherero Paramount Chief Dr. Kuaima Riruako, through the Hosea Kutako Foundation, accompanied by Prof Mburumba Kerina sued three German companies and the German Government for US\$4 Billion in American Courts, the Supreme Court in the district of Columbia to be precise, for the Genocide committed in Namibia during the period of 1904 - 1907. This too did not go very far as the issue of jurisdiction was used to dismiss the case.

It was then that PC Riruako, as a Member of Parliament, moved a motion in the Namibian Parliament proposing a negotiation process where the <u>German</u> <u>Government will engage the descendants directly in search for an amicable</u> <u>solution to this dark chapter of the history of both nations</u>. This motion, at least from Paramount Chief Riruako's point of view, was to seek support from the Namibian Government, through its legislative arm.

Unfortunately, the Namibian Government and their German counterpart high jacked the negotiation process at the exclusion of the greater majority of the affected communities of Nama and Ovaherero.

Despite the outcries of these excluded majority, the two governments co-opted few members from these communities and continued with the negotiations. The majority group of the affected communities took an alternative route to try to force the **German Government to negotiate directly with them** by taking their case to courts in America. Here the descendants of the victims of the Ovaherero and Nama Genocide used the procedure of the Alien Torts Claim Act of 1789. After several attempts at this, the case was also dismissed.

On the other side, the German and Namibian Governments, after nine rounds of negotiations over 7 years, came up with infamous Joint Declaration (JD). This piece of document was totally rejected by the majority of the affected communities at both traditional and political level. Presently, the two Governments are doing everything in their powers to push this JD through and the majority in the affected communities still resisting this insulting document.

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6.2 The Concern

The concern by SWANU is that if the JD is implemented the issue of Genocide will never find its end, from the perspective of the affected communities. As one can infer from the narrative above the motion in parliament was intended for a Restorative Justice. The main objective of RJ is to heal; the present process engagement between the two governments is far away from healing. For any healing to take place there must be a direct communication between the affected people and the person who caused the harm, in this case the German government.

6.3 SWANU Solution

The current process must be realigned to with the core principles of Restorative Justice to allow effective healing. The core elements of RJ that must be addressed are:

- (a) Acknowledgment of the genocidal happenings of the early eighteen century in Namibia, by the German government;
- (b)Direct participation of the victims of Genocide in the negotiating process in order to give them a voice and thereby allow the healing process to take place; this direct participation of the victims of genocide will not be the first time, earlier models used by the German government in the past can be used as guidelines;
- (c) And finally, implementing a Reparation process that is amicable to all





6.4 Implementation Process of the Proposed Solution

The following are the proposed solution as envisaged by SWANU:

- (iv) Amend the current motion of 2006 to align with Restorative Justice Principles;
- (v) Communicate the amended resolution with the German government
- (vi) Call for a "All Namibia Genocide Summit meeting". This meeting also defines all the stake holders that can participate in the negotiation process;
- (vii) In the "All Namibia Genocide Summit meeting" (mentioned above) the German government will give an unequivocal acknowledgement of the acts of genocide as directed by the two Orders of 1904 and 1905.
- (viii) Again, in the meeting mentioned above the German government gives a formal apology in front of the affected people;
- (ix) The affected communities, through their representatives at the Summit, reject or accept the apology given by the German government
- (x) After the acceptance of the apology, by all the affected communities, the summit then map out a process of negotiations, that will involve direct representations by all defined stakeholders that will culminate in an reparation package that is amicable to all.



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3.0 Conclusion





3.0 Conclusion

It is thirty-four years after independence and Namibia has yet to taste the true meaning of freedom. The true meaning of freedom from the perspective of Swanu is a situation where the is equity in land distribution and the major resources are owned by the Namibia people through its government. As such, the wealth of the Namibia nation will benefit all its people and not just the privileged few.

A vote for Swanu is indeed a vote for fundamental health care promotion; It is a vote for access to relevant and free education; It is a vote for rural economy promotion; It is a vote for a brighter and fairer Namibia; and It is a vote for Namibia that works for everyone





Tel: 061 288 2325 | Fax: (088) 637 872 P.O.BOX 26529

www.swanu.org | admin@swanu.org

