



# **AZAPO MANIFESTO**

## **National & Provincial Elections 2019**

***VOTE FOR HOPE***  
***VOTE FOR CHANGE***

### Giving Hope to Our People, Forcing A Change In Government in 2019

AZAPO presents to the patriots and citizens of our country, its 2019 Election Manifesto. There are two things that our country and our people wish for as we approach elections: **HOPE** and **CHANGE**.

**Hope** that things will not go from bad to worse, as we have seen in the last 5 years; and **Change** from the poor governance and theft of public resources that we have witnessed for the past 24 years. Our people are calling for **Change**. They want an end to corruption, deepening poverty, continued landlessness and worsening unemployment.

Our people also want to be given **Hope**. They want to be assured that the quality of education given to their children will not be compromised, the provision of medical services in hospitals and clinics will not deteriorate, jobs for the youth and adults who are unemployed will be created, and that good governance will be maintained and achieved.

Through this Manifesto, we are Giving our people Hope, and we seek to Force Change in government on 08 May 2019.

AZAPO, your party of liberation and for democracy, has given you brave and honoured martyrs and leaders such as Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mthuli Ka Shezi, Motlalepule Kgware, Dr Abu Baker Asvat, Mapetla Mohapi, among many other beautiful sons and daughters of this land who fought for freedom. You can trust AZAPO to defend this democracy, which they fought for.

AZAPO asks you to exercise your democratic right to vote in an informed, patriotic and responsible manner in 2019. AZAPO requests you to bring an end to State Capture, load shedding and the abuse of our prosecutorial and policing services to protect criminals and those who have stolen from the people.

AZAPO is a credible party- a liberation movement- that has fought for more than 50 years since the founding of the Black Consciousness Movement, on the side of Black people, in pursuit of justice, democracy and freedom.

***We ask you to make AZAPO Your Source of Hope and A Force for Change in 2019. We ask you to choose and Vote for AZAPO on the 08 May 2019 during the National and Provincial Elections.***

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### Brief Profile of Our President

Comrade Strike Thokoane was born and bred in Soweto. He joined the Black Consciousness Movement in the 70's while studying at the University of the North, where he served as a member of its student wing, the South African Student's Organisation (SASO).

His studies were interrupted by political activities when university students went on strike after the expulsion of Student Leader, Onkgopotse Abram Tiro in 1972. Subsequent to this, he took up a post as a teacher at Mmusi High School in Pimville, before joining the liberation movement in exile, in the aftermath of the Soweto 1976 Uprisings.

Comrade Thokoane was instrumental in the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in exile, as well as its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA). He returned to the country in 1994, after serving the liberation struggle for almost two decades outside.

Comrade Strike Thokoane served AZAPO in various leadership capacities until he was elected President at the Meadowlands National Congress in 2017.

**STRIKE THOKOANE – AZAPO PRESIDENT**



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# Introduction and Summary of the AZAPO 2019 Manifesto

## Introduction

This Manifesto represents what AZAPO believes are the urgent and immediate tasks that a future government, after the 08 May Elections should attend to. This will be done in order to save our country from the scourge of State Capture, misgovernance, corruption, load shedding, the poor provision of public and social services like water, electricity and sanitation, which we have witnessed for the past 24 years.

Our Manifesto is also a programme of action on how to end unemployment, poverty and landlessness, among the Black poor majority of AZANIA.

It is framed by our long held values of Democracy, Equality and Unity, which inspired the Black Consciousness Movement from inception, encapsulated in our rallying cry **ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION**.

**AZAPO** remains steadfast in pursuit of these liberation and democratic ideals. The Manifesto and the 20 points highlighted in it, give further expression and detail on the policies, goals and implementation elements towards their attainment.

### **On Our Historical Political Demands: Black Power, Land and Labour**

On **Black Power** and the **Restoration of Our People's Dignity**, AZAPO calls for the outlawing of racism and the Upliftment of Black People through special policies and measures, so that they too can enjoy our democratic gains and national life, after centuries of deprivation and neglect.

The **Land** and its **Wealth** are pressing and fundamental issues that AZAPO wants to be addressed, in order to eliminate poverty and inequality. The repossession of our land was always a strong basis upon which the struggle for freedom was anchored.

AZAPO is resolute on ushering in a **Socialist, Democratic and Progressive** order. To this end, the **Black Working Class** remains to AZAPO, the primary motive force for social and economic transformation.

**Socialism** - the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange by the working class - is the only practical and viable way to build an equal and productive society, free of racism and capitalist exploitation of workers.

The Manifesto crystallizes AZAPO's position on the **Black Working Class, Workers and our Labour Policy**. We will support trade unions and the system of **collective bargaining**. AZAPO will also **ban labour brokers**.

### **Education, Science and Technology**

*AZAPO stands for Quality Education, Investment in Black Education and supports the call for Free Decolonised Education.*

Our Manifesto advances **Free and Compulsory Education from Grades 8-12**, and greater funding and grants to realise free higher education. AZAPO also supports the standpoint of the **Fees Must Fall Movement** for the **Decolonisation of Education**.

Our movement will mainstream **Science, Technology and Innovation** in its national development agenda. The creation of a science and technology value chain, which starts from cradle to grave, will be the hallmark of our science and technology policy.

The Manifesto also meets the challenges of the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial revolution, Nanotechnology, Artificial Intelligence and The Internet of Things.

## **The Economy, Building Industries, Job Creation and Youth Employment**

On the economy, AZAPO commits to **prudent macroeconomic management** as a key objective of its development, growth and redistribution policy. AZAPO's economic strategy will put emphasis on industrial development and the growth of labour intensive sectors such as **agriculture, agro processing, manufacturing and beneficiation of minerals**.

As part of AZAPO's job creation strategy, the Manifesto lays accent on **development of new and big industries**, as well as **support for small businesses**. **Youth unemployment** is reaching crisis proportions in our country, with an estimated 52% of our young people unemployed. **Our job creation strategies will be primarily focused at getting our youth into jobs**.

## **Combating Crime, Drugs and Corruption**

Crime is a serious concern for all in our country. Many of our citizens feel **unsafe and vulnerable** to criminals.

AZAPO will tackle crime with all the vigour and power at its disposal. These plans are laid out in the Manifesto. These include among others, better crime intelligence gathering, more ground and mobile patrol units in communities, including undercover policing.

AZAPO's crime strategy also addresses itself to **immigration control, fighting drugs, human and woman trafficking**, as well as the expanding illegal trade in **counterfeit goods**.

The Manifesto once again reiterates our long-standing call to **Make South Africa Gun Free**.

AZAPO re-affirms its belief that guns are a major cause of the violent crime in our country. Outlawing the carrying of guns by civilians will go a long way in reducing violent crime in our society, such as murder, rape, car hijackings, robberies and cash in transit heists.

## **Socio-Economic Issues**

AZAPO supports the introduction of a **Basic Income Grant** as a policy **to fight poverty and inequality**, and as a **wealth redistribution** mechanism. The **Basic Income Grant is a developmental strategy** that will help the unemployed to become economically active. It will also contribute in the achievement of the goal of economic and social inclusion.

Our Manifesto also addresses itself to a number of socio-economic policies, such as **fighting patriarchy, eliminating gender based violence** and the advancement of women. AZAPO will work to eliminate income inequalities between women and men.

**AZAPO will fight diseases and pandemics like HIV Aids and TB** as stated under **Health, Environment and Climate Change** in the Manifesto. This section also binds AZAPO to Climate Change issues and the reduction of greenhouse emissions to protect the environment.

Our organisation makes an undertaking to provide more and better housing under the **Decent Housing, Safe and Clean Communities** theme.

**On Public Transport, Toll Free Roads and Fuel Subsidies**, the Manifesto unpacks our intention to lowering the cost of public transport for workers; as well as expanding transport services to townships and rural areas. Among others policies, E-tolls will be scrapped and subsidies provided to transport modes engaged in economically productive activities.

**Sports and Recreation For All** our citizens will also mark our aim to transform sports and use it as a national and community building resource.

## **On Political Administration and Good Governance**

AZAPO will **Defend Democracy, Uphold The Rule of Law, and Practice Good Governance**. As a liberation movement that has fought for true democracy, AZAPO is obliged to defend our democratic and freedom gains.

The **professionalization of the public service** and **respect for independent institutions** such as the Public Protector and the Judiciary will constitute a cornerstone of our respect for the Constitution.

The Manifesto reaffirms our longstanding position on **The Dissolution of Provinces as Elected Authorities**, and our desire to replace them with **Administrative Authorities**. This will be done to root out corruption, wastage and duplication, and to **strengthen local government as an important layer of public administration and public and social services provision**.

AZAPO will also promote **Access to Justice for All**. It will introduce **A Restorative Justice Programme** for minor offences, as well as a **Diversionsary Justice Approach for Youth offenders**. This will go a long way towards assisting the country to reduce our rising prison population and **stop mass incarceration of Black youth**.

Lastly, the Manifesto spells out how an AZAPO government will approach **International Relations, Cooperation and Promote Global Human Solidarity**. It expands on how AZAPO will seek to transform multilateral bodies like the United Nations and its agencies and programmes, for better global governance and coordination.

AZAPO will assert the **sovereignty of the people of AZANIA** and advance the interests of Africa in its international engagements.

### **Conclusion**

We offer this Manifesto to the people of **AZANIA**, in the fervent and sincere belief that its successful implementation and adoption, will herald development and a shared and prosperous future, marked by equality, unity and progress for our nation.

# OUR 2019 MANIFESTO FOR HOPE AND FOR CHANGE

## 1. BUILD BLACK POWER AND RESTORE OUR PEOPLE'S HUMAN DIGNITY

- **Black People Continue To Be Victims of Apartheid Attitudes and Practices**

24 years after the end of apartheid, Black People continue to be second-class citizens in the land of their birth. This must not be allowed to continue.

An AZAPO government will decisively use the instruments of government to eliminate institutional racism and the remaining elements of white supremacy in our country. All businesses and institutions that are found guilty of any form of racism will forfeit their licenses. They will pay huge criminal fines and the perpetrators of racism will face lengthy jail terms.

- **All Citizens Must Be Treated Equally and Fairly**

An AZAPO government will ensure that all the citizens of the country are treated equally, and that the wealth of the country is shared by all for national development. The human, language, cultural and other constitutional rights of all citizens will be respected and affirmed.

- **Special Policies and Measures To Uplift Black People**

Special support measures, policies and incentive schemes will be put in place to uplift Black People in education, the economy, culture, labour, business and other sectors. This will be aimed at restoring their human dignity, so that they can participate fully and equally in our national life.

- **Black Power Remains AZAPO'S Continuing Objective**

AZAPO is still committed to, and fully embraces, the clarion call of BLACK POWER as issued by the June 16<sup>th</sup> Soweto Uprising of 1976, that was led by among others Tsietsi Mashinini, Khotso Seatlholo and Poppie Buthelezi.

This revolutionary uprising was inspired by the Black Consciousness Movement and the teachings of Stephen Bantu Biko and Onkgopotse Abram Tiro, to free Black People from both physical and psychological oppression of living in a white racist and capitalist society.

The BLACK POWER message remains relevant and potent in seeking to transform South African society and in restoring the dignity of Black People.

## 2. RETURN AND REDISTRIBUTE THE LAND AND THE WEALTH INHERENT IN IT

- **The Land Was the Basis of Our National Liberation Struggle**

Repossession of the land was always a strong basis upon which our struggle was waged. Two decades later, the majority of the land is still in the hands of the minority white population. AZAPO will change all of this, when you give it support.

Without land, our people will remain poor, unemployed and unproductive. The AZAPO government will repossess the land and redistribute it among Black people, mainly for the benefit of the poor, rural and working class citizens of our country.

- **Redistribute the Land for Development, Agriculture and Economic Production**

Land redistribution will be used primarily for decent resettlement and housing, agriculture and food security, economic production; as well as for the elimination of poverty and inequality.

Land is the basis of wealth. If ever we are to break the back of poverty, unemployment and racial inequalities in Azania; land repossession and redistribution shall have to become a foremost policy of any democratic government. Land will constitute the centrepiece of state and transformation in the future AZAPO Government.



### **3. IMPROVE QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND INVEST IN BLACK, DECOLONISED NATIONAL EDUCATION**

- **Education and National Liberation**

Education is the greatest tool we have to bring about national and human development. Throughout the liberation struggle, AZAPO has always been known for being the most caring organisation about Black Education. We were not in support of the disruption of schools because we knew that it would be destroying the future of our own children and our own country.

- **Improve the Quality of Education in Townships and Rural Areas**

An AZAPO government will invest in public education and improve the quality of Black Education, so that our children do not have to wake up at ungodly hours in the townships and rural areas, in order to access better education in formerly white schools.

Liberation not based on education will be difficult to sustain, as citizens will not have the required ability to nourish and protect it. It is therefore critical for any government to ensure that society is adequately rooted, by giving it good and sustainable education. In this regard, AZAPO will ensure that the education of the Azanian child is decolonised, African in content, but most importantly, liberatory.

#### **Key Education Interventions by an AZAPO Government**

The government of AZAPO will:

- Make education from Grades 1 to 12 free and compulsory;
- Expand Early Childhood Development to all areas of need, including in townships and rural areas;
- Review the school curriculum with a view to ascertain that its objectives and values resonate with our Azanian context and national development goals;
- Restructure the tertiary institutional landscape in line with principles of equity and redress to improve access to higher education;
- Strengthen Universities of Technology and clearly position them in the higher education value chain;
- Invest in the improvement and development of infrastructure at universities;
- Provide greater funding support for needy students;
- Increase bursaries for post-graduate students to encourage them to study up to PhD level;
- Encourage and support development of academic staff to increase the number of potential PhD supervisors;
- Provide grants and bursaries for postgraduate study and research overseas, to those candidates who show potential and excel in their academic studies, as a strategy to develop new knowledge, innovation and to enhance the technological edge of our country; and finally, to
- Work towards making education at universities free and fully funded by private and public contributions.

### **4. DEFEND DEMOCRACY, UPHOLD THE RULE OF LAW AND PROMOTE GOOD GOVERNANCE**

- **AZAPO will Defend our Democratic and Freedom Struggle Gains, and Uphold The Rule of Law**

AZAPO and the Black Consciousness Movement fought for democracy and freedom. To this end, AZAPO will remain steadfast in not just advancing and entrenching democracy and The Rule of Law in our country, but will also defend these ethical and constitutional values.

These are some of the steps an AZAPO government will take to realise these ideals:

- Adopt a system whereby the President of the country and Mayors are elected directly by citizens so that they are directly accountable;
- Effect changes to make Parliament the final appointing authority, after holding public confirmation hearings for people nominated by the President, for offices such as the Chief Justice, National Director of Public Prosecutions, Auditor General and Public Protector;

- iii. Endorse a mixed electoral system that incorporates both proportional representation and the constituency representation systems;
- iv. Provide an opportunity to “Recall Representatives”, which will allow citizens to remove non-performing elected officials; and
- v. Establish The Right of Citizens to call for a referendum on an issue they wish to have addressed.

- **Respect the Constitution and Practice Good Governance**

An AZAPO government will practice Good Governance by respecting the independence of the three arms of governance being the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. AZAPO will not seek to undermine the Judiciary, the prosecutorial service and other Chapter 9 institutions, including the Public Protector's office, as it has been happening for some time, in direct violation of our constitutional values.

No government or ruling party must be allowed to interfere with the work of these independent bodies, which is constitutionally enshrined.

- **An AZAPO Government Will Professionalise the Public Service**

An AZAPO Government will restore professionalism and quality in the public service. The public service must be politically neutral and a non-partisan institution, which recruits only the best of professional and patriotic citizens, irrespective of party affiliation, colour, creed or social origin.

AZAPO will appoint competent and professional citizens of our country who are qualified to do their jobs into public offices. Support AZAPO to end the destructive policy of “cadre deployment”, which has been used by the ruling party to provide sheltered employment to incompetent, unqualified and more often corrupt members of their organisation.

## **5. ECONOMIC STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH AND REDISTRIBUTION**

- **AZAPO Will Undertake Prudent Macroeconomic Management of the Country's Resources**

AZAPO's Macro-Economic Strategy will be premised on development, growth and redistribution. All the wealth produced in the country will be shared equally by all citizens, in pursuit of building an inclusive and productive economy.

Our macro-economic policy management will ensure that key policy instruments such as monetary and fiscal policy; as well as taxation, trade and industrial policy, work in a coordinated and complementary basis. The current system where these economic instruments appear to be working against and in contradiction to one another, with adverse outcomes for growth, jobs, interest rates and inflation, will be abolished.

An AZAPO government will undertake prudent fiscal management to ensure that the country's finances are not utilised in a fruitless and wasteful manner, as it is the case with the present government. Public finances will be directed primarily towards productive activities such as industrial and infrastructure development, social services and the negation of poverty and underdevelopment.

An AZAPO government will not increase the country's debt levels to unsustainable proportions, thereby putting the future of our children at risk through debt obligations and repayments in perpetuity.

- **AZAPO Will Adopt a Redistributive Public Finance Policy Targeted At Workers and Poor People**

An AZAPO government will adopt a redistributive approach in its public expenditure programme, as well as in its tax policy. This will be done to ensure that the poor and working class communities in society become the main beneficiaries of fiscal grants, tax policy and social spending.

The current regressive tax policy, where the poor and workers contribute more to our fiscus through personal income tax and general taxation will be abolished. In its place, AZAPO will introduce a more balanced and equitable tax system where the super-rich and the big corporations contribute more to the national revenue. All revenue collected will be used to eliminate inequalities and to fund national development priorities.

- **AZAPO Will Prioritise Industrial Development and Grow Labour Intensive Sectors**

The development of new and big industries for job creation and growth will constitute a major policy focus for an AZAPO government. The revitalisation of agriculture, agro processing and the building of new industries will become the centrepiece of our employment absorption strategy, aimed especially at the high number of our youth who are unemployed.

While mining has primarily been the bedrock of the old colonial and apartheid development trajectory, AZAPO will ensure that it does not become as socially destructive, ecologically harmful and economically regressive as it has been in the past.

- **Our Development Policy Will Be Based On Minerals Beneficiation and African Regional Development**

Based on the comparative advantages of our country, the primary focus will be on beneficiation and value addition to our mineral resources. The old pit to port approach where prospecting and mining for minerals was done mainly for exports will be revised and abandoned.

The mining policy of an AZAPO government will accord due consideration to land and community rights. This will be quite distinct from the case at present where the people of Xholobeni in the Eastern Cape, parts of Limpopo and Northwest; including Dingleton in the Northern Cape, are being harassed and persecuted by their own government to make way for mining.

AZAPO will resist and abandon the approach of the present government of harassing and persecuting communities, though collaboration with foreign mining companies, to suppress our peoples, land, communal, cultural and mineral rights.

AZAPO will couple its development strategy with that of countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) sub-region and the Africa Region, for purposes of achieving regional policy harmonisation and common development.

## **6. DEVELOP NEW INDUSTRIES, SUPPORT SMALL BUSINESSES, CREATE JOBS AND EMPLOY OUR YOUTH**

**The future of our country is at stake. More than 52% of our 10, 3 million youth aged between 15 and 24 years old are unemployed.**

- **We Will Grow the Country's Industries, Mines and Beneficiate our Minerals**

No real big and strategic industries have been built in this country over the past 24 years. Instead, we have seen formerly big industries like Iscor, Eskom, Sasol, Telkom and Transnet being destroyed, with the result that millions of workers lost their jobs, and the few that are remaining have no job security and benefits.

The mining industry and agriculture are also shedding jobs, instead of absorbing the unemployed and our youth into employment.

An AZAPO government will revive our country's industrial capacity. It will beneficiate some of the abundant minerals and metals our country has such as steel, coal, gold, diamonds and platinum. Major industries will be built around these minerals for export and for inputs by the manufacturing sector.

- **Revitalise Our Labour Intensive Sectors to Create Jobs**

Primary agriculture and agro-processing, subsequent to land redistribution, will become a major focus area for investment by an AZAPO government. Major sectors and subsectors linked to agriculture and agro-processing such as clothing, leather and textiles, as well as furniture, which are labour intensive, will be revitalised and targeted for financing, modernisation and technological enhancement.

The neoliberal policies of the last 24 years that have resulted in significant de-industrialisation of South Africa through trade liberalisation, tariffs relaxation and ill-advised trade and industrial policy will be rejected and reversed.

- **Support the Small and Medium Enterprise Sector to Create Jobs**

An AZAPO government will also support and grow the small and medium enterprises sector, as part of its economic development strategy to create jobs and to reduce unemployment.

The small and medium sized business sector is also crucial for generating creativity, innovation and for commercialising scientific discoveries. AZAPO will set up special purpose vehicles and funds to promote the small business sector and will provide procurement opportunities within the state, off-take agreements, funding, technology and marketing support to this sector.

- **Absorb Youth into Jobs**

Youth account for more than 60% of the total number of unemployed people. This means they bear the greatest burden of the challenges of lack of income in our society. Something needs to be done urgently to give them hope through employment.

Special youth dedicated job categories, business opportunity programmes, skills and education support, funding and absorption into the private and public sector, including in the State Owned Enterprises, the army and the police service, will be developed to address the huge challenge of youth unemployment in our country.

## **7. COMBAT VIOLENT CRIME AND DRUGS; AND MAKE SOUTH AFRICA A GUN FREE SOCIETY**

- **Crime Has Gone Out Of Control**

Crime in South Africa has gone out of control. We live in a state of general lawlessness. Violent crime is especially a concern for all, because it impinges on the democratic right of citizens to live in safety, and it curtails their freedom of association and human dignity.

- **Guns are the Primary Cause for Crime**

AZAPO believes that guns are the primary stimulus behind the high crime rates, murders, car hijackings, rape and robberies. AZAPO advocates for guns to be removed from civilians, and that only the armed forces should be allowed to carry guns in society. AZAPO supports a GUN FREE Society in South Africa.

- **Arrest, Prosecute and Jail Corrupt Politicians**

Since 1994, there have been endless cases of corruption involving politicians, members of their families and ruling party officials. Sadly, unlike in other countries, we have not seen any high-ranking members of the government and the ruling party being jailed for this misuse of power and office.

AZAPO will arrest, prosecute and jail all those who are corrupt, in both the public and private sector.

- **How AZAPO Proposes To Fight Crime**

In seeking to lower both social and economic crimes, an AZAPO government will accelerate the following:

- i. Eliminate corruption from the police service;
- ii. Build a pro-active police service through strengthening evidence based crime intelligence programmes;
- iii. Increased visibility through adequate provision of uniformed ground patrol units, supported by undercover officers;
- iv. Increase the number of police vehicles, police stations and mobile units in townships and rural areas;
- v. Have specialised police and security force units that would protect our porous borders to prevent human and woman trafficking;
- vi. Fight rising animal, fish and plant poaching in our national parks and on our oceans; and
- vii. Eliminate drugs in our communities by ruthlessly pursuing organised syndicates and small-time peddlers.



## 8. ENFORCE STRICTER CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION TO STOP DRUGS, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND COUNTERFEIT GOODS

### • **Strengthen Immigration Control for National Security**

South African borders are too porous. This undermines national security. Drugs come into and leave the country through our borders and other national ports of entry. It is the same with counterfeit goods and other illegal products. There is also the added problem of human and woman trafficking.

AZAPO believes that immigration and a country's development are inextricably connected. It is through immigration that the distribution of skills, economic growth and development programmes are exchanged from one country to the other.

The number of undocumented immigrants is increasing from countries as far as Asia and Europe, and from within the continent. Many of these immigrants have been found to be involved in serious and violent crime in their countries of origin and here at home. All undocumented migrants must be properly processed in immigration control centres, so that those with criminal motives are identified and isolated.

### • **Enforce Immigration Laws to Stop Human and Woman Trafficking and Drugs**

The country needs a stricter control and enforcement of immigration to stem the tide of drugs, human trafficking, especially of our young and vulnerable women and girls, as well as illegal trading in counterfeit goods

It is also a reality and a fact that immigration that is not controlled and porous borders, put the country in danger of illegal and criminal activities. Human trafficking, counterfeit goods and diseases (human and animal) are crimes and dangers that befall a country if there are no strict laws and policies to control and regulate immigration.

An AZAPO Government will:

- i. Develop an Immigration Policy that will prohibit criminals and fugitives from justice in their own country from entering our country;
- ii. Enter into extradition treaties with other countries to deport criminals and fugitives from justice;
- iii. Register and document all refugees without discrimination;
- iv. Arrest and deport all refugees who evade and refuse to be registered and documented; and
- v. Work with the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees on a sustainable refugee policy.

## 9. FIGHT PATRIARCHY, ELIMINATE GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AND ADVANCE WOMEN'S RIGHTS

### • **Stop Violence against Women**

Violence is the biggest challenge facing women in the country. One woman in three has been beaten, raped, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime. Half of female murder victims are killed by partners or close family members. These have become the basis for a clarion call to increase efforts to decrease and bring to a halt, violence against women.

### • **Eliminate Pay and Income Inequalities Between Men and Women**

The inequalities that women also face in the workplace compound their problems, as do the salary and wage gap, employment and promotion opportunities favouring males. All these add and grind into the existing problem of an inferior status given to and that women are, to a large extent, born into.

AZAPO will work to end violence against women and gender disparities.



## 10. ON THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, WORKERS AND AZAPO's LABOUR POLICY

- **Azapo Will Outlaw Labour Brokers and Give Workers All Basic Labour Protections and Benefits**

An AZAPO government's labour policy will ensure that the basic protections afforded workers in the law, are all upheld and enforced by employers.

Unlike the situation at present, an AZAPO government will outlaw labour brokers. All employers will have to ensure that every worker in their establishment is registered and enjoys benefits such as pension, medical aid, occupational health, injury and accident benefits. These benefits will be compulsory for all businesses, large and small. In the case of small businesses, they would have to participate and contribute to industry wide collective schemes to afford all workers these basic protections.

- **Support for Trade Unions Rights and the System of Collective Bargaining**

An AZAPO government will recognise and support the trade union movement and strengthen collective bargaining, so that workers and employers resolve workplace disputes through shop floor dialogue, and agree on a fair and equitable wage and benefits system.

Failure to achieve these historically fought for rights and privileges by workers, would render years of selfless struggles by the working class to nothingness, and only exacerbate their continued exploitation by the bosses.

- **Our Labour Policy Will Advance the Interest of the Black Working Class**

An AZAPO labour policy will be irrevocably worker oriented and driven; be socialist to its core, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist in its outlook.

Sweetheart trade unions and federations that seek to promote the interest of employers will not be recognised based on AZAPO's principle of non-collaboration between capital and labour. This will be done in order to safeguard the interests of the working class against predatory capitalism.

The labour policy must strive to unapologetically advance the interests of the Black Working Class - the real creators of wealth- as the most exploited section of workers in our country.

## 11. DISSOLVE PROVINCES AS ELECTED AUTHORITIES AND MAKE THEM ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES

- **Appoint Administrators to Run Provinces to Save Costs**

An AZAPO government will dissolve provinces as elected political authorities. Our government will convert them into administrative authorities with an Administrator assigned to each province to oversee the provision of social and other public services, with a smaller administrative structure.

This policy will achieve fiscal savings and ensure that more of our public funds are not spend on paying unproductive people salaries; but rather, that funding is directed at development and provision of critical services.

AZAPO will prioritise provision of more, quality and better of the following basic services:

- i. Quality houses for citizens;
- ii. Improved sanitation and storm water drainage systems;
- iii. Build and maintain safe parks and recreation facilities;
- iv. Build and maintain roads and provide public transport; as well as
- v. Enhance accessibility to public libraries, art galleries, community theater and arts as well as other social amenities.

- **Uproot Wastage and Corruption, Achieve Fiscal Savings and Strengthen Local Government**

Provinces as elected authorities have proven themselves wasteful. They absorb scarce and essential resources for development into administrative functions and compensation of employees.

Instead of channelling funds into the building of houses, provision of clean water, employment of teachers and nurses as well as the building of hospitals and clinics. The state spends most of its scarce finances in paying 9 Premiers, more than a 100 Members of the Executive Councils (MEC's); almost 1000 Members of the Provincial Legislatures, and a staggering number of bodyguards and private staff, to maintain political structures and functions, which are not of much value to citizens.

AZAPO believes that Provincial Governments are simply a site of wastage, inefficiency and corruption. They have become another avenue for dispensing patronage, nepotism and jobs for pals' schemes for the ruling party and the corrupt.

Many of the offices of these politicians are bloated and overstaffed. AZAPO will use the saving achieved from this intervention to strengthen Local Government, and to invest in local development as well as provision of vital services such as water, clinics, sanitation and housing. .

## **12. HEALTH, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE**

- **Free Primary Health Care for All**

The provision of free primary health care to all citizens is a right that should be enshrined in the new constitution by an AZAPO Government. Public health care centres, clinics and hospitals should strive to provide free and comprehensive quality health care for all its citizens.

Palliative care for people with serious illnesses that require special care should be an integral part of the public health care system, for both young and old citizens.

Affordable health will become a pillar of the new health care system under an AZAPO government.

- **Establishment of a Medical Regulatory Agency to Curb Market Abuse and Soaring Medical Inflation**

Medical inflation and exploitation are a serious problem in South Africa, which have led to the Competition Commission undertaking an investigation and enquiry into market abuse.

The provision of medical care will be supervised by the establishment of a National Health Care Agency that will administer and regulate all institutions and companies that provide health, medical services and products. This will put an end to medical cartels, some of which manufacture or use medical products that have been banned for use in other countries and by the World Health Organisation (WHO).

- **AZAPO Will Prevent and Treat HIV AIDS, TB, Cancer and Other Pandemics**

An AZAPO government will additionally focus on the prevention and treatment of diseases and pandemics such as HIV AIDS, Cancer, hypertension related illnesses and TB, which are ravaging communities, especially among Black people.

Mental illness is emerging as a national health crisis, leading many citizens to commit suicide and to suffer clinical depression. An AZAPO government will give this priority attention, so that we avoid the senseless deaths of more than 150 of our fellow citizens through ill-advised interventions as seen during the Life Esidimini tragedy.

Many of the health challenges are also produced by the poor conditions under which our people live. To this extent, an AZAPO government will also give priority attention to creating cleaner and safer communities. Basic hygiene programmes will be promoted and rolled out into broader society.

The provision of free-health care for all kinds of illnesses, would be coupled with modernizing our health care system in order to improve our neonatal fatality and national mortality rates.

AZAPO is committed to achieving a clean, efficient and seamless health system, where shortage of drugs, dirty linen and unhygienic health institutions' will become a thing of the past.

- **A Commitment to the Reduction of Greenhouse Emissions on the Environment**

Environmental policies are intended to guide a government to uphold quality clean air for its population, ascertain that amounts of carbon dioxide emissions from industrial activities and other toxic gas sources such as cars do not result in adverse health and environmental effects upon humans, animals, plants, land and marine resources.

The global climate changes that inter-alia lead to the depletion of the Ozone layer because of greenhouse gases could negatively affect people, plants as well as animals and biodiversity.

South Africa as a signatory to the Kyoto Protocol and a country that has committed itself to climate impact reduction strategies has a responsibility to arrest global warming. An Azapo government will adopt clean production strategies, promote renewable energy and wean our economy off fossil fuels such as oil and coal.

### **13. DECENT HOUSING, SAFE AND CLEAN COMMUNITIES**

- **Establish a State Housing Corporation and Building Societies to Address the Massive Housing Shortage**

The current government has dismally failed our people and thus betrayed them by failing to provide adequate and decent housing since the advent of democracy in 1994.

Lack of support by government, coupled with the obstinate refusal by the banking sector to assist in the provision of housing for prospective applicants (mostly Black people) will compel an AZAPO government to immediately establish a National Housing Corporation (NHC) and set up Building Societies to address the huge backlogs in housing provision for citizens.

- **End Red Lining and Discrimination of Black Clients by Commercial Banks**

It is self-evident that the commercial Banking sector continues to red line Black clients. Whilst it is easy to obtain a consumer loan for R500 000, 00 or motorvehicle finance, which are unsecured credit facilities, many Black clients have complained about how hard it is to obtain a housing loan from the banks on a secured loan such as a housing bond.

According to recent media reports, almost 70% of public servants, the majority of whom are Black, with fully funded pension values in their names, are unable to be financed for housing loans by commercial banks.

An AZAPO government will immediately resolve this problem through the National Housing Corporation (NHC) and a State Owned Building Society, by issuing bank guarantees so that these public servants can be financed to buy or build houses, backed up by their pension fund values.

This will immediately ensure that more than 2 million public servants will have access to housing, and therefore release pressure on the housing market on a national level. Similar schemes will be undertaken for other staff in the State Owned Entities.

- **Social Housing for the Homeless and Indigent Will Be a Flagship of AZAPO's Housing Policy**

An AZAPO government will provide social housing to the homeless and the indigent and address the housing deficits and disparities that are a function of living in a monopoly capitalist economy.

The provision of decent houses for the unemployed and indigent and those whose income levels might hinder them from accessing the stringent conditions of funding by commercial banks, will be facilitated by the NHC.

The development of houses should be centrally planned by all stakeholders that are involved in spatial planning and development. These would include all relevant government departments, town planners, engineers, architects, the community and business sector.

This will facilitate the identification of socio- economic nodes such as eco-tourism, cultural routes, light industrial zones, recreational facilities and other forms of economic livelihood that would be geared at creating employment and the reduction of poverty.

- **More, Better and Adequate Housing Must Be Complemented By Security And Safety**

The provision of housing by an AZAPO government will be complemented by adequate security, schools, roads, sanitation, water, electricity, lights to ensure that these houses become proper human settlements. Not the present human dumping grounds that social and subsidised housing have become, as was the case also under apartheid.

#### **14. PUBLIC TRANSPORT, TOLL FREE ROADS AND FUEL SUBSIDIES FOR PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES**

- **Provide Adequate Public Transport for Citizens**

The provision of adequate and safe public transport will constitute one of the key objectives of an AZAPO government national policy. The current road infrastructure is poorly planned and cannot meet the demands and needs of a growing 21<sup>st</sup> century AZANIA.

Inner cities are characterised by lack of parking, insecurity as a result of crime, high incidence of potholes, the incapacity of roads to carry the growing number of cars leading to a high number of road fatalities.

An AZAPO government would immediately install a National Transport Agency (NTA) that would, in conjunction with communities and pertinent stakeholders, review transport legislation with a view to decreasing fatalities on our roads, which have reached catastrophic levels.

- **Reduce the Cost of Public Transport and Link Services**

The current Rapid Bus Transit system is expensive and disarticulated with the other mass transit systems. An AZAPO government will ensure that we expand the public transport system, as the current and exponential growth in the private car market is unsustainable and ecologically unsound due to the high incidence of carbon emissions.

All the various forms of passenger transport from aviation, rail networks, maritime, luxury coaches, buses, taxis and private cars would be integrated into a seamless national transport system. The current system is disjointed at local, provincial and national level.

In order to reduce traffic jams on our roads, an AZAPO government would introduce limited controlled-access highways in traffic-congested areas in provinces such as Gauteng, Western Cape and Kwa Zulu-Natal.

The presence of trucks - associated with additional traffic congestion, damage to roads, high number of traffic accidents, increased carbon dioxide emissions - carrying goods has accentuated the need to accelerate the road to rail freight strategy, in order to limit congestion on our roads.

An AZAPO government will to away with E-Tolls and fund the national roads network from the public fiscus.

An AZAPO government will also provide subsidies to mass transport and economic productive transport systems such as busses, trains, combis and taxis for migrant's labourers as a way to alleviate transport costs on workers and the poor. This will also be done to force behavioural change to curb the unsustainable growth in the private car market.

The railway system - goods and passengers - will once again become an integral feature of our national transport system, to support production, development and growth.

#### **15. INTRODUCE THE BASIC INCOME GRANT TO ELIMINATE POVERTY AND INEQUALITY**

- **A Basic Income Grant Will Redress Inequalities and Poverty**

With the increasing and deepening poverty, unemployment and inequalities in our country, an AZAPO government will be resolute in introducing a Basic Income Grant for the unemployed and those in need. Our country has only one economy wherein all of our citizens must share the benefits of development and growth.

The concentration of wealth in the top 10% with almost 60% of our population living in poverty is an anomaly, which must be urgently corrected.



Social welfare is a function of government. An AZAPO socialist government must provide these services according to the needs of its citizens. Socio-economic conditions give rise to different levels of access to income opportunities, health facilities, housing, education and recreational facilities, etc.

Social welfare programmes should be designed to meet these differing needs according to the level of exposure, social disparities and vulnerabilities.

- **Azapo Will Use The Basic Income Grant as a Development and Wealth Redistribution Strategy**

South Africa is not a poor country. Our challenge is how to redistribute wealth and income to eliminate inequalities that reveal themselves along racial, class and gender lines.

Redress should be a central element in the provision of social welfare in a country where the majority of its citizens have been subjected to centuries of neglect and deprivation.

A Basic Income Grant linked to the National Minimum Wage, as well as other active social and labour policies, can help us to rapidly resolve this albatross of a problem.

AZAPO Social Welfare policies will be aimed at protecting citizens from social reversals and loss of dignity, that often occurs through loss of income, homes and employment; lack of access to education by children and healthcare.

Social benefits such as old age pensions, disability, retrenchments, war veterans, family and child grants, income and other support for orphans and child headed households, help to relieve social and economic pressures on families and fellow citizens of our country.

Our social welfare and social grant policy will aspire to be as comprehensive and universal as possible so that none of our citizens will be left outside of the social safety net.

## **16. SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

- **Technology Must Serve People and Development**

AZAPO believes that the present science and innovation systems should be examined in terms of the extent to which they respond to the fundamental problems afflicting Black people and society more generally. We should examine whose agenda the innovation systems and the supporting research programs are fulfilling. As well as ask questions around which dominant modes of knowledge production, and development trajectory they are likely to lead to.

The primary goal of an AZAPO science, technology and innovation system is that such a system must be utilised to attend to matters of inequality, poverty and joblessness; and toward the general improvement in the condition of life our people.

- **Meeting the Challenges of the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution**

AZAPO will respond to and embrace the challenges of The Fourth Industrial Revolution characterised not so much by changes in technology but by the manner in which it connects people with technology.

An AZAPO government will also encourage investment into research and development in the nanotechnology industry with a view to heightening the efficacy of its use, while establishing mitigating measures against exposure by researchers and the population to its micro nanoparticles.

Above all, an AZAPO government will invest heavily in systems of innovation, especially those that help to make technology efficient, productive and developmental, such as Artificial Intelligence and 'The Internet of Things'.



- **Build a Science, Technology and Innovation Value Chain to Advance Our Society**

A science and technology value chain, which begins from cradle to grave, will be developed to ensure that our country remains scientifically competitive and technologically advanced.

Schools, Technical and Vocational Colleges, as well as universities will constitute component parts of such a seamless and integrated system of science, technology and innovation.

Talented pupils, academically excellent students and exceptional researchers will be identified and supported financially and materially, for advanced study at local and international universities and research institutes. They will be challenged to produce new knowledge through scientific study and research for national development.

## **17. ACCESS TO COURTS AND THE JUSTICE SYSTEM**

- **Make Justice Accessible To All**

Crime in South Africa is a product of racist and capitalist oppression, a system that has historically been maintained through the use of violence and denial of rights and deprivation of privileges for the majority of our citizens.

AZAPO believes that the social factors that produce and reproduce it, such as lack of access to education, jobs, decent housing and other social insecurities, need to be urgently addressed and undone, if we are to arrest its wide spread occurrence.

The exorbitant and escalating litigation costs in occupied AZANIA have unfortunately resulted in the denial of access to justice by the Black Majority and the Working Class, leading to human rights violations and excesses that go unreported on a daily basis.

The judicial authorities need to find an urgent mechanism of controlling the escalating costs of legal services, which have adopted a purely profit making and self-enrichment motive, since the dawn of democracy. Unless this is done, justice will be denied to many innocent but poor citizens of our country who will not be able to defend themselves or seek recourse through the courts when they are violated.

The National Legal Aid system will soon collapse under the weight of costs and debt if this system of profit making is not reined in.

- **Adopt a Restorative Justice System to Reduce the Rising Prison Population**

An AZAPO government will pursue:

- i. A Restorative Justice System in lieu of a retributive justice on minor offences and social crimes, so as not to encumber an already bloated correctional system;
- ii. A parole system that will be applied in a fair and unbiased manner to all qualifying offenders, and not only be reserved for the rich as we have witnessed during recent times;
- iii. More stringent parole conditions for offenders who have committed violent crimes will be set, to ascertain that time spent in prison is commensurate with the offence committed; and
- iv. Reappraisal of the country's membership of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to ensure that the Court does not dispense justice in a biased manner, resulting in the non-prosecution of presiding Heads of States from Western countries.

- **Implement a Diversionary Justice Programme to Stop Mass Incarceration of Black Youth**

The prison population in South Africa is overflowing, and there appears to be a programme of mass incarceration of young Black offenders. The justice system must implement more and better diversionary programmes for young offenders instead of locking them up with hardened criminals.

An AZAPO government will move rapidly to review the jurisprudence, the law and its institutions, as they are still tainted with vestiges of colonialism and racism. These must continually be evaluated for transformation, equity, fairness and redress.

It is self-evident that the law, the Constitution as well as the justice system were devised to protect white minority rights and property. We have witnessed this during the Section 25 Constitutional Review Process, aimed at implementing land repossession.

## **18. SPORTS AND RECREATION POLICY FOR A FREE AZANIA**

- **Promote the Right of Every Citizen to Participate In Sport**

It is the right of every Azanian citizen to be involved in sport and recreation. This will constitute the major plank upon which an AZAPO national sports policy will be anchored. Sports and recreation are social tools in the fostering of national unity, social solidarity and community life.

South African citizens have been on opposing sides of a polarized country where sports and recreation was performed along racial lines. A central tenet of our future policy will be the transformation of sport in our country. The past introduction of quota systems has failed to produce any positive results.

- **End Discrimination and Unfair Privileges in Sports**

The view that talent should precede race consideration seems to have slowed down attempts at transformation. However, there are anecdotes and reports on how talented Black sports persons have been overlooked by national selection committees in the various sporting codes.

An AZAPO government will review current legislative provisions with a view to introducing anti-racist policies and genuine representation in all sporting codes, in accordance with national demographics.

It is not hard to see that sport codes such as cricket and rugby, which are touted to be historically white sports, are the ones that are massively funded for development to the detriment of other less commercialised sports.

- **Promote Indigenous Sports and Games, and Make Sports an Integral Part of Communal and National Life**

An AZAPO government must remain steadfast in introducing policies that would prioritise the development of recreational facilities in both urban and rural communities; and the mass inclusion of Black People in all forms of sport and recreation.

We shall introduce sporting academies for all sporting codes and encourage the young and the old to be involved in recreational activities to bolster their chances of national participation and selection.

AZAPO will develop and foster indigenous sports and games such as *dibeke*, *intonga*, *morabaraba* as part of promoting communal and national sports development and maintaining *A Healthy Body In A Healthy Mind*.

## **19. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GLOBAL HUMAN SOLIDARITY**

- **An AZAPO Government Will Uphold Global Human Solidarity in its International Relations and Cooperation Outlook**

AZAPO recalls the many sacrifices that were made by African countries and the peoples of the world, who afforded us human solidarity to defeat the demon of apartheid and to erase the scourge of institutionalised racism off the face of our country.

To this end, an AZAPO government will seek to build cordial international relations, especially with those countries that supported our struggle through human solidarity. Our international diplomacy and cooperation policy will be based on mutual development and toward the promotion of global peace and human freedom.

Correspondingly, a future AZAPO government will not forge relations with countries and governments only driven by their avaricious desire to subvert our economic and political sovereignty, and to intensify exploitation of our labour and land. Their interests will be diametrically opposite to Black liberation and our internationalist outlook of human solidarity.

- **An AZAPO Government Will Work Towards Transforming the Multilateral UN System**

AZAPO will fully engage with the global multilateral system to promote the interests and welfare of Azania and its citizens, as well as those of the African region and the SADC sub-region.

AZAPO shall be guided throughout by a desire to transform some of the United Nations agencies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO), whose legacy has been that of ravaging African economies through unfair and skewed international trade, development finance and aid policies.

We shall always seek to assert and guard jealously, the sovereignty of Azania and its people and be self-reliant on issues of national development.

## **20. LAY THE BASIS FOR A FUTURE SOCIALIST WORKING CLASS DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY**

- **The Black Working Class Must Lead Us to a Democratic Socialist Future**

Black People remain an oppressed and vanquished people. The Black Working Class also continues to feed at the bottom trough of the fruits their labour produces. It is due to these enduring vestiges of racism and capitalist exploitation that AZAPO continues to wage a tenacious and protracted struggle for national liberation of Black People, and for a socialist egalitarian society.

An AZAPO government will proceed to construct a socialist economy once in power, where social solidarity, economic equality and labour productivity will become the driving values of our future society.

AZAPO will not fall prey to the predatory forces of narrow nationalism, which as it has been proven in many post liberation societies, tend to congeal themselves in power, in a comprador relationship with the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

In order to undo all of this injustice, AZAPO is committed to the introduction of a socialist economic system, where the means of production, distribution and exchange will be controlled by the working class, who will also act as the primary motive force in social and economic transformation.

- **AZAPO will Work Toward Realising the Vision of the Azanian Manifesto**

The Azanian Manifesto remains the guiding document about the future we envisage for a Socialist Worker-Controlled Republic of Azania. Among others, the Azanian Manifesto correctly states:

**“Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers as well as sections of the reactionary middle classes. The struggle against apartheid, therefore, is no more than a point of departure for our liberatory efforts. Only the eradication of the system of racial capitalism can put an end to apartheid.**

**The Black Working Class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle. They alone can end the system as it stands today, because they alone have nothing to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic anti-racist, and Socialist Azania, where the interests of the workers will be paramount, through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.”**

- **Build a Future, Modern Democratic Socialist State**

These foregoing principles and values as enunciated in The Azanian Manifesto remain the signposts and guiding light of our socialist vision.

AZAPO will build a modern democratic and prosperous state, which will embark on massive agrarian reform and rapid industrial development, where all workers will share equally in the product of their labour and be free to express their full human and cultural potential.

# **SIX PRIORITY ISSUES FOR AN AZAPO GOVERNMENT:**

1. BUILD BLACK POWER AND RESTORE OUR PEOPLE'S HUMAN DIGNITY
2. RETURN AND REDISTRIBUTE THE LAND AND ITS WEALTH
3. IMPROVE QUALITY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND INVEST IN  
BLACK DECOLONISED NATIONAL EDUCATION
4. DEVELOP NEW INDUSTRIES, CREATE JOBS AND EMPLOY OUR YOUTH
5. COMBAT CRIME AND CORRUPTION AND MAKE AZANIA GUN FREE
6. ENFORCE STRICTER CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION TO STOP  
DRUGS, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND COUNTERFEIT GOODS

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**GIVING HOPE  
FORCING CHANGE  
IN 2019**



**PRESIDENT STRIKE THOKOANE**