

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

(AZAPO)

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

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Acknowledgements, if any

Preface by the President

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1. INTRODUCTION

Centuries of racist white rule adversely affected the general development of South Africa (SA). The country was divided into two distinct areas: urban and rural. Urban SA was white, vast, industrialised and affluent while her rural counterpart was black, poor, arid and tiny, comprising a mere 13% of the total land surface of the country. A consequence of this division along racial lines has in the main been acute landlessness for the majority indigenous African peoples and loss of their livestock.

Development of the country always took place in the so-called white urban SA. The rural areas were completely neglected. In fact, the entire rural SA was used by the country's white rulers as a reservoir of cheap black labour. Thousands upon thousands, if not millions, of inhabitants trooped to the urban areas every year to seek work either at factories and commercial houses or in the mines and on farms.

Besides serving as reservoir of cheap black labour, rural SA was also used as a dumping ground for the so-called "superfluous bantu" from black townships in the white urban areas and African communities forcibly removed from "black spots". By "superfluous bantu" the rulers referred to Africans who, because of old age, were no longer able to work for white people and therefore had to be thrown out to the so-called homelands or bantustans and by "black spots" they meant African settlements within white SA.

Seldom did rural SA receive attention for development of infrastructure, let alone the establishment of commercial and industrial centres. Even such basic services as water, electricity and toilets were not provided. Inhabitants drew water from riverbeds, used candles and paraffin and wood for lighting as well as for cooking and heating. And for toilets, they used the open veld.

In other words, the backwardness of rural SA is a result of deliberate social engineering by the former white rulers. The paradox, though, lies in the fact that even after the 1994 political

dispensation real development of the country takes place where it had always been – in urban areas – while the rural areas continue to be neglected, just as had been the case in the past. A betrayal of the majority black population who voted overwhelmingly for the current ruling party in the first ever democratic elections in SA.

In this document, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) presents to the nation, if not the entire world community, its **National Development Plan**, setting out what the party would do – if elected into government – in developing the country. The programme is an all-embracing, coherent policy framework reflecting the problems as well as corrective measures to be undertaken in order to build a brighter, prosperous future for the country and her peoples who, for centuries, were denied exposure to forces of enlightenment. Besides, this programme is intended to provide opportunity for national regeneration and renewal; an opportunity whereby the people would begin to regain their dignity, pride and self-worth.

The policy framework arises out of the understanding that democracy means acting in the interest of the people; being at all times in the service of the nation. And also out of the realisation that having a Constitution and a Bill of Rights, considered the best in the world, is not good enough – what people need much more is what will make a substantial difference in their lifestyle.

2. EDUCATION

Education is central to the development and growth of a nation. It is an essential service and, as such, a responsibility of national government. Educational planning and supervision should remain in the hands of national government which must give guidance and direction through curriculum development, certification of courses, examinations and the regulation of all educational activities as well as manpower development and the identification of the country's overall educational requirements.

2.1 Primary Education

Primary Education constitutes the bedrock of all formal schooling. In this regard, **Azapo** would introduce and make sure:

- 2.1.1 A vigorous early childhood development programme is put in place in all communities with crèches and day-care centres established to alleviate the burden of working mothers.
- 2.1.2 Free and compulsory education is introduced from pre-primary up to secondary school;
- 2.1.3 Feeding scheme is made available for pre-primary and primary school children;
- 2.1.4 Basic adult education is implemented to tackle the high rate of illiteracy within African communities;
- 2.1.5 All schools are provided as a matter of course, with water, electricity, toilets and computer training facilities;
- 2.1.6 All schools from higher primary level upwards are provided, again as a matter of course, with libraries and laboratories;
- 2.1.7 A uniform system of education applies throughout the country;
- 2.1.8 Special emphasis is placed on vocational, technical and technological education;
- 2.1.9 All educational, cultural and sporting facilities are opened to all children regardless of race; and
- 2.1.10 Educational curricula are designed to serve the cultural, social, intellectual and industrial needs of the country.

For Education to be effective in empowering the nation it is important to:

- Develop, for its implementation, trained manpower, men and women with the appropriate mindset that sees teaching as a vocation and not just a job; men and women who fully understand and appreciate their role as nation-builders working in partnership with national government towards the attainment of that ultimate goal;

- Restore the authority of the principal at school. He/she shall be expected by government to get from his/her staff regular reports reflecting performances of learners in classroom;
- Have government inspectors routinely visiting schools to ascertain not only general performance by teachers and learners, but also the upkeep and maintenance of individual schools; and
- Ensure that order and discipline are maintained at all times at school.

In expressing its appreciation of the role played by teachers in the process of building the nation, central or national government would have to pay them adequately. So much so that they may begin to shy away from trade unionism. All this, it is believed, would assist enormously in the promotion of a culture of teaching and learning.

2.2 TERTIARY EDUCATION

SA has an abundance of a variety of mineral deposits and vast farmlands for farming. It is imperative, therefore, to pay special attention to agriculture and mining in the education of children particularly at tertiary education level.

Azapo reckons it is high time black South Africans generally and Africans in particular developed a keen interest in mining and agriculture so that they themselves may begin exploiting the wealth buried within the bowels of the country and also producing food for the nation instead of depending on other people – their erstwhile enemies. Thus the party would encourage students, beginning at high school level, to extensively study agriculture and subjects which shall make it possible for them to do mining engineering when they reach university, i.e mathematics and science.

Bursaries could be made available to students to undertake whatever specialist further training is considered necessary in these fields and be allowed to study such courses elsewhere in the world, i.e outside South Africa.

The number of agriculturists and metallurgists required for the country would be determined and accordingly provided. The historically neglected black universities would also be developed through adequate funding and so enable them to serve the nation effectively.

2.3 Language In Education

In the African context, language in education refers to the rivalry or battle between the use of colonial languages and the use of indigenous languages in the teaching of African children at school.

Language is a tool not only for communication, but also a carrier of history and culture. And as a distinctive way of reflecting a people's beliefs, how they relate to one another and run their public affairs, culture is crucial in the development of a nation. It is the single most important element that sustains their faith and pride in being what they are; and it is for this reason that those who want to suppress others and destroy their self-esteem usually begin, as our own history has shown, by attacking their cultural values: ways of worshipping, languages, political and economic systems.

Traditionally, Africans are a communal people with a deep sense of community. Everything they do is invariably at the service of the community. Respect for others and property is the norm, so are the values of compassion, fairplay, honesty and truth. These values, embodied in the age-old African maxim, "*Motho ke motho ka batho*" – I am because you are – are depicted in the way they relate to one another.

Thus attacking African traditional ways of worship would mean destroying their concept of God, the Spirit and the life hereafter. ^{And stifling} ~~For indigenous~~ ^{indigenous languages amounts to engaging in a} process of denying the people their right not only to communicate, but also to understand and appreciate their own history.

Perhaps in keeping with their general desire to please everybody, our current black rulers have come up with a Constitution which, albeit unAfrican in many respects, entrenches all nine indigenous languages within the country with English and Afrikaans as the country's official languages. In addition, they have enacted a law – the SA Schools Act of 1996 – which gives parents the right to

choose the language through which their children should be taught. However, nobody takes notice of this stipulation. Even the government which ought to lead the way in showing just how important it is to uphold our cultures and languages, is seen to be paying lip service to the issue when elected public representatives send their children to schools where indigenous languages are not even offered as subjects. Besides, African parents are not only bombarded by public institutions such as the SABC TV with material promoting white or Western cultures, but also see in the print media their own cultural practices such as payment of lobola for marriage and circumcision being ridiculed at every turn.

Black has become ugly and white beautiful – even in the wake of the new political dispensation, the so-called African era!

The fact that language is also a necessary tool in acquiring a job explains why even the illiterate among us try hard to have their children taught in either English or Afrikaans which are languages of commerce and industry. If we are serious about the development and importance of our languages as tools through which we can reclaim our human dignity, respect and identity, then we need to go beyond mere declarations that these languages are 'official' and begin to grapple with the difficult task of turning them into languages of the corporate world.

In the same way indigenous peoples were compelled to learn colonial languages, children of owners of commerce and industry should be forced by government through the schooling system to learn at least one indigenous language in each of the two language groups: Nguni in Kwa-Zulu Natal and the former Cape Province and Sotho in the Free State and the former Transvaal.

Whatever language is identified as 'official' in each language group should be made a compulsory subject throughout the schooling system in the respective Nguni and Sotho language areas and become a necessary requirement for any school child – black and white – to matriculate. A long-term programme which, with proper planning, could be undertaken by government. Consequently, the two selected languages should be spoken by everybody – even at the workplace – in their respective areas, thus becoming languages of commerce and industry.

And such a programme should in no way mean marginalisation of the other seven indigenous languages. These seven other languages would also receive government's attention in terms of their development mainly through recognition and handsome rewarding of individuals writing books in the languages and through their continued use in regional radio and TV news broadcasts.

The only difference between the two languages required for one to qualify for a matric certificate and the seven others would lie in the fact that the latter are spoken regionally while the former are widely spoken in their respective language group areas. Only then can we truly speak of at least two of the nine indigenous languages as official and at par with English. And there couldn't be a better way of pursuing a unitary nation-building agenda.

3. BASIC SERVICES

Previous South African government provided basic services – water and sanitation and electricity at affordable charges. And although they cut off electricity supply for non-payment of the service by a family over time, they were always reluctant to do so in the event of non-payment for water. In fact, denying a community water, whatever the reason or circumstance, was illegal in terms of the law governing the provision of water, but the current black government, which privatises not only public enterprises, but also the provision of basic services, does not hesitate to cut off water supplies if a community, let alone a family, fails to pay for the service.

3.1 Water and Sanitation

Water is a natural resource and should be made available by government to all citizens. Most people, particularly in rural areas have no access to clean water, even where communal taps have been provided, mainly because of poverty. They still draw their water from riverbeds. They neither have sanitation nor refuse removal facilities.

Azapo believes that

- Provision of clean water and sanitation to communities is the responsibility of national government and that it should be made available cheaply;
- Just as every individual has the right to life, he/she equally has the right to water and, therefore,
- Nobody should be denied access to water as denial would amount to withholding his/her right to life
- Water is life, sanitation is dignity.

3.2 Electricity

Azapo believes that electricity is a necessity, not a luxury. It is needed for cooking, washing, heating and lighting in the home and for computer studies at school. It is needed in our clinics and hospitals at all times. In fact, we simply can't do without electricity virtually everywhere.

For centuries black South Africans generally and Africans in particular were denied the use of electricity. They depended on wood, coal, paraffin and candle for cooking, heating and lighting. But even today electricity is still inaccessible to most communities in the rural areas and whatever electricity has been provided is weak and unreliable. It should, instead, be durable in order to satisfy the needs of the people.

Besides, Eskom, the service provider, has centralised its administrative centres, resulting in consumers having to travel long distances, say 60km or more a single trip in some instances, either to query monthly bills or to check why the service has been cut, often without any warning.

Azapo further believes that electricity should not only be affordable, but that administrative offices where clients have to pay monthly bills, should also be build within walking distances in every community. This would result in more offices being erected within villages and further give rise to the creation of more job opportunities.

In addition, street lighting should be part of the electrification programme so that communities and government can effectively fight the high incidence of crime.

4. JOBS/EMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is endemic throughout the country but much more pronounced in places that are predominantly rural. Places such as the Eastern Cape where in 1998 unemployment, according to Statistics SA, stood at 49%, Kwa-Zulu Natal 39%, Northwest 38%, Mpumalanga 33% and the Free State 30%. Unemployment has affected the country in varying degrees and continues doing so.

Today unemployment is the second biggest problem, second to crime, that faces the country. Millions of jobs have been lost and continue to be lost every month due to the government's programme of restructuring the economy. And the hidden consequences of this scourge are crime, poverty, hunger, ill-health and loss of dignity as well as self-image and self-respect.

4.1 Crime

It is often the unemployed who are driven to crime as they struggle to support either themselves or their families. People who have no income cannot feed or clothe their children. Nor can they provide them with decent education. They are also unlikely to afford payment of services for their households. Children from such homes end up almost always as waifs, living in the streets.

4.2 Poverty

Poverty is also more pronounced in rural areas. And, according to the 1998 Poverty and Inequality Report, poverty rated, for instance, at 71% in the Eastern Cape, 63% in the Free State, 62% in the Northwest and 59% in Limpopo.

The report also defined poverty as 'less than R800' a month for a family. It also indicated that 40% of those people considered to be poor earned 'R500 or less' monthly and that those high levels of poverty accounted for the prevalence of food deficiency diseases in the country.

In other words, there is a crying need for employment throughout the country. Yet jobs are shed at every turn to satisfy the gluttonous, capitalistic international forces – at the expense of the black masses within the country.

For decades the white National Party government used public enterprises or parastatals – Eskom, Telkom, the SA Railways, the Post Office, the SAP, etcetera – to provide jobs mainly to their people, the Afrikaners. Whites, whether skilled or not, had to be given employment, even if for them work simply meant spending the day sitting on a chair watching, for instance, black labourers laying railway tracks or off-loading goods from trains or trucks. And to protect illiterate whites from competing for specific jobs with educated blacks generally and Africans in particular a law was enacted (job reservation), making it an offence for blacks to do such reserved work.

These public enterprises are today being sold to private individuals by the current government and used for the enrichment of a few blacks, again at the expense of the majority who are rendered jobless with monotonous regularity.

Job creation is the single most effective way of eliminating poverty and fighting crime. It also restores the dignity, self-worth and self-respect to victims of joblessness.

An Azapo government would go out of its way to ensure that jobs are created through (1) a vibrant public works programme which shall include, among other things, construction of roads and dams as well as laying pipes, (2) the creation and promotion of domestic industries such as sewing, tailoring, woodwork and brick-making and (3) a complete reversal of the sale of all public enterprises as well as any other government industries in order to stop the wholesale retrenchment of workers which results from the restructuring of these industries.

5. HOUSING

In SA the problem of housing is widespread. Besides natural growth, the housing problem in the urban areas is worsened by the migration of people who flock there hoping to find jobs while platteland towns are also subjected to severe housing shortages, again due to the influx of people fleeing from hunger in the villages within arid rural SA.

Thus shack settlement have become a feature of African life both in urban SA and rural SA, with the government providing what are called RDP houses, but unspeakable eyesore. For a people, who during the 'struggle' years condemned the 'match-box cottages' the apartheid rulers provided as unsuitable for human habitation, to give us these so-called RDP houses is not only insensitive, but also disgraceful in the extreme.

The people deserve better.

They also need protection by the State against private building contractors who seem to see African families as a gold mine.

Azapo would provide decent houses with the necessary basic facilities for renting by poor families in attempts to tackle the ever-increasing unsightly shack settlements which scar the landscape virtually everywhere. A public utility company would be established to build houses instead of relying on private companies.

Building contractors would not be allowed to erect, as they do today, fancy but miserably tiny houses for which occupants have to pay exorbitant monthly bonds: houses which are so small they can hardly hold the furniture owners used in shack settlement.

Sizes of houses to be build on land made available by government would be determined before hand to make sure the people are not cheated by developers.

6. LAND

A natural resource, land is, as the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Cde Mosibudi Mangena, has said 'a primary source of wealth and an intrinsic measure of nationhood'. Without land, a people's independence is a sham in that its basis for national economic development and growth would have been severely eroded, if not utterly crippled.

In SA, landlessness is acutely severe among the indigenous people. A direct consequence of the land laws of 1913 and 1936 which culminated in the majority African population being restricted to a mere 13% of the total land surface of the country while a massive 87% comprising the most fertile parts of the country were reserved for use and ownership by the white minority population.

And this was further aggravated by forced removals of black communities from so-called 'black spots' within the then white SA.

The current land reform policies of the ruling party do not and cannot address the huge problem of landlessness faced by black SA generally and Africans in particular when white ownership of the land stolen from Africans has been sanctioned and guaranteed through the 'property rights' clause of the country's constitution.

Azapo believes that land belongs to the state of government holding it in trust for the nation and shall formulate its land reform policies accordingly.

The party shall duly make an audit of all state assets, movable and immovable. It shall also find appropriate ways and means to ensure that land within SA does eventually get back to its original owners.

In attempts to attain this objective, for instance, the party would levy a land site tax on privately owned land. And with funds accruing from the site tax, more land shall be purchased and apportioned for various uses: residential, farming, educational, commercial and industrial purposes as well as for any other uses aimed at the economic, social and cultural upliftment of the nation.

7. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Development means changing the landscape for the better – by providing those things that shall make a difference in the lifestyle of inhabitants.

SA has been divided into nine provinces. Of these, three, namely Gauteng, Northern Cape and Western Cape, are relatively urbanised with the majority population living in local towns and cities. The six others – Eastern Cape, Free State, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Northwest – are predominantly rural with the bulk of their populations living in traditional villages. These are the most miserable and desolate communities with no infrastructure whatsoever.

Besides these traditional villages, there are those communities which are settled on white farms and whose livelihood is

dependent on the mercy of the individual farmer on whose land they reside.

For these traditional villages, there is no clean water, electricity, roads, postal and telecommunication services while the farm dwellers, whose living conditions are akin to slavery, have to exist without even a modicum of health care nor human rights – even as workers.

Indeed, rural SA warrants special attention and a definite bias regarding general development in order to bring it in line with the rest of the country. **Azapo** would, as part of its rural development programme, have to:

- a. Attend to the deplorable conditions of farm dwellers as top priority;
- b. Audit and reclaim all unoccupied land for both redistribution to the landless and for development;
- c. Build proper roads and a strong public transport system to facilitate travel and communication between communities;
- d. Ensure erection of postal and telecommunication services within communities;
- e. Establish economic and industrial growth points; and
- f. Introduce subsidized commercial crop and animal farming.

7.1 Farm Dwellers

In SA farm dwellers are essentially God's forgotten children with nobody really responsible for their well-being. The miserable conditions under which they live, coupled with ill-treatment at the hands of the farmers for whom they work, have reduced them to mere chattel, a people stripped of all vestiges of humanity.

Alive to the plight of these people, **Azapo** would through enactment and vigorous implementation of appropriate laws begin a process of redemption, making sure farm dwellers are treated humanely and with respect. And the provision of both health

services and proper educational facilities shall also be central to that redemption process.

7.2 Roads

As a nation, SA has a relatively good network of tarred roads in the urban areas, including the national roads. But outside the national roads that pass through the countryside, the entire platteland has no tarred roads. Inhabitants use myriad dirt roads and footpaths as well as makeshift bridges. In consequence, travel within these areas is highly precarious especially on rainy days.

Sheer necessity demands that the thousands upon thousands of dirt roads criss-crossing the countryside and rural communities should be tarred in order to facilitate movement and communication even in these areas.

7.3 Public Transport

Public transport is virtually non-existence in SA today. Public transport users are at the mercy of a ruthless, unregulated taxi industry which treats commuters with unutterable contempt and disdain. This is a consequence of the sale or privatisation of such public enterprises as the SA Railways, placing them in private hands: men and women whose sole motive, like that of the taxi folk, is to make money at all costs.

There is, **Azapo** believes, a dire need for a subsidized and affordable public transport system, including a well-regulated taxi network, throughout the country to enable citizens in general and workers in particular to travel cheaply.

7.4 Postal and Telecommunication Services

In this technological age, there's in SA still rural communities which have no postal and telecommunication services at their disposal. Residents have to travel several kilometres in certain instances to get either to the nearest post office or public telephone. And communication between such communities is almost always only through visits – whenever money is available for the occasional taxi or bus.

This illustrates the utter backwardness that still prevails within rural SA and need eradication to bring these communities in line with the rest of the country.

Azapo would, in carrying out its national development programme, plan accordingly.

7.5 Economic Growth Point

The backwardness of rural SA is a product not of a lack of potential but rather, of a deliberate politically-motivated social engineering by her former rulers.

For this situation to be remedied, there needs be an equally deliberate political plan by government to seek and create strategically placed economic development growth points where individual entrepreneurs and private companies – big and small – could be encouraged through government incentives to establish businesses on a large scale and so bring industrialisation to the platteland.

Such a government plan shall, among other things, result in the creation of the much-needed jobs for people at their home base, making it possible for workers to be with their families at all times and in the process foster family stability.

In addition, the perpetual migration of rural people to distant towns and cities in the urban areas in search of non-existent employment, and where they always create huge housing problems, resulting in terrible shack settlement, would considerably be reduced, if not completely halted.

7.6 Crop and Animal Farming

Self-reliance – politically, socially and economically – has always been the hallmark of the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

It is crucial, therefore, that the concept remain the focus of activities of the party especially with regards to the production of food for the nation. And for the party to achieve its goal on this score, it would have to make it its business to (1) train farmers on how to run commercial farming businesses as well as the export

trade and (2) provide subsidies to young farmers in order to facilitate and consolidate their entry in the farming industry.

8. LEGAL STATUS OF PROVINCES

Azapo considers SA a developing unitary state. As such, the party believes the country needs a strong national government which will among other things, take full responsibility over national policy formulations and also remain directly accountable for their implementation and supervision.

Therefore, **Azapo** totally rejects the existence of provincial governments that are essentially no different from the Bantustan administrations of the pre-1994 period. As a developing country with limited resources and a great need for socio-economic development, we should have an integrated development approach – not fragmented approach – in our attempts to eradicate the terrible legacy of apartheid.

Establishment of fewer regional structures, headed by administrators as most senior public servants, would facilitate and improve management of the country. Such regional structures shall not be of government nature but rather that of administrative facilitators at regional level. It needs be remembered that the previous white governments always wanted to divide us into ethnic enclaves in order to weaken our collective power as a people, members of the African race. What would we as Africans want to achieve by continuing with the fragmentation of the country.

Codesa failed to bring us together as a nation by retaining the divisive features of the past: the costly nine provincial governments and their huge bureaucracies. Indeed, there is a definite need for:

- ❖ A strong central government to carry out socio-economic developments and the nation-building process;
- ❖ The scrapping off of the nine provinces because the country cannot afford packages of the nine premiers and their MECs (members of the executive councils), body guards, motorcades, budgets and policies, not to mention their extremely expensive consultants.

- ❖ The financial resources of the country to be used to improve the material conditions of the masses and not just for the benefits of a few individuals; and
- ❖ The national government to be responsible for the overall development of the country, including the provision of education, health services, water and electricity, national security, a regulated and subsidized public transport system. It should be the responsibility of central government to create an economic climate that shall facilitate job creation and so tackle the problems of unemployment and poverty. Through decentralisation, national government appears to have abdicated its responsibilities to deliver, let alone account to those who put it into office.

9. NATIONAL SECURITY

Azapo believes national security, like the provision of education and healthcare, is an essential service and, as such, a responsibility of central government.

It is vitally important that the sovereignty of the state as well as national peace and stability are assured at all times. Equally important is the protection of citizens against criminals.

As a people directly involved in providing this service, **Azapo** believes, members of both the police and military forces deserve a far better monthly remuneration than they currently get.

Indeed, it has been shown that safety and security forces in general and the police in particular engage in corrupt and fraudulent practices while on duty mainly because of their inability to support families out of the measly earnings they take home at the end of every month. A veritable indication of the apparent lack of appreciation by government of the role they play within the nation.

It is **Azapo's** belief that paying these forces well would go a long way in fighting, if not eliminating, these evil practices and so enhance their image and public trust.

Broadly an **Azapo** government would, as part of its national security programme, also respect the sovereignty of other states or nations.

10. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture, a critical aspect of national economic growth and development, has been inaccessible to black South Africans because of racism. As a result rural black people, perhaps with a few exceptions, depended on subsistence farming for a living. Sheer necessity, therefore, demands serious involvement by blacks in all sectors of agriculture today, with government taking the lead. And one of the most important initial steps to take in that direction would be to determine:

1. The number of trained black farmers, if any at all, in every agricultural sector;
2. The number of existing industries in every agricultural sector;
3. Possible number of industries that can be developed in each of the various agricultural sectors; and
4. A special long-term programme for skills development in agriculture.

Many governments in Africa are failing their people mainly because they overlook, or so it seems, the importance of agriculture as the basis of national economic development. In consequence, they end up with an inadequate food security for citizens, if at all, let alone a viable economy.

It is one thing to make land available for agricultural purposes, but quite another to make it meaningfully productive. The level of productivity shall always depend on the extent of training received by those involved in the use of the land – farmers – and on just how highly skilled they are in running their businesses as commercial farmers.

And for a government to eventually attain its objectives, **Azapo** believes, programmes aimed at developing the required skilled manpower must be introduced as early as at secondary education level in the system of national education.

11. MINING

SA is endowed with a vast variety of mineral deposits: chrome, coal, copper, diamonds, gold, iron, lead, platinum, tin, uranium, zinc, etc.

But, once again on account of racism, black South Africans were legally barred from receiving training regarding mining in all aspects or forms, including prospecting and in industries derived from each of the various mining sectors.

Unless and until we ourselves begin to dig out these precious minerals for ourselves, there is no way we as a people can ever economically compete with those knowledgeable nations actively involved in productive mining today.

And for us as a nation to begin to grapple with the problem of mining, the starting point must be in the acquisition of skills through extensive formal training. And government should take the lead in ensuring that such training does take place by providing not only the necessary facilities, but also bursaries for the talented youngsters who, through encouragement, again by government, may desire specialist further training.

And intensive programme in mining engineering education would have to be put in place in order to facilitate meaningful black participation in productive mining.

12. TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND INSTITUTIONS

In traditional African society, chiefs and the institution of chieftaincy constituted the soul of such societies. A chief was born, not appointed. He ascended to the throne by virtue of birth and the people knew no other authority than his.

The chief symbolised the integrity and unity of his communities; commanded respect and support of his people; conducted initiation schools which were designed to help the youth develop an awareness of their potential in society and prepared them for the challenges of adulthood; and he was a better placed person for social mobilisation.

In political terms, the chief was a powerful figure. He was the spiritual leader who gave permission for, and presided over, such community rituals as rain-making, ploughing and harvesting for instance. He was assisted by counsellors who helped him in formulating policy, allocating land, introducing new laws and in establishing relations with other chiefdoms. He usually addressed his people at '*kgotla*' – tribal assemblies and could only be succeeded by his sons.

And in appreciation of the chief's role and position in society, his people paid tribute to him in the form of cattle and corn as well as labour in ploughing his fields.

Although the authority of chiefs was severely undermined by the imposition of native commissioners after our encounter with the white-man centuries ago and continues to be undermined by forces of African urbanisation and political independence, chiefs still enjoy an unmatched access to the people especially in rural SA where they still constitute an important human resource in national development efforts.

Today chiefs are often condemned by some organisations and individuals as relics of the past who collaborated with the oppressive apartheid system and that they are, therefore, no longer relevant. These are organisations and individuals who want chiefs to be barred from participating meaningfully in the process of running and developing the country.

Are such accusations justified? Who among us has really not in one way or another collaborated with the apartheid system? Didn't we, for instance, all use separate amenities and services such as hospitals, ethnic schools and school boards, ethnic council and legislatures? And how come we seem to be so keen to reconcile with our erstwhile oppressors, yet appear unprepared to embrace our own brethren who, just like us were used in various ways, and often much against their will, by the evil apartheid system?

Azapo considers traditional leaders as an integral part of African society even today and believes that, like society, they too can be assisted through education to participate fully in the modern world, contributing effectively towards the development of the country. An **Azapo** government would, therefore, find room for traditional leaders to participate meaningfully in all administrative organs of

the state. It would also institutionalise their education and training to make it possible for future sons and daughters of traditional leaders, to better understand basic administration and become familiar with developments worldwide. We should invite traditional leaders to say precisely how they want to participate in the new democratic process and accordingly formulate policy regarding their role.

In other words, **Azapo** would promote evolutionary change regarding the issue of traditional leadership and institutions in order to avoid unnecessary conflict within African communities especially within rural SA.

13. HEALTHCARE AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Every South African has the right in terms of the country's constitution to have access to, among other things, sufficient healthcare, clean running water and food. Yet actual provision of these services is heavily skewed in favour of the rich and elite as well as those who because of the nature of their employment or the position they hold may have been lucky enough to join medical aid schemes, making it possible for them to use private clinics and hospitals where they receive excellent medical care.

But for the majority poor, who depend entirely on public health services, conditions are deplorable, with many a hospital in a state of collapse. Not only are the available facilities – clinics and hospitals – inadequate, but medical supplies are also insufficient, if not utterly lacking. So much so that the paracetamol tablet has become the common prescription for virtually every ailment especially with rural South Africa.

Besides, most clinic and hospitals are understaffed, resulting in inordinate long queues as the sick and the infirm wait for help. Congestion also remains a common feature in most hospitals while clinics are usually open only in day time.

Azapo believes that provision of healthcare, like that of education, water and national security, is an essential service and a responsibility of central or national government. Collectively, these essential services contribute immeasurably towards the building of a healthy happy nation.

13.1 Health Services

Alive to the needs of the nation in respect of health service, an Azapo government would ensure that:

- Clinics are established for all communities and remain open round the clock in order to attend to the sick at all times.
- More hospitals are built, especially within rural SA.
- Training of doctors and nurses is stepped up to avoid staff shortages.
- Both hospital and clinic are provided with adequate number of ambulances.
- Ample funding is made available to the relevant Department of Health to eliminate budgetary constraints that may affect acquisition of medicine and the necessary equipment.
- Working conditions are made more attractive by offering, for example, good salaries for all profession work.

13.2 Social Welfare

South Africa, President Thabo Mbeki once observed, is a two-nation state: one wealthy and predominantly white; the other poor and predominantly black (if not entirely African).

The white nation, a minority, has swimming pools, recreational facilities, tarred roads, proper housing with clean water and sanitation – all of them things which are considered basic necessities, but are seen as luxuries within the impoverished predominantly black nation (the majority population) that, due to the high rate of unemployment, survives mainly on social welfare pensions, child and disability grants.

Azapo believes that employment is the singly most important and effective weapon in the fight against poverty. Azapo's job-creation programmes would, therefore, be central to all efforts in creating a happy healthy unitary state.

13.3 HIV/AIDS

The plight of HIV suffers in SA is extensively documented.

Five million South Africans (men, women and children) have HIV/AIDS. More than 60 000 have already died from HIV – related illnesses while 600 are said to be dying daily, according to current (2003) press reports and radio/TV talkshows.

These victims are citizens who hail mainly from poor communities within the country. They are people who, because of the dreadful state of public health services, have to do without appropriate care and appropriate medication – things that can only be accessed by the middle class people; individuals who not only have the power to formulate policies, but also the money to buy both good nutritious food and the prerequisite medication.

What would **Azapo** do in tackling the killer HIV/AIDS pandemic?
As government, the party would:

- 13.3.1 Ensure that appropriate medication is available in all state hospitals and clinics;
- 13.3.2 Enlist the support of all citizens, churches, non-governmental organisations and businesses in fighting the epidemic;
- 13.3.3 Stress the importance of abstinence and dangers of loose living in all campaigns against the epidemic; and
- 13.3.4 Make sure workers are adequately remunerated to raise standard of living of their respective families.

14. ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

The right to a healthy environment is universally acknowledged though not enjoying unlimited support and recognition. Human kind seems not to realize that this planet is not ours to plunder but to preserve for future generations. Man has, in his quest for development and the acquisition of super profits, trampled on the environment with total disregard for the well being of our fauna and flora and man's co-existence with the latter.

The poor and voiceless communities have been the victims of unhealthy environment, largely because of ignorance and lack of capacity to defend their right to a healthy environment. A proactive government should not wait for a complaint before taking

action in defence of such communities.

It is therefore imperative to change the mind-set to ensure a development that shall sustain a healthy environment.

An Azapo government shall:

1. Engage in programmes to reverse the unnecessary destruction of the environment.
2. Maintain a healthy environment and jealously guard against activities that have the consequences of undermining a healthy environment.
3. Impose heavy fines and in extreme instances disbar companies and businesses that have demonstrated disregard for regulations and legislations aimed at a healthy environment.
4. Engage in a vigorous awareness campaign about the need for a healthy environment and the rights of the public.