

THE AR PLAN FOR NAMIBIA

OUR COUNTRY, OUR FUTURE, OUR TIME



VOTE:

Affirmative
Repositioning - AR







1992



20c

2024



N\$ 5.00

“ *Namibia is a rich country with poor people because of a corrupt and weak leadership at Cabinet and Parliamentary levels. To intervene and redirect our country, we need to vote for progressive change on the 27th of November 2024*

Prof. Dr. Job Shipululo Amupanda

AR Activist-in-Chief and Presidential Candidate

Introductory Notes

From the onset, we must explain the content and character of the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) movement. AR is a youth-led movement founded in 2014 when a symbolic plague was erected in Kleine Kuppe, Windhoek, announcing a decision of a generation that seeks to affirm the natives, poor and oppressed and reposition our country from zigzagging, captured and compromised leadership, to one that prioritises the needs of the masses of our people at the point of need.

From 2014, AR managed to achieve what many civil society organizations, organised formations and political formations have not been able to achieve. From getting the President to agree and adopt a program of action on land and housing, causing specific policy changes, abandoning approved government positions and laws, the movement has been able to record notable changes. Because of these achievements, more and more Namibians turned to AR for more assistance and action. It became evident that; it is impossible for the movement to assist the masses of our people, at a massive decisive scale, as an unstructured and uncodified formation. Therefore, the form of AR had to change.

Following this determination, a program called Reorganization, Institutionalization and Formalization (RIF) of the AR movement was developed and adopted. A National Assembly on RIF was held in 2022 where the AR constitution and other governing instruments were adopted. AR was then able to respond to the masses of our people in a structured and organized way. Formalisation also assisted the movement to further its objectives. In June 2024, AR obtained its certificate from the Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN), enabling it to participate in the 2024 Presidential and National Assembly Elections.

The certification by ECN did not change the content and character of AR. To AR, the certificate enables AR to enter new areas of struggle to further the fight for the masses of our people. We fought for our people in the streets, in Courts, in offices including State House and did the same in public discourse and through other mass actions. We soon realised that the best solution to change our country is by occupying the very places where the pain and suffering of our people is cooked. The evil hurting and harming our people are enabled by State House, Cabinet and Parliament. Occupying these spaces is both a strategic and tactical maneuver to keep our people safe from the corrupt and evil forces of capitalism. From State House, Cabinet and Parliament, we will be able to decisively wipe away the tears of our people and bring back the smiles on their faces.

AR is, thus, not only a political party but a revolutionary force of the left that has a license to participate in elections in order to fight for the masses of our people. Accordingly, AR sees the date of 27 November 2024 as a date that the fight for the masses of our people has been sanctioned and scheduled. On that day, we will face those responsible for the pain and suffering of our people and give them enough punches so that they can no longer harass and hurt our people. We are the jersey number 10 warming up on the touchline ready to replace the player wearing jersey number 34 that is old, tired, fatigued, corrupt and captured by foreigners.

This document outlines what we want to do once we knockdown the opponent in the blue corner. By outlining our game plan and how we will score goals for us to win the game within the remaining 5 minutes. It is written in a simple language, outlining the problem and/or status and the solution we will provide.

Our game plan is unique and has solutions that were never pronounced by anyone. You only need to imagine how our country will be with this plan and what will happen without it. In whatever we do, let us think of our children and our children's children. Indeed, our country is rich yet with poor people because of a corrupt and weak leadership at State House, Cabinet and Parliamentary levels. We have an opportunity to change this on the 27th of November 2024.

May God and our Ancestors bless our country and its people.



Prof. Dr. Job Shipululo Amupanda
Activist -in-Chief and Presidential Candidate



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**OUR COUNTRY, OUR
FUTURE, OUR TIME**





What does this PLAN offer Namibia and Namibians?

By voting for AR for Parliament and Professor Amupanda for President this is what you will get in exchange.

Decisive Leadership: a strong leadership rooted in African cultures and tradition

Declaring all indigenous languages as national languages permitted in Parliament
Mandatory offering of local languages in all Namibian schools
Banning and/or regulating land ownership by foreign nationals
Supporting customary law and introducing restorative justice in our judiciary
Construction of offices, libraries and archives for all traditional authorities
Restart genocide negotiations by involving the traditional leadership of genocide victims
Introduction of an Indigenous community levy
Promotion of Indigenous food/diet in schools, hospitals and prisons
Development for integration of indigenous medicine in our national health system
Establishment of Commissions of Enquiry on the Fishing and Mining Sectors
Establishment of a national negotiation team in the Presidency

Economic Agenda: creating a capable developmental state solving economic problems

Review and renegotiation of all agreements on our natural resources
Removal of tax on pension
1-year tax holiday for companies that create 100+ permanent jobs
Introduction of the Import Substitution Industrialization plan
Increase public spending on housing from 0.1% to 5% of GDP
Creation of a new city, Cape Fria in Kunene region, serving as a third port
Creation of the Namibia Energy Regulatory Authority (NERA)
Creation of the Agricultural Support and Mechanization Agency (ASMA)
Removal of the 1896 Redline
Rolling out of public works program for unskilled labour
Introduction of carbon tax
Conversion of NAMPOST into a fully-fledged state-owned commercial bank
Develop a delinking plan of the Namibian dollar from the South African Rand
Creation of the Economic Agility & Strategy Unit (EASU) within the National Intelligence

Legal and Electoral Agenda: towards a transparent political and judiciary systems

Embark on a national consultation on constitutional review, reform and development

Creation of the Constitutional Court

Establishment of a third division of the High Court of Namibia in Oranjemund

Introduction of term(s) limit for the Chief Justice

Implementation of the Small Claims Courts

Implementation of referenda on important national issues

Reducing the voting age from 18 to 16 years

Voting with ID cards

Introduction and amendments of specific laws as outlined herein

Social Agenda: towards a cohesive society providing safety nets

Introduction of Childbirth grant for unemployed mothers for a period of 1 year

Full salary for mothers on maternity leave which will be extended to six (6) months

Implementation of the National Pension Fund

Introduction of free tertiary education until the first degree

Building two new universities over the period of 10 years

Reconstitution of various youth institutions and the creation of a Youth Enterprise Fund

Building of two new national stadiums

Introduction of the National Health Insurance

Increase the number of referral hospitals from 5 to 10

Increase of district hospitals from 31 to 62

Increase the number of clinics from 322 to 644

Reducing the ratio of specialist to population from 1: 5 000 to 1: 2 500

Clearing the housing backlog and converting NHE to a housing bank

Converting RCC to a state construction company that will prioritize housing

Operationalization of the Rent Control Boards in all urban areas



What has AR Achieved without political power?

The previous section dealt with the AR plan for the future upon assuming the presidency and the necessary Parliamentary majority. Even without political power, which AR seeks in these elections, the movement has been able to record several national achievements.

- **Awakening Namibians**

Before the AR movement came to the Namibian political and social scene, Namibians had left state and public affairs to elected representative and officials. AR, through several mass and strategic actions was able to demonstrate that elected leadership is not to be worshiped but monitored and held accountable for the benefits of the citizens. AR was able to bring about a change where citizenship is now understood beyond national documents. Professor Heiki Becker, a professor of Anthropology at the University of the Western Cape made this observation about the AR movement.

“... a new generation has entered the country’s social and political scene and has forcefully asked penetrating new questions. In Namibia, this has come in the shape of the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) movement.”

- **Influencing key government socioeconomic policies**

Following the July 2015 agreement between the late President, Hage Geingob, and the AR leadership, several programs were born. This included the Massive Urban Land Servicing Program (MULSP) that is still part of the government budget books since 2015. Under the MULSP more than 10 000 plots and houses were serviced and built countrywide.

Several housing related laws were also passed following recommendations of several committees whose membership consisted of AR and government representatives. This included the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2018 that changed the urban and town planning landscape, particularly ending the bureaucratic hurdles caused by then parallel structures of NAMPAB and Township Board. Other initiatives, as contained in the AR Housing Charter 31 which formed the basis of the engagements with the President, included Rent Control Boards.

Following an out-of-court settlement between government and AR, the Activist-in-Chief Prof. Job Shipululo Amupanda, government appointed members to the Rent Control Boards. The Local Authority Amendment Act of 2018 also contained several inputs and principal consensus from the 2015 negotiations. With political power, AR will be able to do more.



- **Fighting Corruption and holding the corrupt to account**

There has been no organization that has ever been effective in exposing and fighting corruption other than the AR movement. The AR movement is singlehandedly responsible for the removal of several corrupt officials from both public and private institutions including Ministers, Chief Executive Officers, managers and several individuals since 2015. In July 2023, Mr. Hannu Shipena, former Executive Director of the Anti-Corruption Commission, made this public statement in reference to the anti-corruption work of the AR AIC Prof Job Shipululo Amupanda;

“I’d like to make a humble submission: The Namibian people will derive more value if their budget to fight corruption is channeled through Amupanda. Currently, Job unearths, prevents, and pushes out more corrupt acts than the ACC. The government must just virement ACC funds to Job. This is a value-for-money proposition.”

With institutional political power and representation, AR is able to do more in fighting corruption.

- **Safeguarding the interest of the poor from elite thirst**

By exposing the dirty tricks of the government, AR was able to alert the people of Namibia causing the reversal of the corrupt agenda. In 2016, when Namibia was experiencing an economic downturn, government attempted to build a N\$ 3 billion Parliament. This would have led to an increase in public debt placing a further burden on the future generation. Following a mass action by the AR movement, government abandoned these plans. With political power, AR will no longer wait for evil to happen and fight thereafter. It will ensure that evil is not considered in the first place.

Similarly, in 2023, the corrupt SWAPO government attempted with the Financial Institutions Markets Act (FIMA) law, that was passed by parliament and signed into law by the President to steal workers’ pension to solve government cashflow problems. Following agitation by the AR leadership, government abandoned its plans with the FIMA law. Without AR’s intervention, Namibian workers could have been in a horrible financial problem had FIMA been introduced.

- **Making politics fashionable for the youth**

Before 2015, Namibian politics was mainly an activity of the middle-aged and the elderly. Meaningful youth inclusion and political participation in government institutions emerged after the mobilization and agitation of the youth by the AR movement. It was the AR movement that transformed Namibian politics and aroused the interest of the youth in national politics across the sociopolitical divide. With political power, AR will continue to make politics fashionable for the youth and ensure deepening of democracy and political participation.

- **Broad Achievement**

The achievements of the AR movement are broad and cannot be enumerated in one or two pages. It suffices to state that without political power, the AR movement has been able to awaken Namibians, successfully fight corruption, safeguard the interest of Namibians, influence and direct key government policies and arouse youth interest in politics. These achievements, across these broad categories and more, demonstrates clearly that with political power, AR will be in a stronger position to ensure political participation, prevent, fight and punish corruption. Additionally, AR will be in a better position to change policies and laws to the benefit of Namibians and make Namibian politics fashionable.



1. Political and Electoral Agenda

The Namibian political and electoral systems require drastic change in order to deepen democracy through enhancing the rights to political activities as enshrined in Article 17 of the Namibian Constitution and to ensure that it responds meaningfully to the challenges faced by the masses of our people. The AR government will introduce a number of changes to our political system, some of which require amendments to the country's Constitution.

a) Voting Age and Ballot Measure

i. Reducing Voting age from 18 to 16 years

The age of 16 is the legal age of consent, as well the age of acquiring an ID card and at the age 17, persons are allowed to obtain a learner's license, amongst other important decisions that are permissible for persons aged 16 and 17. The AR government will, therefore, reduce the voting age from 18 to 16 years.

ii. Voting with ID cards

The current expensive, tedious and cumbersome periodic registration of voters is a hinderance to democratic participation and the exercise of citizens' rights to political activities. The AR government will end voters' registrations and allow citizens to vote with their ID cards.

iii. Introduction of issue-based ballots during elections

Instead of citizens only voting for individual politicians after every five years, the AR government will add additional issue-based ballots where citizens will be required to vote on important national matters that cannot be left to a few politicians in Cabinet and Parliament.

b) Protection and Promotion of Indigenous Languages

i. Making local languages national languages

Over the past 34 years, the SWAPO government has done little in the development and promotion of indigenous languages. Apart from English that has been made an official language, other foreign languages such as German, French and Chinese have made significant strides at the expense of local languages. The AR government will declare all local languages as national languages through an act of Parliament.

ii. Permitting the use of local languages in Parliament

Parliamentarians represents the people of Namibia, and the people of Namibia have different languages. The AR government will allow members of Parliament to make parliamentary speeches and participate in parliamentary debates in their mother languages. For this purpose, it will be required for parliament to employ translators on a fulltime basis.

iii. Mandating a language development program

There are several local languages that are spoken and have not yet been fully developed in terms of literature and teaching materials. For these reasons, these languages are only spoken at home. The AR government will mandate the full development of all local languages to a stage of being ready to be taught in schools.

iv. Mandatory local languages in schools

The AR government will require, on a mandatory basis, every school, public or private, to offer at least one of the local languages spoken by the communities in which the school is located.

c) Creation of sub-ward Officials below constituency Councilors

Part of the problem with service delivery at the local level is the absence of government. The last layer of government ends at the level of constituency councilors. One individual, often without capacity, is assumed to be responsible for 100 000 inhabitants. The AR government will divide the constituencies into sub-wards where a government official will be located working under the supervision of the constituency councilor.

d) National Consultations on Constitutional Amendments

Over the past 34 years, there has been very few constitutional amendments most of which focused mainly on creation of positions. There have been no constitutional amendments whose purpose is to bring about fundamental political, social, cultural and economic changes to the benefit of the people of Namibia. The AR Government will spearhead a national consultative process on what the citizens think of the constitution and what needs to be changed to fundamentally to transform our country.



2. Economic and Developmental Agenda

a) Creation of a capable developmental state

The weaknesses of the Namibian state can be cured by many things including strong, enlightened and moral leadership. But as far as the question of development is concerned, a different solution is required beyond strong and moral leadership. The AR government will change the character of the state to that of a capable developmental state. This is a state that has the necessary capabilities and drives economic growth. It is a state that defines priorities for industrialization and one with a competent bureaucracy resulting from a meritocracy.

b) Matching Economic Planning with Economic Management

Namibia engages in economic planning without the necessary management of implementation of these plans. For example, only at the end of the Fifth National Development Plan that the government realized that it only met 58% of its target. This is because there is no economic management that follows economic planning. The AR government will implement measures to ensure that economic plans are managed through effective monitoring and evaluation by a reformed National Planning Commission. The AR government approach to economic management will ensure that necessary interventions are made instead of waiting for the end of the planning period. As such, quarterly and annual reviews will be conducted.

i. Budget & Procurement as Economic management tools

Instead of being a mere tool of allocation of resources, the AR government will ensure that budgeting and procurement are linked for development objectives. Currently, there is no relationship between budgeting and procurement. Those budgeting simply see their role as allocating figures while those in procurement see their role as selecting bidders.

ii. Budget and Procurement reports

Unlike the current state of affairs as described above, the AR government will require bi-annual budget execution and procurement reports. This is to assist decision makers to make timely interventions. The AR government will further ensure that the procurement board is redirected to go beyond mere selection of bidders.

c) Fiscal Sovereignty and Fiscal Policy

i. The link between Namibian Dollar and South African Rand

Namibia remains economically linked to South Africa even after 34 years of independence. This dependency has created an unsustainable comfort which poses a serious threat to National security. Namibia imported more than N\$ 50 billion worth of goods from South Africa between 2021 and 2023. Namibia imports 80% of its products from South Africa, while she only exports 30% of our products to South Africa. Namibia mimics all fiscal decisions of South Africa. It is almost the case that Namibia is not independent. It is for this reason that several South African companies such as House and Home and Ster-Kinekor do not have bank accounts in Namibia. The AR government will lead a national dialogue to determine the relationship between the Namibian Dollar and the South African Rand. This will include the period during which Namibia can obtain fiscal sovereignty. Small countries such as Lesotho and Swaziland, which have more economic, social and cultural similarities with South Africa, have obtained fiscal sovereignty more than 30 years ago.

d) Tax reforms – More money in people’s pockets

i. Removal of tax on pension

Employees already pay tax to the government on the amount gained, which is sufficient contribution to the state coffers. However, there have been cases, whereby employees who contributed N\$800 000.00 in pension ended up with only N\$100 000.00 after several deductions with the huge chunk, sometimes as high as 40% going to Namibia Revenue Agency (NAMRA). The AR government will, therefore, remove tax on pension.

ii. Introduction of Carbon tax

To improve tax revenues, the AR government will introduce a carbon tax of which contribution will go to environmental conservation and sustainability efforts of the government.

iii. Employment creation tax holidays

The unemployment situation requires the intervention of all economic actors. For the private sector, the AR government will provide a once-off one-year tax holiday for every employer who creates more than 100 new permanent jobs.

iv. Indigenous community levy

For every investment surpassing N\$ 10 million in an area where there is a recognized traditional authority, the AR government will introduce an indigenous community levy that will be shared between that respective traditional authority and the Council of Traditional leaders.

e) Natural Resources Management

i. Agreements governing natural resources

It is evident that Namibia has been cheated in most economic deals signed since independence. The AR government will review all agreements on natural resources signed since independence to 2024.

ii. Framework on resources beneficiation and sustainability

Since independence, the government approach to natural resources has been fragmented. Marine resources are treated differently from lithium and diamonds. Copper and Uranium are also treated differently. The AR government will introduce a law that will provide a framework on natural resources beneficiation and sustainability. This law will be applicable to all natural resources in Namibia.

f) Innovation and Digital Technology

The AR government will reorient the Ministry of Information and Communication and Technology (ICT) from focusing fixing government computers to facilitate an enabling environment for the creatives in digital technologies to thrive. The AR government will particularly create a digital technologies innovation centers



allowing for brilliant minds and researchers to contribute ideas and create solutions on how to best to take Namibia forward towards digital revolution.

g) Energy security and opportunities

i. Namibia Energy Regulatory Authority (NERA) and Energy security research

Due to our energy dependency on foreign countries, the AR government will establish Namibia Energy Regulatory Authority (NERA) which will be mandated to regulate energy and ensuring energy security.

ii. State positioning on new energy discoveries

AR takes note of the current discoveries which will take a minimum of 10 years before real benefits accrues to Namibians. The AR government focus will be beyond the jubilation and gimmicks that benefits individuals. Instead, the AR government will focus on a regulatory framework to protect Namibians and its resources. All agreements signed will, thus, be reviewed to ascertain if these are in the interest of the people of Namibia.

h) Trade and Business support

i. Import Substitution Industrialization plan

Namibia remains a net importer of several products, such as staple food. During 2020/2021, Namibia imported wheat to the value of more than N\$ 600 million and white maize to a total value of more than N\$ 400 million. As previously stated, Namibia imports 80% of its agricultural products from South Africa. This is because our agricultural production is weak, sectarian and not managed effectively. The AR government will develop a comprehensive plan for Namibia's import substitution industrialisation, starting with the Agricultural sector through the Agricultural Support and Mechanization Agency (ASMA).

ii. Equipment aid schemes

The AR government will maintain the current equipment aid scheme of the ministry of trade but expand it to all sectors and expand the program equitably to all 14 regions and 121 constituencies. A further monitoring and evaluation of beneficiaries will be implemented to ensure that equipment is not sold.

i) Creation of new cities and reinvigorating existing ones

i. Cape Fria as Namibia's first post-independence City

For 34 years, the SWAPO regime has not built a single city. The country has only one city for 34 years. The AR government will build a new city at Cape Fria in the Kunene region. This City will also host Namibia's third port after Lüderitz and Walvis Bay.

ii. Swakopmund as an International City

The AR government will assign a special status of the town of Swakopmund as an international city. The AR government will seek to attract international organizations to set up offices in Swakopmund and serve as a host for major international conferences and events.

j) Sports economy

i. Investing in sport infrastructures

The current regime has neglected sport facilities to an extent that the country does not have a single football

stadium that is fit to host international games. The AR government will construct two modern stadiums and move to overhaul existing ones to international standards. The AR government will also revive all abandoned regional, national and school facilities and prioritise grass root sports development.

k) Youth unemployment interventions

i. Unemployed graduates

The current regime has completely failed to have a record of all unemployed graduates. The data is, however, readily available at institutions of higher learning. The AR government will register all unemployed graduates for purposes of job creation through a graduate intervention program.

ii. Unskilled labour

For unskilled labour, the AR government will introduce series of public works that do not require skilled labour. This will particularly be introduced in rural areas and informal settlements where majority of unskilled labour resides.



3. Health, Social and Cultural Agenda

a) Health reform and redirection

i. Increase health system carrying capacity

It is estimated that 80% of the Namibian population in the public sector are served by less than 40% of health professionals. The Namibian health workers' capacity, being 3 per 1000 population, is above the World Health Organization's recommendations. The private health sector, which caters for less than 20% of the population, sits comfortably better off compared to the public sector. Namibia has only 1 specialist for every 5000 Namibians. The country only has 5 referral hospitals, 31 district hospitals and 322 clinics.

The AR government will reduce the specialist ratio from 1 for every 5 000 Namibians to 1 for every 2500 Namibians. Referral hospitals will also increase from 5 to 10, district hospitals from 31 to 62 and clinics from 322 to 644. The AR government will ensure that there is at least a minimum of 5 clinics per constituency.

ii. Health research and development

Despite the challenges the health sector faces, particularly the carrying capacity, it is important to invest in health research and development. The AR government will introduce and support health research institutions to be established in institutions of higher learning and within health infrastructures.

Currently, there is no centralised data systems in the health sector. The AR government will ensure that data from the private health sector are integrated with the national data administered by the ministry. The AR government will also discontinue fragmented and parallel systems.

The AR government will support and strengthen the Health Professional Council of Namibia's efforts to regulate and ensure quality of processes and outcomes in the health sector including graduate enrollment and certification.

iii. Indigenous medicine

The AR government will fund and support research in indigenous medicine with an objective of integrating these in the Namibian health sector.

iv. National Health Insurance

The AR government will introduce a National Health Insurance to ensure access to healthcare for all Namibians.

b) Youth and Social Engineering

i. Realigning, repurposing youth institutions and programs

The current government does not prioritise youth. The AR government will maintain the **National Youth Council (NYC)** and the **National Youth Service (NYS)** as distinct youth development agencies of the government. However, there will be several changes to their scope, mandate and operations.

NYC will take over the administration of youth centers from the directorate of youth development in the ministry. It will also be charged with the responsibility of administering the National Youth Awards.

The NYS mandate with regards to national youth service will change from voluntary to compulsory service. A new institution, the **Youth Enterprise and Innovation Fund** will be introduced to fund young entrepreneurs, provide market access and support innovation.

c) Institutional support for traditional leadership

i. Offices for Traditional Authorities

The AR government will construct offices for all recognized traditional authorities in Namibia. These offices will have a library, archives and a hall accommodating 1000 people.

ii. Traditional leadership in curriculum development

The AR government will require all educational institution to consult traditional leaders, through the Council of Traditional leaders, to have inputs in the curriculum design and review.

iii. Traditional leadership and law-making process

The AR government will ensure that the Council of Traditional leaders is consulted on all national laws that have a bearing on tradition and culture before they are passed.

d) Labour relations and workers protection

i. Full salary payments for mothers on Maternity

The salaries and wages are usually budgeted for. There is no single employer that budget and anticipates pregnancy. In other words, every employer, including government, budgets for salaries without factoring in pregnancy and maternity leave. The AR government will ensure that not only will women on maternity leave get their full salaries, but maternity leave will also be extended to six months

ii. Labour Commissioner's Office

The office of the Labour Commissioner plays an important role in the protection of the rights of employees. This office remains understaffed. The AR government will provide more resources to the labour Commissioner's office to improve its capacity to attend to labour matters.

iii. Protection of workers, worker's scholarship and solidarity fund

There has been several High Court and Supreme Court judgements that have exposed employees to more harm. The AR government will hold wider consultations on the protection of workers with the view to review and amend the Labour Act, 2007 to provide more protection to the workers. The new law will also include frameworks for the establishment of worker's children scholarship fund and employee's solidarity funds which will cater for eventualities and tragedies.



iv. National Pension Fund

Although section 34 of the Social Security Act, 1994 mandates the establishment of the National Pension Fund (NPF), the capitalist class has ensured that this is not operationalised over the past 30 years. The AR government will ensure that the National Pension fund is implemented ending the 30 years sabotage.

e) The old age, vulnerable and disadvantaged

i. Existing Social grants and Childbirth grant

The AR government will maintain all social grants and increase them where necessary. The AR government will, however, introduce a new social grant, a 1-year Childbirth grant for every unemployed woman who gives birth.

ii. Exceptional circumstances grants

The AR government will also explore prospects of introducing exceptional circumstances grant whereby Namibians in exceptional cases who deserve state support can be assisted. This may be individuals with multiple disabilities, unemployed women who gives birth to quadruplets and unemployed parents and or guardians who take care of more than 30 children under the age of 16 in one household.



4. Legislative and Judicial Agenda

a) Strengthening Independence and capacity of Parliament

i. *The Parliamentary Service Commission*

To strengthen the independence of the judiciary, the AR government will introduce the Parliamentary Service Commission. The purpose of the Commission is to ensure that Parliament is not served, and parliamentary affairs are not handled by the executive, the appointees of the executive and the subordinate of the executive. The Judiciary has the Judicial Service Commission while the executive has the Public Service Commission. It is only the legislature that does not have a Service Commission. The AR government will end this absurdity.

ii. *Southern division of the High Court*

Currently, there are only two divisions of the High Court of Namibia, the Main division in Windhoek and the Northern division in Oshakati. The AR government will establish the third division, called the Southern division in Oranjemund.

iii. *Establishment of a Constitutional Court*

The AR government will establishment a Constitutional Court to ensure that the Supreme Court deals with only appeal cases from the High Court while the apex court in Namibia will be the Constitutional Court.

iv. *Term limit for Chief Justice*

The AR government will introduce a term limit for the position of Chief Justice to ensure that there are no perpetual Chief Justices.

v. *Separation of the Deputy Chief Justice and Judge President positions*

The AR government will ensure that no single individual is occupying both positions of Deputy Chief Justice and Judge President.

vi. *Implementation of Small Claims Court*

Access to justice is one of the challenges majority of Namibians face. The AR government will implement the Small Claims Court that has been gathering dust at the tables of successive SWAPO Ministers of Justice over the past 34 years.



vii. Operation of the Deputy Sheriff

Since independence, there has been no change in the recruitment and operation of the deputy sheriff. The AR government will reform the controversial and corrupt framework of the operation of the Deputy Sheriff through which will be contractual, inclusive, and led by competent appointment by the Judicial Service Commission.

viii. Judiciary Conduct Unit (JCU)

In order to enhance transparency and accountability within the judiciary, the AR government will establish a JCU, operating under the direction and supervision of the Judicial Service Commission and led by retired and non-active judicial official, to receive and investigate conducts of judicial officers.

b) List of New Laws to be introduced

The AR government will introduce the law below in the National Assembly within one year of taking office. These laws correspond to the commitments made in this Plan of Namibia.

- i. Constitutional Court,
- ii. Ownership of Land by Foreigners,
- iii. Rent Control Board
- iv. Small Claims Court,
- v. Land Expropriation,
- vi. Natural Resources Beneficiation and Sustainability,
- vii. Protection and Promotion of Indigenous Languages,
- viii. Agriculture Support and Mechanization Agency,
- ix. National Health Insurance,
- x. National Pension Fund,
- xi. Youth Enterprise and Innovation Fund,
- xii. Parliamentary Services Commission,
- xiii. National Security Commission,
- xiv. National Languages and Language development,
- xv. Import Substitution Industrialization,
- xvi. School discipline and Corporal Punishment

c) List of laws to be amended, reconsidered and/or reversed

The following laws, having already been passed by Parliament will be reconsidered, amendment and or reversed, this includes all the 13 bills that have been rushed and not thoroughly considered by the National Assembly in 2023 on instructions of foreign nationals.

- ix. Bank of Namibia Act 1 of 2020,
- x. Local Authorities Act 23 of 1992,
- xi. Virtual Assets Act 10 of 2023,
- xii. National Youth Service Act 6 of 2005,
- xiii. National Youth Council Act 3 of 2009,
- xiv. Police Amendment Act 3 of 2023,
- xv. National Housing Enterprises Act 5 of 1993,
- xvi. Prevention of Organized Crime Amendment Act 9 of 2023,
- xvii. Extradition Amendment Act 2 of 2023,
- xviii. Companies' Amendment Act 4 of 2023,
- xix. Close Corporation Amendment Act 5 of 2023,
- xx. Criminal Procedure Amendment Act 7 of 2023,
- xxi. International Cooperation in Criminal Matters Amendment Act 12 of 2023,
- xxii. Prevention and Combating of Terrorist and Proliferation Activities Amendment Act 8 of 2023,
- xxiii. Livestock and Livestock Products Act 15 of 2023,

- xxiv. National Security Commission Act 18 of 2001,
- xxv. Road Contractors Company Act 14 of 1999,
- xxvi. Labour Act 2 of 2012,
- xxvii. Electoral Act 5 of 2014.



5. Executive and Governmental Agenda

This agenda details key interventions that cuts across other themes and once implemented the objectives of other agendas can equally be achieved. The focus is mainly structural interventions that will ensure a cohesive, focused and formidable executive that is able to bring about socioeconomic transformation.

a) Government Structure

i. Duplication of Advisors and Ministries

The AR government will do away with duplication functions that includes having a youth minister and a youth advisor at the same time, an economic advisor and economic planning minister, an Attorney General and Constitutional Affairs Advisor.

ii. The National Negotiation Team

There is a dismal failure in negotiations particularly in economic deals. Different negotiation teams are assembled on an ad hoc basis without a permanent framework. Genocide reparations had a different negotiation team, so are the green hydrogen deals. Diamond deals also have a different negotiation team. The AR government will establish a central National Negotiation Team whose purpose is to negotiate best deals and transactions for Namibia using a set framework. The negotiation team, located within the presidency, will be assembled on the basis of skills and experience. Their sole purpose will be negotiations in the best interest of the country.

iii. Reintroducing Special Advisors to Ministers

Instead of having multiple advisors in the Presidency, the AR government will reintroduce special advisors to ministers who will be appointed purely on the basis of their skills and expertise through a meritocratic process and not on the basis of party loyalty and sloganeering.

iv. Establishment of Commission of Enquiries

For purposes of establishing facts on how much various sectors are managed and following reasonable suspicion of several misdemeanors and corruption that has occurred, the AR government will establish Commission of Enquires on Fisheries and Mining sectors.

b) Reform of Public Enterprises

Public enterprises are an important component of service delivery and oils the state economic machinery. Public enterprises will be restructured as follows;

i. Converting Electricity Control Board (ECB) to Namibia Energy Regulatory Authority (NERA)

Given the energy insecurity that our country faces and the newly discovered energy sources, the need to have proper institutions is urgent. The AR government will convert the ECB into NERA with a mandate not only energy regulatory but also energy research and development.

ii. Redirecting the National Housing Enterprise (NHE) and relocating it to the Presidency

Because of the housing challenges our country faces, NHE will be redirected to focus primarily on housing finance. It will also be relocated from its current portfolio ministry to the Presidency.

iii. Converting Road Contractors Company (RCC) to a construction company in the Presidency

As with the NHE, the AR government will relocate RCC to the presidency to serve as the government construction company that will play a prominent role in the state housing program.

iv. Creation of a Youth Enterprise and Innovation Fund (YEIF)

As one of the efforts to deal with youth unemployment, the AR government will create a Youth Enterprise and Innovation Fund which will support youth entrepreneurs, facilitate market access and support innovation.

v. Creation of the National Corporate Social Responsibility Agency (NCSRA)

The lack of coordination amongst public enterprises has led to an uncoordinated intervention that results in overfunding or overconcentration in the same sectors. Additionally, officials in public enterprises often corruptly funds areas of their interest or where their relatives operate. The AR government will establish the NCSRA that will equitably, transparently and broadly support community and national initiatives. All public enterprises will be required to pay over 40% of their corporate social responsibility budget to the NCSRA.

vi. Creation of Agricultural Support and Mechanisation Agency (ASMA)

Commercial farmers presently dominating our agricultural sector got there through state support during colonial time. They received free land, loans on favourable terms and workers they could free exploit through South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA). The post-independence government left black farmers on their own with the only intervention being Agribank loans and the poorly conceived resettlement policy. The AR government will, therefore, establish ASMA to not only support black farmers to succeed particularly with agricultural mechanizations and other innovative Agricultural technological supports.

vii. Conversion of NAMPOST to a full-fledged state-owned Bank

It is a proven fact that financial challenges and economic conditions of the masses of our people is to the benefit of monopoly capital. In 2023 alone, 221 841 Namibians borrowed money from loan sharks. Namibians owe loan sharks more than N\$ 7 billion. Even during economic downturns, top commercial banks still made close to N\$ 1 billion in a financial year. The AR government will convert NAMPOST to a fully-fledged commercial bank owned by the state bank.



c) Utilizing existing government intellectual capacity

i. Incorporating the Executive Directors as ex-officio of the National Planning Commission

Problems facing economic planning in Namibia is that economic planning is not taken seriously. The AR government will, thus, expand the National Planning Commission to include all Executive Directors which will not only enrich the national planning exercise but will conscientize the Executive Directors and guide their ministries, offices and agencies in line with national planning efforts.

ii. Creation of a government Think Tank under Namibia Institute of Public Administration and Management (NIPAM)

Since its establishment, the SWAPO government has made little use of NIPAM to ensure general governance capacity and a much-needed meritocratic system. The AR government will create a government Think Tank under the overall supervision of NIPAM. All Chief Executive Officers of Public enterprises will be required to form part of this Think Tank. Currently, some of these CEOs only provide their services to the alleged SWAPO Think Tank.

d) National Interest, Security and Safety

i. Institutionalization of the National Security Commission

Although the Security Commission is established by Article 114 of the Namibian constitution, the SWAPO government has not, for 34 years, moved to meaningfully institutionalize this important institution. The law that governs the commission, the Security Commission Act 18 of 2001 is a mere five pages law that focusses mainly only filling of security vacancies and suspensions of security chiefs. The AR government will take concrete steps to properly establish and institutionalise the security commission to be an institution with the required capacity and ability to deal with broader national security matters.

ii. Establishment of the Military Industrial Complex

Worldwide, military industries are used to assist with national economic interest. The few industries established by our military, characterized by printing t-shirts and meat supply, are used for patronage and enrichment of generals and their cronies. The AR government will move speedily to create a meaningful military industrial complex which will include technological advancements and innovations to improve our military capabilities and participate in global military and security trade.

iii. Professionalisation of the security forces

Security institutions have fallen victim to the unemployment problem that Namibia faces with the personnel not necessarily interested in the profession. The AR government will ensure that security institutions put in place obligatory continuous professional development programs.

iv. Patriotic incentives for security and uniformed personnel

The security and uniformed personnel, by the nature of their work, have given their lives to our country. The AR government will ensure that favourable incentives are provided for them including a housing scheme, scholarship programs for their children and ensuring that they are treated with honour.

v. *Prioritisation of the economy by Namibia Central Intelligence Services*

Instead of its current focus on spying on imaginary enemies of the political elite, there is a need for the NCIS to be redirected and have a special economics unit focusing on economic intelligence instead of the current focus on politics. The AR government will ensure that this important institution is accordingly redirected to ensure that economic priorities, threats and opportunities are actualized, identified and created. This will be done through the creation of the Economic Agility and Strategy Unity within the service.

e) *Effective and Efficient Governance Architecture*

i. *Periodic training and capacity building of ministers*

Apart from reintroducing special advisors to ministers, the AR government will provide continuous training and capacity building for ministers to ensure effective and efficient execution of their ministerial and leadership duties.



ii. *Reform of the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)*

Although denied by some, corruption in Namibia has reached an endemic level. The ACC has often been found wanting. Millions of dollars meant for development ends up in the pockets of the few. The AR government will spearhead reform of the ACC including the appointment of Commissioners who will oversee the work of the Director-General. Furthermore, the AR government will ensure that the decision to refer files to the Prosecutor General is done by the Commission, through Commissioners, and not by one person, the Director-General.

iii. *Introduction of anti-corruption measures inside government*

The AR government will ensure that ministries, offices and agencies introduce measures to combat corruption. This includes safe spaces where corruption can be reported.

iv. *Government performance reports by NIPAM*

The AR government will introduce an internal performance review mechanism of all government ministries, offices and agencies. This report will be conducted by NIPAM on an annual basis and submitted to parliament at the end of every financial year.



f) Agriculture and Land Reform

i. Banning and or regulating land ownership by foreign nationals

AR has already written and prepared a bill which was submitted to Parliament. The AR government will ensure that this law is passed to prohibit and regulate the ownership of land by foreign nationals. In terms of this law, no foreigner will be allowed to own communal land by any means. Foreigners will only be allowed to lease agricultural land following a determination as laid down in the law. For foreigners that already own commercial agricultural land, they will not be allowed to sell this land to other foreigner nationals.

ii. Targeting of 1.4 million hectares owned by foreign nationals

There are more than 200 farms owned by foreigners and absentee landlords which is equal to approximately 1.4 million hectares. The AR government will specifically target these farms for expropriation, redistribution to Namibians or state takeover for agricultural production by the state.

iii. Expropriation of land and defining “just compensation”

While the Namibian constitution provides for land expropriation in public interest subject to “just compensation”, the SWAPO successive regimes, over the past 34 years, have interpreted and accepted the distortion that “just compensation” means “market related”. As a result, there has been no expropriation of land because of this distortion. The AR government will introduce a law in Parliament that will clearly define the meaning of “just compensation” which will clearly not mean “market related”. The AR government will also discontinue with the current failed ‘willing buyer – willing seller’.

iv. Linking procurement to agricultural production

The AR government will purposefully link public procurement to agricultural production. Which will be done by requiring successful bidders to have joint venture agreements with Namibian producers from where the agricultural good will be sourced for delivery. The government will then pay directly to both suppliers and producers. Currently, our procurement system is not concerned about where bidders source their agricultural products.

v. Programs to utilize communal land outside the rainy season

Most communal farmers only use their land during the rainy season that lasts an average of 6 months. The remaining six months the land stands idle. The AR government will task Agricultural Support and Mechanization Agency (ASMA), a public enterprise that will be established, to undertake research and subsequently implement a program whereby communal farmers can use their land for agricultural production outside the rain and cultivation season.

vi. Removal of the 1896 Redline

For more than 120 years, Namibia has been divided into two economies. The instrument of this division is the 1896 Redline which has been maintained by the successive SWAPO regimes in its 34 years rule. The AR government will speedily move to remove the 1896 Redline and ends the 120 years of this colonial instrument.

vii. Strengthening agricultural support programs

AR recognizes that although unsuccessful, existing Agricultural support programs were established with good intentions. The AR government will maintain and strengthen existing agricultural support programs be it at Agribank or the Agriculture ministry.

viii. Promotion of Namibian food/diet in government institutions

As Thomas Sankara taught us, he who feeds you controls you. The AR government will encourage the implementation of food and diet that is dominated by food produced in Namibia.

ix. Water canals through communal areas

Water is an important enabler for agriculture. The AR government will ensure that water canals are distributed all over the communal land areas to stimulate agricultural production and food security.

x. Seawater desalination plants

The AR government will expediate and expand the current sluggish efforts of seawater desalination. The program will enjoy priority by the AR government and will be done with a dual purpose of water security on one hand and agricultural and food self-sufficiency on the other.

g) Education and Training

i. Higher education

1. Creation of two new universities

The number of learners in primary and secondary schools has moved closer to 1 million. Census figures have further indicated the number of young people has grown significantly. The AR government will set in motion plans to create two universities over the next 10 years.

2. Management of enrollment and graduation figures

Instead of budget allocation and officiating at graduation ceremonies, the AR government will ensure that higher education ministry is actively involved in the gathering of data pertaining to enrollment and graduation figures at all institutions of higher learning through a National Student Record Management System. The government must be in a position to know the number of students that have graduated, in what field and their employment status after graduation.

3. Compulsory work-integrated learning

Through the Namibia Qualifications Authority (NQA) and the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE), the AR government will ensure that all institutions of higher learning implement work-intergraded learning modules in all their degree programs.

4. Research centers and research chairs

Disturbingly, the number of research centers at public universities have declined. The AR government will seek to re-establish and establish research centers within public universities across various disciplines. Relatedly, through the National Commission on Research, Science and Technology (NCRST), the AR government will ensure that research chairs are established nationally and the researchers rating, and reward systems are introduced.

5. Free Tertiary education

For Namibian students enrolled at public institutions of higher learning, the AR government will provide free, quality and decolonized education for the first degree.



ii. Further and Vocational Education

1. Expansion of recognition of prior learning

The AR government will maintain and expand current efforts by the Namibia Training Authority (NTA) to implement the recognition of prior learning focusing in areas that have been overlooked particularly amongst woodcarvers and other craftsmen.

2. Vocational Trading enterprises

The AR government will ensure the establishment of trading enterprises owned by NTA to participate in various trades and provide internship/attachments/work-integrated learning to students enrolled at various vocational training centers.

iii. Basic Education

1. Discipline in schools

Discipline in schools has become a serious concern. Through an act of parliament, the AR government will define corporal punishment and discipline enforcement in schools, filling the current vacuum where teachers are basically powerless and unable to enforce discipline.

2. Working condition of teachers and remunerations

The AR government will work hard to improve teachers working conditions including ensuring that the government take responsibility in ensuring that the budget is timeously made available to schools. The AR government will introduce a position of senior teacher at grade 7 remuneration.

3. Construction of schools

The AR government will undertake a study to determine the needs for schools against a set formula that takes into consideration factors such as distance, radius, populations and geographic demarcation. A 20-year school infrastructural plan will be developed, using these factors and population projections, to guide government interventions.

4. Review the new curriculum

The new curriculum has brought several challenges and shocks to the basic education system. The AR government will undertake a review process of the new curriculum, considering both positives and negative outcomes, with a view to effect the necessary changes where need be.

5. Constitutional and Civic Education in Schools

With the reduction of voting age to 16 years, it is important that the AR government incorporate basic constitutional and civic education in secondary schools, from grade 8 to grade 12.

h) National Housing Program

More than 230 000 families live in shacks in informal settlement countrywide. With the NHE relocated to the presidency, the AR government will then develop a National Housing Program which will detail housing interventions nationally involving both government and the private sector.

i. Clearing the housing backlog

The National Housing Program will set out to clear the housing backlog within five years by constructing 300 000 houses.

ii. Increasing government spending on housing

Since independence, government spending on housing has never surpassed 0.1% of GDP. The AR government will increase government spending on housing from current 0.1% to 5% of GDP.

iii. Protection of houses build under the national housing program.

While understanding that housing can be used as equity and an economic asset, the AR government will prohibit the selling of houses build under the national housing program to be sold or seeded to anyone and/or any institution for the period of 10(ten) years.

i) Foreign Relations

i. Reviewing our foreign policy

As part of the general review of the constitution, the AR government will seek to amend the principles of our foreign policy to replace outdated notions and concepts such as 'non-alignment' to decoloniality. A new set of principles on international and regional policies will be crafted with our national interest in mind.

ii. International cooperation and youth exposure

Unlike Namibia, many countries use international cooperation to expose their youth through exchange programs. Programs such as youth leadership fellowship, Peace Corps and many others are all part of those nations foreign policies. The AR government will develop similar programs to expose our youth and achieve set foreign policy objectives.

iii. Re-establishing Namibia's leadership in the globe

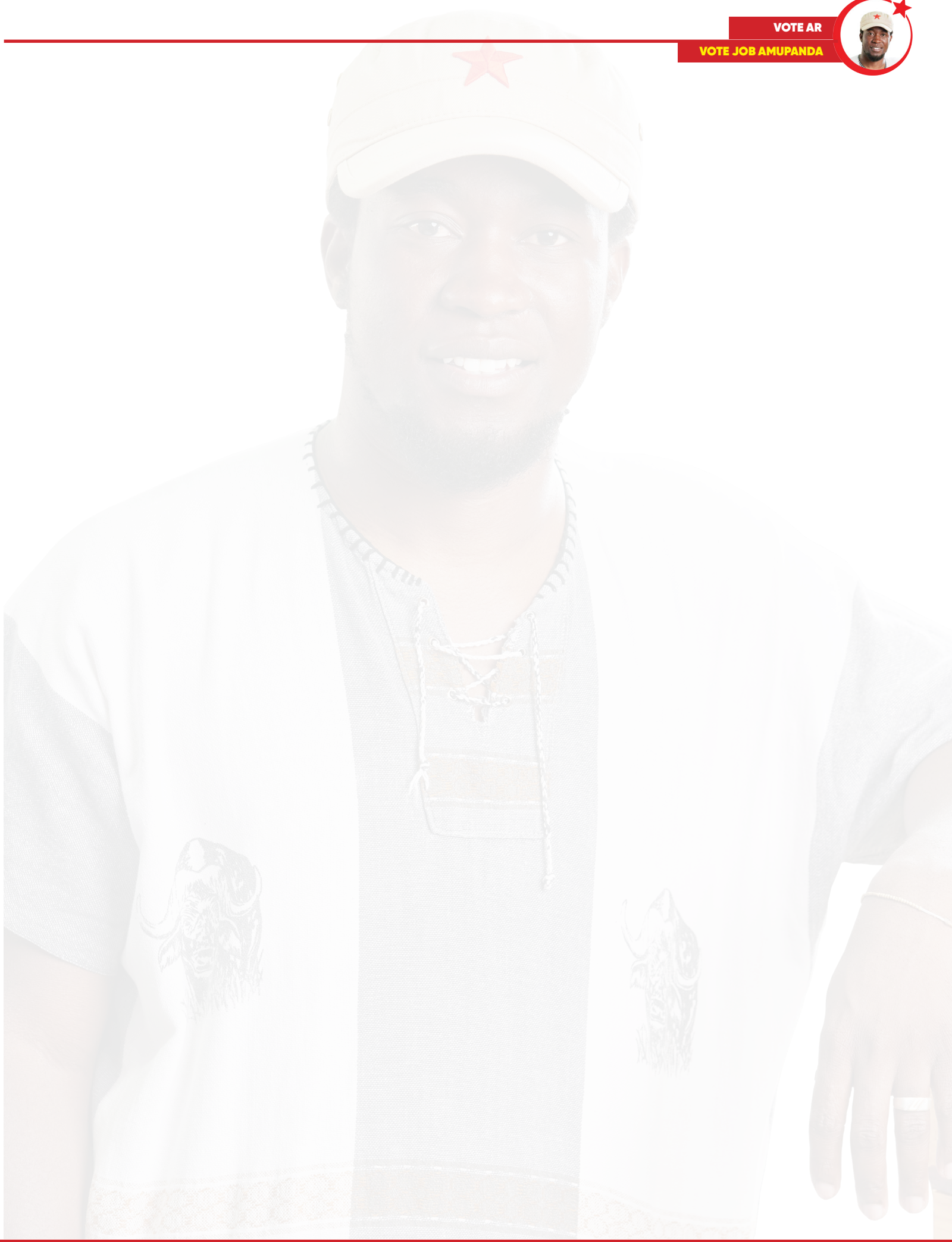
Namibia's leadership at the global stage was only recognized during the first 15 years after independence. After that, Namibia is only seen as a mere participant and is never called upon to lead any meaningful dialogue and solve African and world challenges. AR government will seek to reestablish Namibia's leadership globally by crafting and leading a vision for a better Africa and a better world.

iv. Attracting International agencies

The AR government will seek to attract the presence of international organization in Namibia. Special incentives will be developed to ensure this happens. The City of Swakopmund will be assigned as an international city.

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