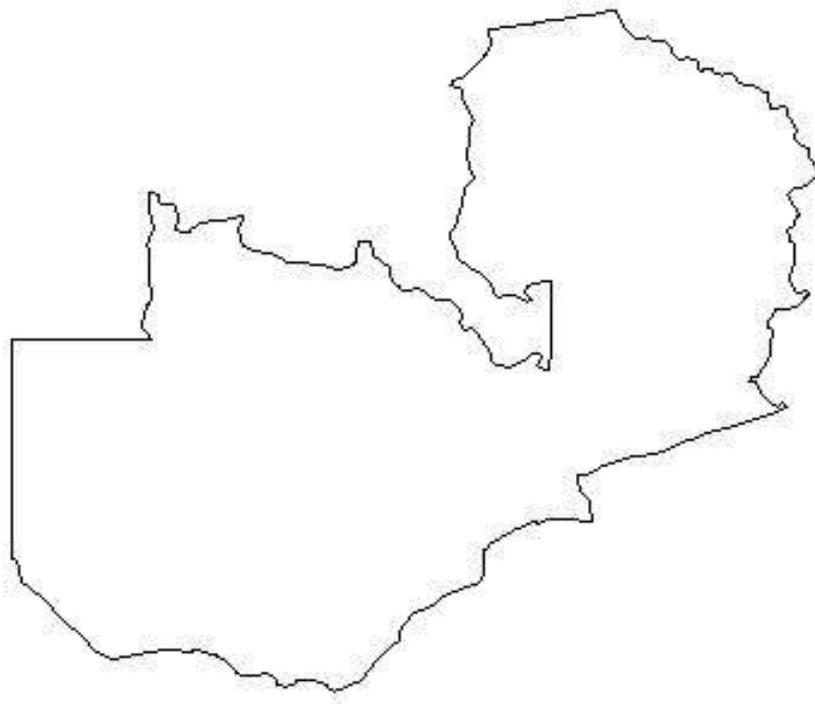


THE NAREP ELECTION MANIFESTO

INVESTING IN OUR GREATEST RESOURCE - OUR PEOPLE

2011 - 2016



NATIONAL RESTORATION PARTY

"A Heart for the People"

PRELIMINARY RELEASE VERSION FOR PUBLIC COMMENT (17 AUGUST 2011)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THEME: Under a NAREP administration, Zambia will be well on the way to becoming:

- an energy superpower
- the top agricultural producer in Africa
- a major inland centre for regional trade and commerce

OUTCOMES: NAREP's development plans will result in the following outcomes:

- 1 million new jobs within 5 years
- 10,000 new business owners in each province within 6 years
- Full electrification in rural, urban and per-urban areas within 7 years with 60 per cent completed by 2016
- Minimum of 10,000 kilometres of new all-weather roads within 10 years
- Modern sanitation and housing in all districts
- Immediate adoption and use of technology as a driver of development
- Major reduction of taxes for ordinary citizens

FOCUS: Private sector-driven economy with government being directly responsible for investing in 5 focal development sectors:

- Health
- Education
- Infrastructure
- Empowerment
- Security

FUNDING: Various sources of finance will be relied upon to develop the programmes that NAREP intends to pursue over the next 5 years. The main sources of funding will include the following:

- An infrastructure tax for the mining sector
- Limited use of national reserves as a guarantee on major infrastructure projects
- Concessional infrastructure loans from development finance institutions
- Financing mechanisms under global environmental finance initiatives
- General revenues through improved collection

IMPLEMENTATION:

Under a NAREP administration, Zambia will be major infrastructure and innovation development site for 10-15 years. The foundation and framework of the current economic infrastructure will be radically altered. Zambia will never be the same again. However, the implementation of *Vision 3:3:8* will require a re-focussed, professional and empowered civil service with a modern outlook on governance and accountability. It will also require unprecedented dedication and commitment from

the people of Zambia. Priority will therefore be accorded to investing in the nation's greatest resource: its people.

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1. A BOLD AND RADICAL VISION

1.1 Summary of Vision 3:3:8

This election manifesto is in line with the NAREP Party Manifesto (available at www.newzambia.org). NAREP has developed and adopted a bold and radical vision for Zambia entitled: *Vision 3:3:8*. Vision 3:3:8 will deliver jobs, prosperity and economic empowerment for all. Under this vision, Zambia will be well on its way to becoming:

- an energy superpower
- among the top agricultural producers in Africa
- a major inland centre for regional trade and investment

The first “3” in Vision 3:3:8 represents the 3 *vision outcomes* which are closely connected.

The vision outcomes outlined above will be supported by the following pillars:

- improved government transparency, accountability and performance
- implementation of a new policy on energy independence
- modernisation and reconstruction of both rural and urban areas

The second “3” in Vision 3:3:8 represents these 3 *pillars*.

The successful implementation of the steps towards making the vision a reality will depend on the NAREP administration’s commitment to living up to and promoting 8 core values:

- excellence
- integrity
- responsibility
- service
- equity
- humility
- commitment
- sense of community

These core values provide the necessary foundation for the type of leadership required to change the national mindset and bring transformational change to Zambia.

There are, in summary, 3 vision outcomes, 3 pillars supporting the vision outcomes and 8 values that provide the foundation for the pillars in order to ensure that the vision is consistently adhered to by all of the country’s leadership and its citizens and residents alike.

1.2 Structure of the NAREP Election Manifesto

This election manifesto is presented in six parts.

Part I is an introduction summarising NAREP’s *Vision 3:3:8* and explaining the structure of the NAREP manifesto

Part II sets out NAREP's policies on the main areas of government focus (**Developmental Sectors**):

- Health
- Education
- Infrastructure
- Empowerment
- Security

Part III sets out NAREP's policies for private sector leadership in the main economic areas (**Primary Economic Sectors**):

- Energy
- Mining
- Manufacturing
- Agriculture
- Tourism
- Construction
- Logistics
- Services

Part IV addresses NAREP's proposed social and political reforms for key social groups and institutions (**Social and Political Reforms**):

- Youth
- Women
- Socially disadvantaged groups
- Political parties
- Traditional authorities
- Churches, religious bodies and civic organisations
- Media institutions

Part V addresses important economic and political governance reforms (**Constitutional and Legal Reforms**):

- Reduction of presidential powers
- Constitutional reform
- Judicial reform
- Fiscal and monetary policy reform
- Governance, decentralisation and local government reform

Part VI concludes with the reminder of the hard work ahead and the leadership required to realise *Vision 3:3:8* and ensure social, political and economic empowerment for everyone.

This election manifesto is designed to offer simple and workable solutions to the many obstacles confronting our nation and restricting the efficient flow and implementation of sound development policies throughout the country. Each section setting out the policy

initiatives briefly explains: (1) our assessment of some of the most pressing challenges; (2) the current government's approach towards addressing these challenges; (3) NAREP's proposed plans and policy initiatives; and (4) how NAREP intends to fund these plans.

2. DEVELOPMENTAL SECTORS

2.1 Introduction

There are 5 areas that are covered in this section: (1) Health; (2) Education; (3) Infrastructure; (4) Empowerment; and (5) Security. These 5 areas will see the main thrust of budgetary expenditure with resources being prioritised towards ensuring that each and every Zambian will have the opportunity to strive towards attaining their full potential, no matter where in the country he or she resides and no matter what status they hold in society.

2.2 Health: "Quality Healthcare for All"

2.2.1 Key challenges

With a population of nearly 14 million people occupying a land area in excess of 752,000 square kilometres, Zambia is a vast and thinly populated country that lacks infrastructure to connect small population centres. This has generally made the efficient delivery of quality health services extremely difficult. Unplanned urban and peri-urban development and poor or non-existent water and sanitation infrastructure has added to the overall difficulties of efficient delivery of quality healthcare. Severely constrained access coupled with the lack of affordability of services and medicines have contributed to ensuring that poor healthcare remains one of the most compelling features of Zambia's status as an underdeveloped nation. Although improvements have been recorded in reproductive health, maternal mortality rates remain unacceptably high. Preventable diseases affecting children under the age of 5 years remains a leading cause of death in this age bracket. Although current health statistics reflect long-standing infrastructural challenges, the lack of prioritisation and investment in this critical pillar of human development has made an already difficult problem even worse.

Interventions in the health sector will require improvements not only in infrastructure but also in health services (i.e. diagnosis and availability of medicines and equipment to treat patients) and in human resources. The output of graduating students in the field of medicine (doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, clinical assistants) remains low. The problem is compounded by the attrition rate, particularly of doctors and nurses. With many health workers seeking to advance their careers abroad or within urban centres, it is clear that the disparities between urban and rural communities will grow ever wider.

2.2.2 Current approach

Recognising the limitations in infrastructure, government has taken two broad approaches to addressing the obstacles to quality health service delivery. First, there has been a rapid construction of hospitals and clinical facilities in both peri-urban and rural areas. Secondly, government has imported mobile hospitals at great cost to the treasury. No major initiatives

on preventative approaches have been adopted and training, recruitment and placement of doctors, nurses and health workers remain a major problem. The existing policy framework reads well but lacks thinking beyond conventional approaches towards ensuring effective health delivery. It does not, for example, embrace the significant benefits that come with the use of technology for monitoring and distribution of medication and in carrying out remote diagnosis. Further, while there has been some coordination with important stakeholders in the health services delivery system (such as Churches running mission hospitals), interactions with NGOs, traditional authorities and locally-based communities are not well coordinated. Some assistance has, however, been rendered by government through payroll support arrangements for staff working in mission hospitals.

Mental health is an area that the government has also largely neglected. There has been a failure to provide specialist care or offer any solutions towards reducing the stigma, discrimination and limited understanding associated with mental health issues in our society.

2.2.3 *NAREP's plans*

NAREP recognises that a big limitation in health service delivery is poor infrastructure. NAREP has a long-term plan to develop infrastructure that will more efficiently link provinces to each other. Over time, this will enable other interventions to be more effective. Prior to that time, however, radical interventions are vital if lives are to be saved. In recognition of this, NAREP will develop its healthcare policy in a carefully structured manner that addresses the realities and needs of each community. Health service delivery across the nation will therefore adopt the following principles:

- Greater focus on preventive approaches to attaining and sustaining good health (focus will be on promoting good nutrition and environmental health and improved water and sanitation services)
- health services will be tailored to specifically address the needs and circumstances of the different types of communities in Zambia
- technology will play a vital role in improving the quality of health service delivery in all areas
- strategic engagements to build a coalition of stakeholders in the health sector will be embarked upon (including engagement with churches working in local communities, traditional authorities, NGOs and existing grassroots structures)

NAREP intends to build on the existing health policy but to take a much more holistic approach in addressing the health challenges facing the nation. One of the leading causes of death and illness is the poor quality of water available to local communities in peri-urban and rural communities. Addressing this will require taking steps to improve local government infrastructure. NAREP's modernisation plans will facilitate major improvements in the infrastructure required to be developed by local government.

NAREP will establish and raise the capacity of hospitals at the provincial and district levels so that each will be able to cater to the 4 main areas of medicine:

- Paediatrics
- General surgery
- Internal medicine
- Obstetrics and gynaecology

In addition to this, clinics at constituency and ward level will be built (where none already exist), and supported or upgraded (where they do already exist) to meet the minimum standards of service delivery that will comply with performance and delivery standards set by the Ministry of Health. These standards will be in accordance with universal guidelines on health service delivery.

Due to the urgent nature of the maternal mortality rate (which although it has come down still remains significantly higher than the target set by the Millennium Development Goals), NAREP will work with NGOs, churches and local communities to establish a plan for constructing maternal shelters with basic pre-natal and post-natal facilities at every polling district in rural areas. Construction of shelters across the country will be carried out with community involvement, consultation and support.

2.2.4 Funding

NAREP will prioritise expenditure in the health sector. To demonstrate NAREP's commitment to improving health for all, with immediate effect upon assuming office, non-emergency treatment abroad at government expense for all classes of personnel currently entitled to this benefit will cease. The funds saved will be invested in health service through the establishment of collaborative links with foreign medical institutions and Zambian as well as non-Zambian doctors and medical practitioners based abroad.

2.3 Education: "Building a Knowledge-Based and Globally Interactive Society"

2.3.1 Key challenges

Over the last 20 years impressive strides have been made in building additional schools to enable greater and easier access to education. In spite of these efforts however, the average pupil teacher ratio remains unacceptably high at around 100:1. In rural communities, the absence of teachers due to social and economic factors has meant that although schools are much closer to communities than they were 20 years ago, education is now much further away. Schools lack quality teaching methods and teacher attrition rates (due to unattractive conditions of service) create a poor incentive for learning, especially for rural pupils.

Many poor children are entering into school above the official entry age of 7 years and not ready to learn – and schools in turn cannot provide the environment needed to help these children adjust and learn well. Parents (who may themselves not be literate) may not have the confidence and skills to support a positive transition to school and most schools have no strategies to help children to settle in the new environment. Teachers too are inadequately prepared to handle the child's transition, leading to early drop-outs and low capacity to learn. Children, therefore often do poorly in class, repeat grades, and drop out at high rates.

Giving all children a better, stronger start at time of school entry is not only vital for attacking the worst effects of poverty, but along with other policies and livelihood programmes contributes to poverty reduction.

In an era of high unemployment, school fees are generally beyond the reach of many parents. Although many government schools charge no fees, incidental costs for uniform, Parent/Teacher Association (PTA) charges, school books and related materials often create an insurmountable barrier to education. To make matters worse, those that are somehow able to make it through the local schooling system are not guaranteed an opportunity for tertiary education. The poor quality and scope of their primary and secondary education often leaves them inadequately prepared for life beyond school in a limited job market.

The issues confronting the nation in providing quality education are clearly numerous: (1) the challenges facing early childhood development are overwhelming for ordinary Zambian families and require support; (2) there is poor transition management from home to formal school; (3) interrelated factors inhibit learning outcomes: (i) high pupil-to-teacher ratios; (ii) inadequate and/ or inappropriate learning materials; (iii) poor teacher training; (iv) an overloaded curriculum; and (v) low literacy of parents may mean they are unable to guide and support children to continue learning at home;

2.3.2 *Current approach*

The policy emphasis by the current administration appears to be focussed more on school construction rather than improvement of the quality of learning and the quality of the overall learning environment. Ironically, therefore, while there are indeed more school buildings than at any time in our history, education has become less accessible. And while teachers are routinely recruited at great cost each year, retention rates and deployment to rural areas remains problematic. In addition, the national curriculum has remained static and rote-based, rendering it largely irrelevant to the demands of the modern era.

Many young children in Zambia are exposed to multiple risks, including poverty, malnutrition, poor health, and un-stimulating home environments, which detrimentally affect their cognitive, motor, and social-emotional development. Although the current National Development Plan recognises investment in early childhood care, development and education, Zambia does not have a national ECCD Policy.

The Ministry of Education is mandated to take responsibility for early childhood programmes in addition to primary, secondary and tertiary education. The Ministry has made numerous pronouncements regarding the importance of the early years, but no significant effort since 2004 to put into practice early learning programmes (for example, the National ECCD Policy has been in draft since 2006). The draft indicates that the Ministry of Education will take responsibility for infrastructure development, support and remuneration of ECCD care-givers, critical concerns, as inadequate infrastructure and volunteer turn-over are key concerns in community managed ECCD programmes.

2.3.3 *NAREP's plans*

NAREP intends to improve both the quantity of schools and quality of schooling. The cornerstone of NAREP's plan is to improve the capacity of Zambians to play an active role in the nation's social, political and economic life. The ability of ordinary citizens to reap the benefits that should flow from improved economic performance will largely be a function of the education that they will have been exposed to. NAREP recognises that education does not begin and end in the classroom but is part of a broader ongoing narrative that starts from early childhood in the home and runs throughout the course of a person's life.

NAREP's education strategy will address development in the sector at 5 distinct levels:

- Pre-primary interactions
- Primary level education
- Secondary level education
- Tertiary level education
- Adult literacy level education

NAREP will advocate a broad policy of educational development for every child. The theme will be: "Education for the Head, Heart and Hands". NAREP will utilise simple, appropriate and available technology to deliver quality education to the remotest rural communities. Such an approach will significantly address the reluctance on the part of many teachers to be located in rural communities that are not able to offer the same standard of living as the urban locations many have been accustomed to.

Pre-primary level education

NAREP in office will:

- create awareness in the entire nation on the key aspects of Early Childhood services that promote optimal childhood development
- support establishment of Early Childhood centres in every ward with a view to scaling up to a centre for every 25 households
- speedily put in a place an Early Childhood Education policy that will guide implementation of Early Childhood programs in the nation
- increase budgetary allocation to the Directorate of Early Childhood services

Primary school education

Utilising cell phone masts and internet connectivity, educational content can now be delivered to specially designed school units kitted out with touch-screen computers with long-life, solar-powered batteries. The educational content of the material delivered will depend on a revised curriculum that offers a problem-solving approach to learning as opposed to the rote-learning system currently in use. In addition to this, pupils would be able to learn in their native tongues as well as in English – improving their motivation and overall knowledge while at the same time exposing them to relevant and appropriate modern technology from an early age.

Apart from altering the curriculum to improve the quality of the education for primary schools, teachers pay and teaching standards will be radically adjusted. Priority will be

placed on ensuring modern teaching methods and equipment is adopted in all government schools and tax incentives will be offered to promote the same approach in private schools.

NAREP in office will:

- ensure primary education is free and compulsory.
- make education relevant through reviewing the curriculum to make it contextually relevant
- improve attainment of learning outcomes by focussing on enhancing teacher competence and motivation through improvement of teacher incentives

Secondary level education

Over 60% of children who enter primary school do not get the opportunity to proceed to secondary school due mainly to inadequate secondary schools. Other than inadequate school places, the curriculum at secondary school level does not adequately prepare children for life after school. Many children leave secondary schools unsure of their career path. The majority of government schools are inadequately staff and do not have of the required equipment and learning materials ideal for that level of education.

NAREP will establish similar changes at secondary school education level. In addition, a national mentorship programme will be introduced that will link schools to social, political and economic stakeholders as well as to institutions of higher learning.

NAREP in office will:

- Increase budgetary allocation to construction of suitable secondary school infrastructure including libraries and laboratories
- Review the secondary school curriculum making learning at this level more specialized to prepare learners for a chosen career path
- Inculcate the spirit of democracy and entrepreneurship through support to establishment of clubs that prepare learners to take on the challenges of adult life

Tertiary level education

NAREP will adopt a three tier approach that will start with setting up a well resourced revolving credit fund to finance students and would be linked to future employment. Student eligibility criteria will be established and a proportion (i.e. not all) of the student loan would be repaid into the fund with earnings of students in the years after they begin formal employment. This will put continuous funds into the University of Zambia and other private universities and post-secondary institutions appropriately registered with the government and able to meet minimum quality standards. Secondly, NAREP will promote a major network of innovation between government, the private sector and public and private universities and tertiary institutions. The aim will be to promote the thinking and ideas of the future by funding industrial innovation with the help of the private sector (through tax incentives). This is known as the “triple helix innovation” and has been successfully applied by universities abroad. Thirdly, NAREP will promote the use of land and assets in responsible

holistic development projects that will produce income as well as major urban and rural modernisation.

2.3.4 *Funding*

Funding for educational development will be allocated directly from the national budget and from private sector sources both within and outside Zambia. Because it will be significantly higher than current rates of investment, much of the funding will come from savings generated by a reduced ministerial and deputy ministerial team and more efficient operations of government.

2.4 **Infrastructure: “Infrastructure for Universal Global Engagement”**

2.4.1 *Key challenges*

Zambia’s land mass covers an area in excess of 750,000 square kilometres. With over 8 million people (60 per cent of Zambia’s population) living in sparsely inhabited rural locations with rudimentary infrastructure, the challenge of developing country-wide infrastructure is truly enormous. In order to overcome this, Zambia requires dedicated, committed and hard working leadership at all levels of society.

Very limited infrastructure exists beyond the “line-of-rail”. In the early 1900s, the railway was an essential means of access to the country’s mineral wealth. The railway also served to facilitate the export of mine products and allowed for the importation of supplies that would ensure the sustainability of the mining industry. Built broadly around line of rail infrastructure, the economic framework inherited at independence was designed to achieve three primary objectives: (1) to enable access to the country’s mineral wealth and secure a route for shipment of mine products to industrialised nations; (2) to facilitate the distribution of goods manufactured in industrialised countries; and (3) to foster the development of industrial, financial, commercial, agricultural and social support services to the mining industry.

Because national development planning has consistently tied Zambia’s economic future to the rehabilitation of infrastructure built to promote a predominantly mining-based economy, we have inadvertently become trapped in “line-of-rail” thinking for nearly half a century. This static approach has meant that successive governments have continued to develop policies that ignore the fundamental and structural causes of the problems associated with underdevelopment and which continue to plague the nation. In part, this explains why we have positive macro-economic indicators (low inflation, higher growth rates) in the midst of persistently high levels of poverty across the country.

Technological solutions to Zambia’s development challenges are necessary. The technology need not be complicated or sophisticated but relevant and affordable. Available, applicable and affordable technological solutions exist that can be deployed to greatly improve the delivery of health, education and social services throughout urban centres and to the remotest rural communities. Working hand in hand with the private sector through public/private partnerships, it is possible to create a complete, user-friendly model for

electronic interaction within the public and private sectors. This will help to significantly reduce the cost of running government and doing business and will ultimately improve Zambia's competitiveness.

2.4.2 Current approach

The attainment of political independence in 1964 presented an opportunity to address the problem of uneven and inconsistent national development. Unfortunately, Zambia has never managed to create a viable alternative blueprint for the economy. The outlook shaped in the colonial era for the primary benefit of the industrialised world still dictates the terms of the current economic thinking. Post-independence development plans, including the recently launched Sixth National Development Plan (2011-2015), have tended to promote more local participation of urban and peri-urban residents in certain types of economic activity rather than offer radical steps towards deliberately and sustainably lifting the majority out of poverty.

2.4.3 NAREP's plans

The gap between rural and urban areas can be greatly reduced within as few as 5 years with a clear and well thought out plan for infrastructure development. NAREP intends to drive a major infrastructure development programme in order to reduce the cost of doing business in Zambia and to offer an opportunity for rural communities not only to become part of but to drive the mainstream economy.

NAREP intends to establish an unprecedented national infrastructure development plan that will see the construction on a major scale in each province of roads, modern sewerage works and out-grower projects to support a robust and well thought-out local energy production initiative. The development of modern sewerage systems will facilitate the generation of bio-energy for electricity production and treated effluent as fertiliser. The infrastructure development works alone will create numerous jobs and business development opportunities. A robust national bio-fuel blending policy will help to foster the growth of stand-alone out-grower communities around all parts of the country. These will be established to meet the national demand for bio-fuels created by this new economic initiative. It is important to point out that the current administration has had a bio-fuels initiative in place but has never actively promoted and developed it. NAREP will make its plans on new alternative energy central to the growth and modernisation of urban and rural areas.

Zambia needs modern, well-constructed and maintained housing, hospitals and clinics, schools and training institutes, roads and commercial and recreational centres. Zambia also needs a new and more efficient way of governing the nation. Much of what seems to have gone wrong with governance in Zambia has less to do with poor planning than it has to do with bad implementation. NAREP will address this problem through the introduction of performance targets and improved accountability standards.

The country's resources should be harnessed and used in a way that helps to sustain the environment and at the same time truly empowers Zambians. The following steps are proposed by NAREP:

- A complete land audit of the entire country would be commenced within the first 3 months of a NAREP administration to be completed within 9 months
- A major rural and urban modernisation and development plan will be launched and would introduce a concept of a Development Corporation for each Province
- Through a programme of urban re-development, residents of high density communities will become principal shareholders (owners) of a proportion of future capital made up partly of the land on which they currently reside
- Major road development programmes will be undertaken to interconnect the 9 provinces of Zambia

2.4.4 Funding

Infrastructure development is critical and must be given funding priority. All funding will, however, be designed to attain a series of sustainable projects that will pay for themselves over time. Projects will be designed so as to benefit from funding initiatives under global environmental financing schemes.

2.5 Empowerment: "Economic Empowerment for Everyone"

2.5.1 Key challenges

The country currently has insufficient opportunities for the absorption of the majority of youth leaving school and even fewer opportunities for those youth that have not had the chance to get through formal education at any level. Many men and women beyond their youthful years are unable to either find or retain jobs. Many have limited options for playing their expected role as bread-winners. Faced with this dilemma, self-employment becomes a necessary option. Therefore, while it is important to create jobs over the next 5 years and beyond, it will be equally important to create business development opportunities for unemployed Zambians. Developing a completely new class of competent, capable and self-motivated businessmen and businesswomen will require innovative approaches.

Disadvantaged groups face many challenges in trying to eke out an existence in Zambia. These groups include the differently-abled, orphans and vulnerable children, marginalised communities (particularly those residing in rural areas), pensioners, the unemployed and women. The historical state of the economy has magnified the challenges these groups face and the recent improvement in overall economic performance has not resulted in benefits flowing to these communities.

The problem is not inequality per se but more a problem of inequality of opportunity and whether there are structural defects in governance or economic and social policy that prevent sections of society from aspiring to attain their full potential.

2.5.2 Current approach

The main pillar supporting entrepreneurial activity has been the government's Citizen's Economic Empowerment Commission (CEEC). While the CEEC goals are laudable, its design and implementation have failed to promote sustainable entrepreneurial development in the five or more years that it has been functional.

Entrepreneurial activity exists largely out of necessity. With few jobs being competed for by an ever increasing number of school-leavers and graduates of tertiary institutions, the level of foreign direct investment and the jobs that are created as a result of such investments is not able to maintain the pace of demand for new jobs. The result is entrepreneurial necessity. However, entrepreneurs are developing without any guidance and support – other than limited financial support and a limited budget.

No clear initiatives for disadvantaged groups exist. The general approach has been to set aside funds to be selectively distributed whenever an election is on the horizon.

2.5.3 *NAREP's plans*

Developing entrepreneurial potential requires finance, opportunity and preparedness. Setting aside funds to support entrepreneurs is therefore only one aspect of building the correct foundation for entrepreneurial development. NAREP will fund entrepreneurs through existing private sector financing institutions in order to build the correct discipline in financial responsibility. CEEC will be re-organised so that it offers training and skills development for entrepreneurs. CEEC will oversee the establishment at the ward and constituency level of Entrepreneurial Training Centres (ETCs) that will serve as incubators offering skills training and development for youth.

NAREP will put in place legislation to support empowerment initiatives that will promote a major capacity upgrade of local businesses. Incentives for mine ownership and local capacity development will be legislated in a way that encourages rather than obligates existing owners to localise ownership.

2.5.4 *Funding*

Major improvements in funding the development of youth programmes will be undertaken. These will be specifically tailored to train youth to meet the requirements of the new economy. An amount equivalent to the Constituency Development Fund will be established to develop ETCs. Government will guarantee loans from financial institutions that will be evaluated and selected to participate in the programme through tender.

2.6 **Security: "Protecting our people, our borders and our resources"**

2.6.1 *Key challenges*

Zambia is a nation that has experienced relative peace with its neighbours since independence. Other than during two tense periods of uncertainty prior to the liberation of Zimbabwe and during the apartheid years in South Africa, the country has not faced the prospect of war. On other occasions, tensions along the borders with Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo and a short stand-off with Nigeria during the 1967 uprising in

Biafra, underscore the need for a clearer and more transparent articulation of Zambia's security and national interest.

In the 21st century, security and national interest are no longer based primarily on territorial (i.e. physical) integrity. National interest in the modern era will be largely driven by the need to protect diminishing natural resources and ensuring that these can be used in a manner that can guarantee sustainable development for future generations. In practice, this will involve a major programme of education and investment in people across the whole spectrum of society in order to imbue them with the skills and outlook that will safeguard our national assets.

2.6.2 *Current approach*

It is difficult to accept that there is any policy in place that is aimed at protecting the interests of Zambian nationals and their natural resources. The shooting of 11 Zambians at a coal mine and an earlier incident in which more than 50 Zambians died in an accident at an explosives factory on the Copperbelt underscore the problem. In both instances, no prosecutions were concluded and the accused persons in the shooting incident were discharged from prosecution at the request of the state. Further, the timidity with which the state has approached the question of mining taxes and its ongoing willingness to defend investor interests raises serious questions of transparency and accountability.

2.6.3 *NAREP's plans*

Lack of a well-defined policy on our national interest has made Zambia a victim of the whims of investors and the sometimes powerful backing that supports such investment. Under a NAREP administration, there will be no preferred investor nations but all investment will need to comply with the investment principles set out in this manifesto and the policy programmes that will be developed as a result.

It will be important for government to play a major role in protecting our people and our natural resources. Primarily this will involve setting out a clear policy on the use and exploitation of land, water and minerals. Wherever possible, priority for development of natural resources will include important elements of citizen and community participation.

NAREP needs to have agile and well prepared military and defence capabilities in line with the current and perceived future threats to its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In keeping regular troops "combat active", the development of rural infrastructure such as bridges, dams and bio-energy units will be undertaken by elements of the Zambia Defence Forces working collaboratively with local government and the private sector.

The quality of military training will be significantly enhanced. NAREP proposes the introduction of a "WestPoint" and "Sandhurst" style military training academy and university that will support top ranking careers combining military discipline with high level public and private-sector career training. NAREP will ensure that Zambia has a well-funded, disciplined and loyal army.

Our internal security must continually be aligned to serve the interests of the state and the people of Zambia. Our foreign policy will rekindle the core principles espoused by the Non-Aligned Movement. Engagement with foreign nations will be designed around promoting our national interests while supporting regional and international initiatives on greater political, social and economic cooperation and integration.

2.6.4 Funding

Security and defence matters by their very nature consume a significant portion of any national budget. Estimates in respect of security matters will be addressed in accordance with established procedures for such matters.

3. PRIMARY ECONOMIC SECTORS

3.1 Introduction

Under a NAREP administration, government will play a facilitation role, ensuring that the capacity of the local private sector will rise to the level where it can deliver quality output while ensuring that maximum local benefits are derived by Zambians. The ultimate goal is to create world-class local businesses and entrepreneurs in every sector.

The foundation for Zambia's current macro-economic performance was laid in 1991 with the decision to move from a centrally planned socialist-leaning economy to one based on market forces in a liberalised environment. This was followed by a structural adjustment plan that has led to the more effective macro management of the economy. These factors, coupled with massive debt forgiveness in 2006 has allowed Zambia to be well poised to benefit from the global increase in demand (particularly in emerging markets) for commodity and consumer goods, telecommunications services and financial products. The overall result is that Zambia has been able to post impressive growth numbers. GDP growth over the last 5 years has averaged 5.7 per cent; mining output has exceeded historic levels and the nation is poised to post a record third bumper harvest in a row. However, when one digs a little below the surface particularly in respect of the bumper harvest as we shall see later, it becomes clear that the numbers have a very disturbing foundation.

Zambia needs to completely transform her thinking when it comes to economic development. The key to our economic success will lie in ensuring that we can stimulate quantum growth in the capability and responsible output of local private enterprise. This can be achieved if government is proactive in enhancing local ownership of new business projects and implementing unprecedented growth plans on a national scale.

3.1.1 Key challenges

NAREP believes that poverty will not be tackled by "tackling poverty". Such an approach is focussed on addressing symptoms rather than the underlying causes of poverty. We must move towards an approach that is fully focussed on tackling the causes of poverty. In order to do this, we need to create the environment that will fertilise growth and empowerment across the whole country so that the potential of every Zambian can be given the chance to

be more fully realised. This will require us to rethink our whole approach to development delivery.

Tackling the causes of poverty will require the construction of a completely new economy; one that will move the nation away from its “line-of-rail” mentality to one that is focused on making rural communities a necessary and integral part of our overall economic development. We must start by setting out a clear and simple path to national development. Three steps are proposed: (i) re-ordering our national priorities so that significantly greater emphasis is placed on developing rural areas and the non-mining sectors of our economy – and doing so in an economically and environmentally sustainable manner; (ii) expanding access to new areas of growth and development well beyond the line of rail; and (iii) restoring a values-system that is suitable for promoting leadership that will responsibly oversee the thinking, planning and implementation associated with such an approach.

3.1.2 *Current approach*

The primary focus of government in developing economic sectors has been to rely on foreign direct investment. While this in and of itself is not a bad thing, there has been insufficient attention paid to developing significant local private sector capacity to underwrite major economic ventures in all sectors of the economy. Government has been very proactive in promoting infrastructure development but has failed to coordinate this in a manner that directly benefits residents in rural communities and peri-urban settlements.

3.1.3 *The NAREP Plan*

NAREP’s ultimate aim is to raise the quality of local private sector output to superior levels and to facilitate broad-based full-scale local ownership of both major and small-scale economic projects. This will ensure more comprehensive empowerment of local businesses and communities. The NAREP National Economic Plan (available at www.newzambia.org) is deliberately structured to address local private sector capacity problems by promoting *Triple-P Partnerships* (i.e. public/private/private partnerships). With *Triple P*, the emphasis is on ensuring that government-backed projects promote and strengthen local and not only foreign private sector interests.

The NAREP National Economic Plan is anchored on 4 pillars:

- Bio-fuels and clean local energy production
- Agricultural production beyond the line of rail
- Trade of goods and services with Zambia serving as a regional inland hub
- Technological innovation

In line with the overall goal of moving Zambia away from its dependence on a single commodity, it is possible for Zambia to become an alternative energy superpower following the example set by Brazil. The opening up of land for the production of alternative energy

on the strength of a bold new national energy policy will positively impact agricultural production by facilitating the development of infrastructure that will support the more effective use of our 420,000 km² of medium-to-high potential arable land. Consequently, Zambia will be better able to take advantage of its strategic geographic location and offer a convenient inland hub for regional trade, commerce and political as well as social engagement. Being a regional trade and services centre would align well with Zambia's geographical location and its people's nature, cultural orientation and historical experience.

If this approach is adopted, the following can be realistically achieved:

- 1,000,000 new jobs within 5 years in both rural and urban areas
 - 10,000 new business owners in each province within 6 years
 - Full rural electrification within 7 years with a target of 60 per cent completion by 2016
 - 10,000 kilometres of new tarmac roads within 10 years
 - Modern sanitation and housing in all districts
 - Major new roads connecting all provinces to modern towns and cities within 10 years
 - Dramatic reduction of personal taxes
- Jobs will be created through:
 - building national infrastructure for water, sewerage and sanitation
 - developing new rail and road links for mining and industrial operations
 - developing concrete roads to link rural locations to line of rail infrastructure
 - implementing policies to stimulate national demand for bio-fuels and bio-energy
 - increased industrial productivity through local alternative energy initiatives
 - increased activity in other growth sectors such as tourism, logistics and other services

Each of these initiatives will have a commercial foundation to ensure that they are sustainable and can be fully supported through a combination of commercial and concessional lending.

- New business owners will emerge as a result of:
 - implementation of policy initiatives to stimulate local demand for bio-fuels
 - government-initiated private sector-driven construction projects
 - support services to major government-driven public works projects
- Full rural electrification will be possible because of:
 - extensive use of wide application and cost-effective solar and bio-energy systems
 - cost effective and easily implementable mini-hydro systems
 - use of locally developed bio-fuel resources

- Major new roads will be developed on the back of the alternative energy programme and the development of infrastructure to support mining and industrial operations
- Tax reduction will be achieved through a combination of the following:
 - broadening the tax net
 - improving efficiency in collection
 - incentivising taxpayers
 - transparency in application

In order to ensure the responsible development of this plan, as a Party in government, NAREP will commit itself to introducing:

- a small cabinet of selfless and committed leaders
- accountability through performance-based monitoring of all government actions
- unprecedented transparency and new rules on tendering

3.1.4 Funding

NAREP will fund its economic plan through a combination of savings and drawdown from 4 primary sources:

- implementation of an infrastructure tax for the mining sector
- limited use of reserves as guarantee on major infrastructure projects
- concessional infrastructure loans (bilateral, multilateral and development finance)
- financing mechanisms under the Kyoto Protocol Clean Development Funds facility

The main areas of private sector focus will be the following: Energy, Mining, Manufacturing, Agriculture, Tourism, Construction, Logistics and Services.

The overall policy direction for each of these economic sectors is set out below.

3.2 Energy

3.2.1 Key challenges

The Zambian economy is generally dependent on imported fossilised fuels to run industrial and economic activity. There is currently constrained capacity in the supply of energy to meet national demand. As a result, there is persistent load shedding in many residential and business locations. Rural communities have limited access to electric power and have to rely on wood fuel (mainly charcoal but including wood) – hazardous for health and damaging to the environment.

In order to achieve her development goals, Zambia will need reliable sources of energy not only to address shortfalls in current demand but in order to meet anticipated future demand. Current installed capacity is under 2,000 megawatts of available power. Although

there are various power development projects in the pipeline that could increase installed capacity by more than half this amount, there remain significant challenges: (1) most of the power development projects are hydro-based. Hydro represents clean energy but has a relatively long lead development time; (2) the nature and location of hydro sites require the construction of costly generation facilities and transmission lines, which has environmental and social impacts including displacement of peoples and loss of arable lands; (3) transaction, finance and construction costs run into hundreds of millions of dollars for projects designed to generate 100 megawatts of power or more.

3.2.2 *Current approach*

Government has not kept pace with local energy demands in the developed areas of the country. Furthermore, its ambitions for rural electrification, however, seem very limited. As indicated in the last national budget address, rural electrification penetration over the next 5 years will only reach 15 per cent.

In its attempt to address current power shortages, the existing policy framework already fully recognises the potential impact of what it refers to as “New and Renewable Sources of Energy (NRSE)”. What has been missing is the political will to ensure that the proposed framework is fully implemented. In 2004, recommendations on NRSE were presented by the Department of Energy stating the policy options in the energy sector. These included an assessment of what would happen if government continued to adopt a “business as usual” approach to a sector in which: (i) Indeni remains the main supplier of petroleum (ii) petrol is not blended with ethanol ; and (iii) production of bio-diesel is not supported: “Supply and refining of crude will remain a monopoly; petrol will remain relatively expensive; and employment and incomes of rural communities will remain relatively low”. Nearly 8 years later, this unfavourable assessment has turned out, unfortunately, to be accurate.

3.2.3 *The NAREP plan*

A cornerstone of our economic policy will be to make Zambia one of the world leaders in alternative energy. The focus will be primarily on constructing alternative energy infrastructure. Nowadays, waste-to-energy (WTE) plants based on combustion technologies are highly efficient power plants that utilize municipal solid waste as their fuel rather than coal, oil or natural gas. Far better than expending energy to explore, recover, process and transport the fuel from distant sources, WTE are able to extract value from what others consider waste.

WTE plants recover the thermal energy contained in garbage in highly efficient boilers that generate steam to drive turbines for electricity production. These plants convert the biodegradable component of the waste into high calorific value gases like methane. The digested portion of the waste is rich in nutrients and can be used as bio-fertilizer.

Talented human beings are the driving force in making the shift toward sustainability. While Zambia can cultivate leadership, a realistic shift in education and “hands on training” will require multi-year goals. More immediately, public-private partnerships can be pursued with international companies willing to implement pilot scale systems that can be expanded when domestic capacity is ready and able to do so. Toward this, an engaged Minister of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources working with the Minister of Energy, Mining, Infrastructure and Technology can act as a driver to invite appropriate technologies and foster successful pilot projects.

It is important that any new technologies integrated into Zambia’s sustainability mix be based on proven technology, with participation from Zambia’s academic institutions. Zambia’s next crop of business leaders are now working on under-graduate and advanced degrees. They will need to be familiar with the NAREP Energy and Sustainability Plan, in order to improve on it and find their careers within its implementation.

To promote this approach, the NAREP government will create a method by which public-private partnerships that focus on sustainability are welcomed into the country. Each partnership can have an intern training component that benefits the Zambian workforce. These companies must be prepared to identify themselves as ready to install, train, monitor and produce the sustainable food, fuel and energy needed to make the plan work. A parallel approach is to append sustainability initiatives to Zambia’s existing corporate and economic infrastructure. This will require proof that sustainability makes good business sense.

Whether at the macro or micro level, sustainability is best viewed as a whole systems approach. Mining and tourism may be the leading revenue generators, but farming occupies over 85 per cent of the country. At the farm and village level, sustainability will translate as expansion to include new green fuels crops, the opening of new farming areas, new applications for farm waste streams, and new systems that mine waste for energy.

In addition to this programme, there will continue to be attention paid to developing the hydroelectric potential of the country to bring production capacity up to 5,000 Megawatts of power within the next 10 years. This will require extensively upgrading the current electric grid and providing a new backbone for national energy delivery. To this end, NAREP will introduce new initiatives to open up scrutiny of the operations of the national utility, ZESCO.

3.3 Mining

3.3.1 Key challenges

Mining is of critical importance to the Zambian economy. The bulk of the infrastructure that we rely on to this day was built largely on the back of mining operations. It is the largest private sector employer and the largest sector contributor to tax revenues. Mining is, in essence, the “heart and lungs of the economy”. If mining is doing well then the macro-economic environment improves. When the mining industry suffers, the overall economy tends to suffer along with it. This raises the all important issue of the need for diversification away from the mining sector although in the short-term, the dependence will be unavoidable.

In spite of its role and prominence, however, mining is not making the type of contribution that such an important sector should be making to the economy. Tax contribution for an industry that has gained huge benefits from a sustained commodity boom should be much higher than the government has been prepared to collect. Further, there are many environmental problems that have been created over several years by the mining industry that will need to be immediately remediated. Empowerment initiatives within the sector have been slow, uncoordinated and even unpredictable; with government reversing earlier attempts at advancing local ownership (as we show below).

The future impact of mining in Zambia will depend on the overall health of the global economy from time to time. This affects commodity prices. The extent to which mining is able to positively impact the local economy is partly dependent on the type of mining investors that Zambia continues to attract and the capacity of government to introduce and enforce a sound mining policy. There are, however, major local capacity constraints that need to be addressed if mining is to reap better dividends for the government and for individual citizens.

3.3.2 *Current approach*

The pace of Zambia's economic development since independence has been almost single-handedly set by the mining industry. Through its sheer dominance, mining has consistently presented itself as the "engine" powering Zambia's economy. As is evident from the government's Sixth National Development Plan, the current administration endorses this sentiment and intends to rely heavily on increased mine output to fund proposed development plans over the next 5 years. While it is broadly true that mining has spearheaded development in several parts of the interior, most of the country is devoid of such activity. As a result, mining has not been a true engine of growth for the whole economy.

The current policy approach and engagement with the mining sector is largely reactive and has failed to address the need for greater initiatives for empowerment and local capacity development. The one opportunity to encourage exclusive Zambian ownership of mining operations was snuffed out with the repeal in 2009 of section 7(4) of the Mines and Minerals Act. This section had restricted the mining of non-industrial minerals (such as cement) to Zambian citizens. Had it been allowed to continue in operation, current investments in the sector would, as of necessity, have created immediate empowerment opportunities for local Zambians. However, this silent repeal went by unnoticed and characterises the silent manner in which the country has been robbed of the opportunity to ensure that Zambians benefit more comprehensively from the nation's natural resources.

The current administration has tended to be more sympathetic to the investor interests rather than taking a view that balances the need for investment returns against the benefit that should accrue to the country and to local communities. This is partly the result of a compromised political will and lack of capacity to understand mining operations and enforce the law as it currently stands. This has put the vast majority of mining companies in a position where they are almost at liberty to dictate the terms of their engagement with tax and regulatory authorities.

3.3.3 *The NAREP plan*

NAREP will address 6 policy areas:

- Policy on natural resources
- Taxation of revenues related to mining
- Employment related to mining activities
- Environmental impact of mining activities
- Corporate Social Responsibility
- Empowerment and local capacity development

Policy on Natural Resources

The NAREP natural resources policy will be built upon 4 broad principles:

- Extraction and beneficiation of resources should significantly benefit the citizens of the country in which the resources are found and the primary benefit should flow to the local communities in which mining activity takes place
- Because extractive industry resources are finite (i.e. they cannot be accessed indefinitely), as far as possible, resources generated from the extractive industry must be applied towards developing infrastructure that will survive the closure of the mines that produce them
- Natural resources should be exploited in a safe, responsible and environmentally sound manner
- Broad local ownership of major mining projects must be pursued as a medium to long-term objective

Taxation of revenues related to mining

NAREP aims to raise a minimum of US\$1 billion in annual taxes from the mining sector. This can be achieved through: (1) a uniform 3per cent royalty rate on all mining output; (2) an infrastructure tax; (3) a standard tax rate of 35 per cent with the correct enforcement; and (4) a combination of customs and excise duties and VAT.

In order to address the tax collection and compliance matters within the sector, it will be necessary in the short term to import skills attuned to mining practices in the most developed markets to assist local initiatives in tax monitoring, compliance and corporate performance.

Employment related to mining activities

Mining remains the largest single employer of all Zambian industries. Jobs must not only be protected – wherever possible – but there must be an incentive built into the mining process that encourages the use of local skills and labour to the full extent. Employment will be promoted both directly and indirectly (in downstream activities).

Environmental impact of mining activities

NAREP will introduce a new approach to environmental protection, monitoring and compliance within the sector. Environmental clean-up obligations will be undertaken by independent private sector entities appointed by the government through the “Triple P” concept – foreign expertise and technology applied through a local private sector entity that will eventually develop the capacities to undertake such assignments unaided. The Environmental Protection Fund will be partly used to train individuals and capitalise local businesses that will specialise in clean-up obligations. Government will play the role of monitoring and evaluation.

Corporate social responsibility

A combination of tax incentives and license issuance obligations will promote greater sense of corporate social responsibility. Social infrastructure development is something that should be in the interests of the mining companies themselves. However, the standard and extent of investment in such infrastructure is no longer something that should be left to the mine operators. NAREP will make it a requirement of the mining licence that every operator develops a blueprint social infrastructure development plan that will be in accordance with the Ministry of Energy Mines Infrastructure and Technology. These plans can be adjusted within pre-determined limits but failure to implement them within a stipulated time frame could result in the cancellation of the licence.

Empowerment and local capacity development

Emphasis will be placed on promoting Zambian ownership of new designated areas for mines and mining operations and activities. It will not be enough to simply offer shareholding to Zambians through joint ventures. This will only serve to make a small group of Zambians wealthy but will not really develop a solid base of indigenous mine ownership. NAREP will engage mining consulting teams to specifically assist with developing exploration and mine development opportunities for Zambian citizens. These teams would be remunerated via a combination of equity and fees so as to build the correct incentive for seeing each project achieve success. The teams will be made up of financiers, explorers and developers with a proven track record and with a specific mandate to train and equip 2000 Zambians each year to the level where they are able to bring exploration and other mining assets to maturity. These companies will also incorporate broad ownership for workers and members of the communities within which the mining operations would be conducted.

3.4 Manufacturing

3.4.1 Key challenges

Zambia has yet to exploit its full potential for manufacturing and improve the ratios for manufactured versus imported goods. Locally manufactured goods include: food and drinks, materials and chemicals, limited mechanical equipment (much of which is assembled rather than actually manufactured locally), building materials, school uniforms and industrial clothing, consumables, limited electrical equipment and hardware, furniture, paint, paper, pharmaceuticals and plastics, copper cable, iron and steel. Other than in respect of mainly

multinational-owned industrial output, very little of our manufactured products meet export quality standards.

3.4.2 Current approach

There is no radical plan to significantly improve the capacity of local manufacturers to meet export standards and compete favourably with imports. Although standards for importation and local sale and distribution do exist, these appear to be routinely ignored.

3.4.3 The NAREP plan

Technology and training are key to the development of the manufacturing sector in Zambia. Gaps in manufacturing can therefore be significantly reduced by providing incentives for both local and foreign investment in the sector and particularly investment in appropriate technology and materials.

3.4.4 Funding

Major support for technology transfers will be sourced from donor nations. Coupled with incentives to promote partnerships (through foreign direct investment) these will be the main source of finance for the large-scale manufacturing sector. Small-scale manufacturing will be assisted through the entrepreneurial initiatives referred to in the relevant section of this manifesto that addresses the issue of empowerment.

3.5 Agriculture

3.5.1 Key challenges

As a nation that hosts possibly 40 per cent or more of Southern Africa's fresh water; with quality arable land in excess of several European countries put together; and with the most fertile areas of the country offering up to three times the average crop yield within the region, Zambia lives with the very real possibility of becoming the continent's agricultural giant. In order to be realised, however, this potential must be exploited through massive infrastructure development – primarily through the construction of major new roads in currently inaccessible areas as opposed to simply rehabilitating existing infrastructure. The country desperately needs a plan to ensure that access to arable land can be dramatically and sustainably increased in order to turn Zambia into the continental epicentre of agriculture it has always had the potential to be.

Zambia is a country with a land mass of 752,000 km². More than half of this (420,000 km²) is of medium to high quality arable potential. Yet only 15 per cent (60,000 km²) of arable land is currently under cultivation. There are three major obstacles standing in the way of sustainable development of the agricultural sector: (1) unhelpful government interference hampering sustainable private sector solutions; (2) poor or non-existent infrastructure; and (3) poor policy initiatives to support sustainable agricultural development.

3.5.2 Current approach

On the face of it, Zambia is experiencing something of a revival in agricultural output with three bumper maize harvests in a row. How this has been achieved and whether the approach taken is sustainable, have to be carefully analysed and considered. Sustainability was defined in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development in its report to the United Nations as: “the ability to meet current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. If we want to understand the impact that the MMD government’s spending policy will have on current and future generations, we need only to reflect on the fate of the long-defunct National Agricultural Marketing Board (NAMBOARD).

After independence, a marketing organisation which had serviced white commercial farms along the line of rail was merged with a new agency that was set up to extend marketing services to African peasant farmers. The combined entity was called NAMBOARD. NAMBOARD heavily subsidised maize production and supported the marketing of the commodity by paying above prevailing market prices, causing maize production to reach record levels. Predictably, however, NAMBOARD did not survive. It only ended up creating a bigger problem than it was supposed to solve. If one examines the pricing on inputs like fertiliser (to name just one), it is easy to see how some acquired unprecedented wealth at the expense of the nation. This story is repeating itself today, only on a much larger scale.

3.5.3 The NAREP plan

As a tool to improve the agricultural sector, the NAREP Plan proposes leveraging Zambia’s network of Agricultural Training Centres and National Service Training Camps to guide in green fuels implementation and improved agricultural production. Regional centres will help localize critical services: community seed banks, pilot plots for new crops, and some degree of scientific tracking and study with local technical colleges. Zambia will reinvigorate these institutions as a critical grassroots communications channel for training and for implementing plans towards sustainability. Flexibility will be required primarily because some approaches are likely to work better than others in different locations. Additionally, local farming knowledge needs to be listened to and respected.

Small-scale and largely rural farmers can and should be assisted by government. This will be done in a smart and sustainable manner. NAREP will re-consider an idea that was previously mooted for boosting stable maize production – to identify several commercial farmers to grow maize for food security and at the same time facilitate production of (non-maize) cash crops such as cotton, tobacco, potatoes by smallholder rural out-growers. Although this approach would not address the requirement for massive improvements in infrastructure and small-scale farmer support services, the main benefit is likely to be a more decisive move towards a commercially viable base for agricultural output. However, infrastructure constraints make it difficult to reproduce such a model across all rural areas in the short-term. For this reason, NAREP will also consider other approaches towards addressing the challenge of developing rural communities and promoting diversification through agriculture.

3.5.4 Funding

The current Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) will be continued but tailored to address new crops in which ready private sector markets can play a driving role.

3.6 Tourism

3.6.1 Key challenges

Tourism is an economic sector that has immediate and far reaching multiplier effects in an economy. Growth of the tourism sector fosters immediate growth not only in direct employment but also in local investment in small and medium scale businesses. Although Zambia has the potential to serve as a world-class tourist destination, constraints and challenges stand in the way of creating truly memorable experiences for visitors to the country. These constraints include: (1) lack of an established local airline connecting Zambia to the main market for tourist travel; (2) high cost of travel within Zambia; (3) lack of reliability of alternative means of internal transportation particularly when it comes to accessing tourist spots located away from the main road infrastructure; (4) taxes, high visa fees and often lengthy entry procedures (particularly for tourists entering Zambia by road); (5) poor and dilapidated infrastructure; (6) lack of creative ideas for new sources of tourism revenues; (7) inadequate training institutions to support skills development in the tourism sector; and (8) low (or unenforced) industry standards.

3.6.2 Current approach

Government has only just begun to scratch the surface of the abundant opportunities available to the country through a well managed tourism sector. The Ministry of Tourism recently launched a re-branding exercise to help in the marketing of Zambia as a tourist destination. While this is a step in the right direction, little attention has been paid to ensuring that the powerful marketing tool of “word of mouth” (i.e. the quality of the experience of tourists in Zambia) is guaranteed.

To its credit, government has recognised the infrastructure constraints and sought to address these. This is evident when one considers the initiatives currently being pursued to complete the upgrading of infrastructure at Kasaba Bay in the Northern Province and the asphalt upgrade of some of the roads leading there. However, the approaches adopted so far have been isolated and uncoordinated. A thorough review of all the factors that lead to improvements in tourism numbers is required. A profound change in how we view the potential of tourism to drive the economy is required.

3.6.3 The NAREP plan

The tourism sector can be divided into several sub-sectors: (1) Eco-tourism; (2) natural wonders (waterfalls, rivers, lakes and other naturally occurring geographical features of a natural environment); (3) history and culture; (4) wildlife; (5) adventure. These sub-sectors do not necessarily stand-alone and they can either overlap or be promoted separately. Tourists will also visit a destination to shop (Dubai is an example) or to attend to medical needs (such as is the case for India). In both of these instances, the governments have created a comparative advantage through a service rather than a naturally occurring phenomenon. NAREP will adopt a similar approach and will engage proactively with

operators in the tourism sector to address challenges identified above in order to find ways of enhancing the tourism potential of the country as a whole.

Zambia has a unique opportunity to tap into a fast-growing branch in the tourism sector known as eco-tourism. This alone could fundamentally transform Zambia's fortunes and create a new dynamic for quantum economic growth. In order to achieve this, the NAREP Tourism Plan will propose the setting aside of selected Game Management Areas and eventually National Parks as pollution-free zones run on sustainability and environmentally sound principles. Given its abundant wildlife and natural resources, Zambia is fortunate in that it can capture and retain a top position in global eco-Tourism. Zambia's game parks are unique in the world, and the world is richer for them. This NAREP Tourism Plan will encourage Zambia to transform its game park industry into an eco-tourism industry similar to that of Costa Rica. By embracing eco-tourism, Zambia's game parks can become petro-chemical free zones, powered exclusively by domestic green fuels. This commitment alone will draw significant international interest and investment.

3.6.4 Funding

Funding will be based on a combination of own resources and resources from development finance institutions and global funds for environmental protection.

3.7 Construction

Key challenges

In a rapidly growing economy, construction is a sector that is primed for major growth. A significant aspect of Zambia's GDP growth will be driven by construction. The problem that the country faces is less to do with the opportunity for construction projects than with how we manage and make the most of the opportunity. The challenges are likely to be based on: (1) the lack of a planned and coordinated approach to how the construction will be carried out (i.e. a national construction master plan communicate to and understood by all stakeholders); (2) determination of which sectors will be prioritised for government-driven projects; (3) what standards will be applied in the sector; and (4) how regulators will review outdated standards and implement, oversee and supervise their enforcement.

Current approach

The current administration is content to have construction projects litter the horizon as long as this results in visible new infrastructure and job creation. The policy framework for local participation in the sector has been designed in such a way as to favour joint venture partnerships with foreign contractors. On paper the policy appears very reasonable and NAREP is in broad support of the policy intention as it stands. In practice, however, the local contractor component tends to be based primarily on the provision of labour rather than on the acquisition of technology and skills to upgrade local construction capacity. However, although the gains for local contractors could be better, the current approach does provide a good base on which to move the process of local capacity development to a new level.

The NAREP plan

NAREP plans to grow and develop the construction sector through the following initiatives: (1) presentation of a construction master plan that will incorporate the need to enhance the basic infrastructure for trade and commerce – many of the existing plans in place that have not been commissioned will be commissioned; (2) utilising the *Triple P* concept as set out in the NAREP National Economic Plan (see www.newzambia.org) to create meaningful joint ventures between local and foreign contractors so that updated technology and skills are utilised by local contractors; and (3) revamping the technical training institutes so that they utilise modern equipment and training methods. NAREP will introduce construction skills development programmes for the youth to prepare them for the opportunity to offer their labour.

Funding

NAREP will seek to develop a self-funding mechanism for major construction projects that will rely on the use of a mixture of: (i) reserves; (ii) funding from development finance institutions; and (iii) global environmental funding initiatives for “green” infrastructure. Direct subvention from the budget will therefore be minimal.

3.8 Logistics

Key challenges

Zambia is uniquely positioned between 9 countries (including Burundi across Lake Tanganyika). Zambia can serve (and should have been serving) as a natural hub for regional trade and commerce. The cost associated with transportation and handling of goods is, however, disproportionately high when compared to logistics and handling costs within the region. There are various reasons for this, including: (1) inadequate infrastructure with transportation nodes and highways limited to road routes that have been in place since the early 1970s; (2) insubstantial port and handling facilities; (3) poor maintenance of virtually all major infrastructure; (4) a lack of viable alternative modes of transportation (such as good reliable and cost competitive rail and air links to neighbouring countries and beyond); (5) lack of capacity to monitor axle loads that exceed standards put in place to limit damage to roads; and (6) lack of quality downstream engineering and maintenance services.

Current approach

Government has failed to appreciate the vital role that logistics can play in economic development and poverty reduction. While the broad policy framework in the communications and transport sector reads well on paper, the implementation of important policy initiatives has lacked political will.

The NAREP plans

NAREP’s plan is to ensure that Zambia can, within 10 years, claim its place as the continent’s foremost inland regional infrastructure and logistics hub. Zambia can lead the way as a centre for mining excellence in promoting innovative technologies for improved efficiency in the mining and mineral processing sectors. Zambia can also serve as a major centre for

packaging, containerisation and distribution, with industrial dry ports and loading facilities being a key part of our geographically strategic location.

Zambia served as the post-independence political haven for the region. It must now play its role as the economic and environmental haven using its strategic location and abundant resource base to generate growth and prosperity within the country in a manner that can benefit the entire region. Zambia should be the reference point for the bulk of inland trade and economic interactions within the region. Through this vision, we will build a new economy for a new Zambia with new ideas being implemented by new leadership.

Funding

NAREP will aim as much as possible to foster a private-sector driven agenda in developing the logistics sector of the economy. Concessions in which government will hold a minority stake will be promoted with guarantees and government subvention for capital investment purposes being the preferred model of investment. Opportunities will be sought out to determine those areas in which the private sector can be encouraged to provide infrastructure without government capital.

3.9 Services

Key challenges

Services as a stand-alone sector, is one of the fastest growing in the country and has been among the largest contributors to GDP growth in recent years. The impact of a vibrant services sector on job creation and poverty alleviation should not be underestimated. The sector is a necessary part of other investments, particularly large scale infrastructure, which needs to be developed to improve the nation's trade handling facilities. The key challenges that hinder the more rapid growth of this sector are likely to centre on three key issues: (1) quality education; (2) exposure or experience; and (3) continuous investment in technology, systems and people.

Current approach

Government has not fully appreciated the impact that the services sector can have on poverty reduction and national development. The services sector should largely been left to develop on its own but opportunities for growing the sector even further should not be ignored. Important policy proposals made several years ago by the MMD government have tended to reflect the one-dimensional view of how to promote the local service industry. Generally, the approach has been to establish a local licensing regime for certain types of services (such as law, architecture, accounting, land surveying). While this is useful for ensuring local opportunities are handled by locally-based service providers, government has not focussed on what it is able to do on the supply-side (i.e. on its ability to generate many opportunities for quality services to be supplied to the private sector).

NAREP plans

NAREP intends to introduce numerous policy initiatives that will tie the growth of the economy to the raising of capacity levels of local service providers in order to reverse the growing trend of business support services being undertaken by foreign service providers that tend to be better trained, equipped and exposed. NAREP recognises that it will not be possible to reverse the trend in all areas and wherever possible will aim to promote equitable partnerships by establishing incentives for such partnerships.

Funding

NAREP's proposals for the services sector will have minimal funding implications as the plans are designed to facilitate greater investment in services across the board by the private sector.

4. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS

4.1 Introduction

In this section, we set out NAREP's policy proposals for promoting youth engagement and development; women empowerment; support to socially disadvantaged groups; assistance to political parties; the role of traditional authorities in national development; and the role of the church religious bodies and civic organisations in society. NAREP's focus in addressing these areas will be to rebuild the sense of family and re-establish the relevance of the family unit.

4.2 Youth

4.2.1 Key challenges

Zambian youth face many challenges. These can be summarised under 3 main headings: (1) Youth Advancement; (2) Leadership Development; and (3) Health, Sex and Gender Issues. The issues affecting youth in respect of **advancement** include: (i) unemployment; (ii) education and training; (iii) youth recreation and recreation facilities; (iv) affordable accommodation; (v) access to technology; (vi) delinquency; (vii) drug trafficking; (viii) youth in prisons; and (ix) youth in the community. **Leadership development** challenges include: (i) the creation of youth platforms within their local communities; (ii) issues of political violence among the youth; (iii) youth leadership training; and (iv) youth and media. The issues affecting youth in respect of **health, sex and gender** matters include: (i) the impact of HIV/AIDS; (ii) unwanted pregnancies/abstinence; (iii) sexual harassment; (iv) prostitution; (v) youth trafficking and abductions; and (vi) drug abuse and alcohol.

4.2.2 Current approach

None of the policy initiatives currently in place address the issues identified above in a proactive manner or recognise the implications of ignoring the consequences of not addressing the pressing social and economic challenges that the youth are experiencing. Politicians have tended to abuse the energy and drive of the youth who are often used in the frontline of the more confrontational aspects of political campaigns. Youth are used to

foment political violence. Although there is a specific Ministry devoted to youth affairs, the emphasis has been primarily on providing limited support for football development.

4.2.3 The NAREP plan

NAREP will target support to the youth by specific programmes designed to address the challenges facing our youth at the various stages of their development. The NAREP policy on youth development will therefore categorise youth into 2 main segments: (1) early youth (from 13 to 16 years of age); youth (from 17 to 35 years of age).

In addressing the youth challenges facing those falling within the first category of youth (13 to 16 years), emphasis will be on promoting greater family interaction and parental responsibility for raising their children in a manner that provides them with a strong foundation. Incentives will be provided for community-based initiatives to emerge that will support the development of a strong family culture within communities. Tax incentives will be used to encourage community schools and funding for such projects will be advanced in tandem with oversight for standards development and enforcement by a department within the Ministry of Education and Child Development.

The next category of youth will be those falling within the 17 to 35 years age group. During these years, youth are exploratory wanting to channel their energies to exploring and developing new ideas. They are also at the point where there are better able to understand expectations of responsibility in society. Mentorship schemes will commence at this point and will be promoted through schools, churches, NGOs and private companies. Safe and developmental recreation that can build a responsible sense of independence will be formulated to address the natural curiosity of youth at this level.

4.2.4 Funding

A fund for youth development through ETCs will be set aside. It is expected that at an average cost of K100 million kwacha, 1,400 centres (to cover nearly all local government wards) will cost K140 billion. Furnishing and staffing these centres will cost an annual additional K48 million per centre. As far as possible, private sector support will be solicited to subsidise construction or operational costs. Over time, environmental initiatives will be commercially developed through which more long-term funding from international environmental funds can be secured.

4.3 Women

4.3.1 Key challenges

Women in Zambia bear the responsibility of attending to social obligations and are largely unrecognised and unrewarded in this role. They are generally in the forefront of caring for the weak and vulnerable within their communities; tending to the needs of households and school-going children. In many instances women are also playing the role of bread-winner in

addition to their social roles. Women have limited access to credit and are often overlooked when it comes to career advancement. Societal and cultural norms and practices place a glass ceiling on advancement as is evidenced in inheritance matters. The school enrolment rate for girls is lower than for boys and female literacy is behind that of their male counterparts. With only 14 per cent of parliamentarians being women, the participation of women in decision-making in Zambia remains woefully low. As a result, Zambia has not kept pace with other countries within the Southern African region. This has led to skewed development, as decisions fail to take adequate account of the needs of more than half of the population.

4.3.2 *Current approach*

Notwithstanding their roles as social pillars, current policy initiatives are unable to address the challenges that women in Zambia face. The most obvious (though incoherent) policy initiative reflects the short-term thinking of government over the past 20 years involves the granting of loans to women's clubs. These loans are designed to assist women in their trading and other entrepreneurial activities. Funding for these initiatives is normally released at critical times prior to elections. In addition, the loans and grants are distributed and administered through government ministries and agencies that lack the capability to monitor and assess the performance and effectiveness of the support being rendered.

While there are some initiatives to support greater enrolment and retention of girls in school, these efforts are not enough. Further, nothing is being done to address the constraints put on women by tradition and culture.

4.3.3 *The NAREP plan*

NAREP will address the challenges being experienced by women through a variety of mechanisms and interventions that will: (1) support their role as societal pillars; (2) capitalise and fund new business initiatives in the energy sector that favour women; and (3) create incentives for the public and private sectors to significantly increase hiring, training and career advancement of women through the introduction of a preferential tax rate for women. This should encourage employers to seek to proactively engage women in employment.

NAREP also recognises that the planned investments in development sectors such as health, education and infrastructure (including water and sanitation) will serve to benefit women. This is because the burden of looking after the sick, attending to school-going children and ensuring availability of water for the household fall disproportionately on the women. NAREP will also seek to address the challenge of the low participation of women in decision-making by promoting the equal participation of women in such decision-making. The issue of increasing the participation of women in decision-making to meet the 50:50 level agreed by Zambia under international commitments must be addressed from various angles. Domestication of these international protocols should be complemented by sensitisation

and education directly aimed at challenging society to recognise the contribution of women to national development and tackling gender stereotypes.

By addressing the infrastructure challenges outlined earlier in this manifesto, many of the constraints that hamper the ability of women to play their supporting social roles. Incentives for advancement of women will include the introduction of a preferential tax rate for working women at all levels of employment. NAREP will also establish a fund for the education of the girl-child, which fund will have a component that will pay out money to mothers in rural communities who ensure that their daughters attend school.

4.3.4 Funding

A special women's fund will be established and operated through banks, financial institutions and lending agencies at grassroots level. The lending will be tied to a strong mentorship and training programme. Wherever possible, funding will be linked to private sector corporate and social responsibility plans. NAREP will as far as possible, provide support in a tangible (i.e non-monetary) way to women's groups so that they are able – on the strength of collateral assets such as land – to raise finance and undertake economically sustainable projects.

4.4 Socially disadvantaged groups

4.4.1 Key challenges

Socially disadvantaged groups include those who are physically or mentally challenged in any way and as a result, are not able to make a contribution to society without special assistance. Generally, those that are disadvantaged in this way are forced to fend for themselves and are routinely neglected by society. The general problems that confront many Zambians are multiplied when one has to also contend with being physically challenged, whether one is blind, mute, deaf or has to deal with an impairment or handicap. Key challenges faced by socially disadvantaged groups include: (1) lack of special schools and training institutes to cater to the needs of this group; (2) absence of supporting local government laws and regulations to compel builders and contractors to design buildings in such a way as to improve the navigation within these buildings of the disadvantaged groups; (3) inadequately structured financial support for affected groups.

4.4.2 Current approach

Government has sought to address the plight of this vulnerable group through funding support. While such support is important and does reflect a concern to address the plight of socially disadvantaged groups, the simple allocation of funds does not address the long term problems associated with disability.

4.4.3 The NAREP plan

NAREP will change the approach towards addressing the social challenges faced by socially disadvantaged groups. The underlying focus will be to promote a sense of economic and

social independence. This will be effected through: (1) special entrepreneurial training specifically for socially disadvantaged groups; (2) introduction of laws and regulations to facilitate the ease of movement and more independent navigation of socially disadvantaged groups within and outside cities; (3) funding for entrepreneurial projects owned by socially disadvantaged groups; (4) setting aside equity within the joint venture arrangements sponsored by government involving foreign partners in construction and mining projects.

4.4.4 Funding

Many of the actions required will not have central budget implications. Establishing special entrepreneurial training facilities will be funded directly from central government but NAREP will promote the support of this initiative through corporate social responsibility plans of mining and major construction projects.

4.5 Political parties

4.5.1 Key challenges

Limited capacity on the part of the private sector to address the pressing development challenges has tended to place greater importance – in the short term – on the role and responsibility of political institutions. It is this interface between government and the private sector that creates opportunities for policy derailment where private and personal interests clash with national policy goals and agendas. The propensity for abuse of office is partly the result of a requirement to fund partisan agendas. In this respect, an incumbent administration that is left unchecked and unaccountable has tended to abuse the power to grant contracting rights to the private sector. Reports issued by the Auditor-General reveal a long standing trend of mismanagement and lack of proper accountability in many official institutions.

The role of politics in development cannot be underestimated. While there is a broader issue of corruption that must be addressed, it is possible to present a framework of accountability that involves the empowerment of political opposition to play one of its cardinal roles of watchdog on government action and expenditure.

4.5.2 Current approach

There is very limited support for political parties in Zambia. This support is largely confined to one-off subsidies: all expenses paid trip abroad to verify the ballot printing exercise during presidential elections and a subsidy on the nomination fee for presidential candidates.

4.5.3 The NAREP plan

NAREP proposes the introduction of a fund to assist political parties to more effectively represent constituents in all parts of the country. The fund would assist in the following manner: (1) establishment of secretariats; (2) air time on television and radio at designated times in the year – sponsorship of programmes to enable parties to share their programmes with the general public; (3) training of personnel in party management and operations as well as study tours to other countries in order to facilitate partnering of local parties with

parties abroad that share similar values and visions; and (4) limited material support at times of elections.

4.5.4 Funding

The support for political parties will be in line with proposals set out in the draft constitution presented to the National Assembly.

4.6 Traditional Authorities

4.6.1 Key challenges

The key challenge facing traditionally established authority in Zambia is the struggle it faces in trying to establish its relevance and importance in rural and national affairs. Chiefs still play a vital role in rural governance. Traditionally, chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen were responsible for managing rural affairs and maintained records of births, deaths and other social activities. Although this responsibility still largely lies with the traditional authorities, the resources provided by central government to meet these obligations are very limited. Chiefs lodgings (so-called “palaces”) leave much to be desired in many cases and the challenges of poor infrastructure in remote and semi-remote locations renders their work difficult at best.

4.6.2 Current approach

Traditional authorities have not been embraced as partners in development. In order to facilitate the movement of chiefs as they carry out their duties, the government purchased second-hand vehicles which have been problematic to maintain. Chiefs tend to be courted at election time to rally support in rural communities and to demonstrate a continuing perceived popularity for the incumbent administration in remote communities.

Administratively, chiefs are responsible for administering customary land. Chiefs are also collectively recognised as a communal body through a House of Chiefs. This is a quasi-parliamentary body established during the Kaunda era that was rekindled by the administration of the late president Mwanawasa. Its role, however, is purely ceremonial and the clear value that could be derived from engagement with traditional leaders is not taken advantage of.

4.6.3 The NAREP plan

NAREP believes that each traditional establishment brings a unique perspective to our collective expression as a nation. This should be encouraged. Traditional authorities are a recognised and natural reference point of authority throughout the country and especially in rural communities. Both rural and urban residents have a base within one or other rural location from which they derive their primary outlook and interactions in society. The recognition and respect of traditional leaders must therefore go beyond ceremony. As the true custodians of traditional values and norms, and as recognised symbols of authority in many rural locations, traditional leaders have a vital role to play in development and in ensuring that the trend of globalisation characterising this modern era is aligned to those

positive aspects of our history and our experiences that makes us unique as a nation of many vibrant and time honoured cultures.

NAREP will work with traditional authorities in setting in place development plans through local government in order to deliver civic-driven change. This will involve training chiefs so that they can assist in the preparation and implementation of development plans for their communities.

4.6.4 Funding

Traditional authorities will be supported through the local government budget. Increased expenditure will be in line with the level of increased responsibility that will be placed upon traditional authorities in local government services delivery.

4.7 Churches, Religious Bodies and Civic Organisations

4.7.1 Key challenges

As Zambia moves further along its current growth trajectory, it will be important to ensure that any new found wealth at whatever level of society does not have too many unintended consequences that further erode Zambia's badly damaged moral base. Negative habits are generally easier to pass on than positive ones primarily because they require less effort to promote. Excellence, for example, requires more than talent. It requires application, effort and practice while mediocrity tends to result from a lack of applying oneself to positive growth. Over the years, Zambia has lost its societal commitment to the type of values that are necessary for the overall wellbeing of a nation. This is in spite of the fact that the country was officially declared a Christian nation on 19 December 1991. The challenge that confronts the nation is whether there is sufficient impetus among stakeholders to assure that this important declaration can now be honoured by the majority of citizens. When one considers the levels of tolerance of immoral behaviour and the extent to which corruption defines the interactions between people in both the public and private sectors, it becomes clear that a new moral standard must be advanced and upheld. The Church is central to the attainment of this role.

4.7.2 Current approach

There has been a long-standing tax incentive for the establishment of churches and the charity work they do. Beyond this, however, there is no deliberate policy to work with the Church to promote economic and social development, particularly in marginalised communities. Under the Chiluba administration, many newly established churches – particularly in the early 1990s – were offered support through a presidential fund. The selection and distribution of the fund was, however, perceived by many as being subjective.

4.7.3 The NAREP plan

The Church already plays a vital role in society serving as a haven for the majority of the underprivileged and marginalised in society. As a result, Churches are regularly attuned to the deepest concerns in society and have a clear understanding of the nature of the

challenges being experienced by the poorest in society. Many churches have long known the extent of the depravity that abounds in marginalised communities. As a result, they have undertaken numerous interventions. These include: (1) the establishment in rural communities of mission hospitals; (2) water projects; (3) schools; and (4) community centres set up to address social challenges.

NAREP will work directly with all churches as partners in development, establishing a clear, objective and predictable framework for all registered churches. While clear development plans and accountability of resource administration will be expected, the support will be available to all churches with a minimum committed membership of 200.

4.7.4 Funding

NAREP will empower Churches and religious bodies that are playing a social and developmental role. This support will be carried out through a matrix of land allocation, tax incentives for local and foreign private sector donations and direct support through the Ministry of Gender, Decentralisation and Community Development.

4.8 Media Institutions

4.8.1 Key challenges

An independent media is an important pillar of a democratic society. It can also serve as an effective tool in communicating important aspects of development planning and implementation. As a result of the current administration's policies, over the past few years there has been an explosion of activity in the media space. New privately owned newspapers have appeared on the streets and a wave of community radio stations have emerged. While this is welcome and to be commended, there is limited capacity development within the sector and the growth of this sector has been thin. Information gathering, staff costs and training needs are costly and the ability to market the opportunity for information dissemination in rural communities is limited. These are areas in which government can and should play a role.

4.8.2 Current approach

The government has maintained a liberal outlook on media development generally but has not adequately addressed the following issues: (1) the need for editorial balance in the state owned media; (2) financial incapacity in the state owned media, particularly the print media; (3) professional standards and media regulation; (4) balance of interests between democratic expression and the protection of matters of public interest (as determined by the state).

The current administration – citing public interest concerns – has clamped down on community radio stations. The absence of regulation under electoral laws has also made it possible for the power of incumbency to be exercised in such a way as to exclude participation in mainstream politics of smaller political parties. A well resourced incumbent leader is able to monopolise the media space in two ways: (1) through the pressure he or she can bring to bear as the ultimate appointing authority of the head of a particular state-

owned entity; and (2) through access to resources and use of these resources in buying up available space. Admittedly, a well resourced opposition can also purchase and monopolise media space but this would only apply to the private media.

4.8.3 NAREP plans

NAREP will invite private sector interest in one of the state-owned newspapers. This will broaden and deepen democracy and it will reduce the financial burden of sustaining too many loss-making state enterprises. While the state will retain ownership of one newspaper: (1) it will adopt a legally binding charter that will ensure that coverage is evenly provided to project the partisan interests of all political actors; (2) the Board of the retained newspaper will include wide representation from civil society and will determine editorial policy; and (3) editors will be accountable to the Board alone and not to any member of the Executive.

4.8.4 Funding

The funding implications will not change negatively. It may well be that

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL REFORMS

5.1 Introduction

There are 5 primary areas of focus under Constitutional and Legal Reform:

- Reduction of presidential powers
- Constitutional reform
- Judicial reform
- Fiscal and monetary policy reform
- Decentralisation and local government reform

5.2 Reduction of Presidential Powers

5.2.1 Key challenges

Lord Acton's famous quotation: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely" holds as true today as it did when it was first written in 1887. One of the most pressing problems relating to governance in Zambia is the extent to which key decisions and authority rest with the head of state. This would not be a major issue if there were in place systems to challenge the president's decision-making powers and authority. The law as it currently stands presents few opportunities to ensure accountability of such commanding powers. Further, although there is, in theory, a form of separation of powers, in practice this is not easy to see in action due to the nature of appointments under Zambia's current constitutional and legal framework.

Presidential powers exist at three levels: (1) under the constitution; (2) under the various laws passed from time to time by parliament; and (3) indirectly through the action of persons whose appointment and continued stay in office is often dependent on the president. This range of influence affects decision-making even in those institutions that

should be seen to be acting independently of a particular administration in power and its president.

5.2.2 Current approach

Other than during the first four years after independence, the practice by all government administrations has been to use to full effect, the powers granted under the constitution and in various subsidiary laws. This power is rarely applied in an objective manner. Very often the power can be applied to determine the outcome of important national tenders and policy options regardless of the extent and reasonableness of opposition.

5.2.3 NAREP plans

NAREP will undertake a study within the first 30 days in office, of all laws granting presidential appointment rights. Through this process, a framework will be agreed with all political parties setting out the proposed amendments to be made so as to limit these appointing powers and to make them more balanced.

5.3 Constitutional reform

5.3.1 Key challenges

Zambia has changed the constitution on numerous occasions in its relatively short history. In 4 instances, amendments were preceded by commissions of inquiry headed on each occasion by a prominent lawyer: Chona (1972); Mvunga (1990); Mwanakatwe (1996); and Mung'omba (2003). The first significant change to the constitution was effected in 1969 when a referendum was also held to remove the requirement for a referendum before effecting certain changes to the constitution (except for changes to the Bill of Rights). The second significant change was in 1972 when the constitution was amended to introduce single-party rule and to usher in what is referred to as the Second Republic – a period that lasted 18 years.

5.3.2 Current approach

The current administration inherited a process of amendment that was preceded by an official commission headed by Mr Willa Mung'omba. Government submitted a proposed constitution that addressed many major issues such as: (i) dual citizenship; (ii) delimitation – or the re-drawing of constituency boundaries; (iii) date of elections; (iv) size of parliament; and (v) 50 per cent plus one voting threshold for presidential elections. Although the constitutional amendment bill containing these and other amendments failed to pass, it can safely be assumed that these proposed changes reflect the policy approach of the current administration.

5.3.3 NAREP's plans

NAREP will immediately re-ignite the constitutional debate and set a clear framework for concluding the process of constitutional adoption through: (1) debates at the school, university and national level; (2) role plays in theatres and on television (relying on the vibrant talent amongst Zambia's actors and musicians) so as to more effectively

communicate the more complex themes within the constitution to as wide an audience as possible; (3) church gatherings and other meetings within communities; and (4) uniform broadcasts using all the public and private media on specific constitutional themes to ensure that there is productive and progressive national interest in the process. This will include community radio stations and privately owned television broadcasting services.

5.3.4 Funding

Over K300 billion was spent on the constitutional review process and the National Constitutional Conference that followed it. This money would not all be lost if the deliberations and the material that was generated as a result can be applied towards re-establishing a sound basis for a constitution that will stand the test of time.

5.4 Judicial reform

5.4.1 Key challenges

Although access to justice is a constitutional right, it remains an elusive pursuit for many Zambians. There are many reasons for this but the main challenges centre around: (1) costs; (2) lengthy administrative procedures; (3) the ability to compromise the system through corruption; (4) inadequate infrastructure; and (5) shortage of manpower. Not surprisingly, confidence in the judicial system is at an all-time low and the general perception is that not all institutions of justice can in all honesty claim their independence.

5.4.2 Current approach

Commendably, the development of a stand-alone commercial court probably ranks today as the success story of the judiciary. Significant efforts have been made to increase the number of judges and to improve the conditions of service of senior judicial staff. Investment in infrastructure in the Lusaka – with a new magistrate court building and a small claims court system now functioning – has been evident. In addition, council courts for offences under local government regulations have been activated. While these steps are commendable, they do not adequately address barriers to access relating to cost, lengthy procedures, corruption and manpower constraints. Further, the development has not been uniform across the nation, with outlying rural communities particularly afflicted by the lack of attention to this important area. These are the challenges the NAREP plan aims to tackle.

5.4.3 NAREP's plans

NAREP plans to both modernise and to streamline the operations of the judiciary using a technology backbone that will speed up the processing of cases and make judicial officers and staff more overtly accountable. Case rosters will be published for judges so that the general public can determine progress of cases

5.4.4 Funding

Funding the modernisation plans for the judiciary will be through a combination of budgetary allocations and external support.

5.5 Fiscal and Monetary Policy Reform

5.5.1 Key challenge

Zambia's macro-economic trajectory looks promising. However, three challenges need to be addressed and success in addressing these will depend on ensuring that: (1) inflation is kept to a minimum level that promotes growth but does not rob Zambians of their earnings; and (2) government is responsible with its borrowing. This means that debt procurement should be used to promote sustainable development and to reverse the gains made from the recent debt cancellation. Debts are public resources as they are contracted on behalf of the Zambian people.

5.5.2 Current approach

Following debt cancellation in 2006, the country's external debt stock has more than doubled from US\$1.5 billion to US \$3.4 billion in 2009. At this rate, it is possible that the country could return to the unsustainable debt levels of the past.

The economic and social scars from irresponsible debt procurement and management are still visible all around us. Debt has serious implications on poverty and the sustainable development of the country. With historical debt exceeding US\$7 billion prior to its cancellation in 2006, government could hardly provide social services as resources were diverted to debt servicing. This experience should be a constant reminder to government and all of us to ensure that the country does not fall back into another debt trap. In spite of this, there appears to be no restraints in the way government contracts loans and little transparency of how funds are being raised to carry out rapid infrastructure projects before the next election.

5.5.3 NAREP's plans

NAREP accepts that Government should be fully transparent in the way it contracts loans in order to avoid another debt crisis. Loan amounts, conditionalities attached to the loans, loan repayment periods and the interest payable on the loan must all be publicly disclosed. This is the only way to promote transparency and hold government accountable. NAREP wants to maintain a fiscal policy that curbs inflation, increases employment and maintains a healthy value of the kwacha. NAREP will procure debt in accordance with the following principles: (1) there will be a foreign debt limit; (2) local debt will be maintained within a parliamentary prescribed limit of the country's GDP; (3) there will be full stakeholder engagement (Church, NGOs) in contracting and managing debt.

NAREP will grant the Central Bank broader powers to independently set interest rates and control money supply. A consultative process prior to action on interest rates will be necessary and a clear lead-time will be set before which the policy action set by the Central Bank can take effect to enable the consultative process to be concluded. This will result in a qualified but real independence to ensure that there is price and economic stability as well as growth and low unemployment.

5.5.4 Funding

These proposals are not likely to raise any significant funding implications.

5.6 Governance, decentralisation and local government reform

5.6.1 Key challenges

Making government work efficiently and without undue cost implications is an ongoing battle. Even with unlimited resources, changing an economy takes time. Zambia has been devoid of the basic structures that can accommodate the rate of absorption required to make the development benefits flow to as many people as possible within the shortest time possible.

5.6.2 Current approach

Zambia is divided into 72 local government administrative districts (although new ones have been recently added). In theory, each of these districts should be able to raise resources to cover recurrent expenditure and some capital expenditure. Each should have the capacity to produce comprehensive development plans and to monitor and ensure their implementation. This is not currently the case. Local government is supported by central government grants and requires accountability through the Minister of Local Government. Because councils are controlled by councillors elected at the ward level, there is often unnecessary tension between local and central government when councils are controlled by the opposition.

5.6.3 NAREP's plans

NAREP will establish a provincial and communal governance framework for civic-driven change and radically reduce all central government expenditure and introduce efficiency through performance-based accountability. In addition, more resources will be directed towards promoting development at grassroots and community levels ensuring greater decentralisation and local decision making. There will also be greater openness and transparency in government operations, expenditure and decision-making at the central government level.

The process will involve a complete review and improvement of the structure of government. This will be achieved by bringing development decision-making more directly to the people and restructuring cabinet and publishing performance metrics, targets and deadlines. NAREP will also create communal assemblies with stakeholder engagement at ward level and provide governance training for local communities.

Changes will be effected at four levels:

- The size of Cabinet will be reduced from 25 ministers to 12
- Improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of the civil service
- Re-designing the delivery of local government services
- Introducing “community assemblies” at ward level

Cabinet changes

The NAREP administration will have 12 Ministries:

- Health and Human Services
- Education and Child Development
- Energy, Mining, Infrastructure and Technology
- Youth, Sport and Culture
- Gender, Decentralisation and Community Development
- Finance
- Agriculture
- Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources
- Foreign Affairs
- Labour and Home Affairs
- Defence and Security
- Commerce, Trade and Industry

The Cabinet will be run on new and robust principles of transparency. Performance targets for each Ministry will be made public together with timelines for the delivery of the specific outputs of each Ministry. Each Minister's performance will be evaluated against these targets with each Minister being publicly accountable for these. The Ministers will in turn be supported by a performance appraisal system that will enable them to regularly measure and assess whether they are meeting their performance targets. Quarterly presidential press briefings will enable the public to collectively review progress on these targets and to question the president directly on performance of individual Ministers. This will serve to make the Head of State directly accountable to the public for the failings of any particular Minister and Ministry.

The practice of appointing two Ministers for a single Line Ministry and two deputy Ministers for any one Ministry will stop. The role of Deputy Minister will be carefully reviewed. The Deputy Minister does not truly deputise the Minister in his or her absence (other than when it comes to reading speeches). A Deputy Minister is not able to attend Cabinet meetings and when the Line Minister is out of country, another Minister is appointed to handle the Ministerial office of the absent Minister.

It will be important to strengthen the departments with the Line Ministries as these will now play a more significant role in delivering the outputs set forth in the Ministry policy documents.

Civil service changes

A key priority of a NAREP administration will be to incorporate a broad technological platform for electronic governance (e-governance). As far as is practical, government will operate on an electronic basis, particularly with regard to accountability and the delivery of the three key areas of development relevance: health, education and infrastructure. The civil service will be trained/re-trained so as to efficiently handle this new approach. Current

initiatives to move to e-government have not been fully embraced. No efforts will be spared to move the country decisively in this direction.

The importance of a strong, well-trained and motivated civil service cannot be overstated. The key to improving efficiency will be to ensure that there is a simplified system of implementing policy initiatives while providing the civil service with the best available skills, training and remuneration model for civil service staff. *The civil service must be able to effectively control government excesses and to adequately and expertly guide government expenditures and priorities.*

Local government changes

The current local government system does not place enough emphasis on performance and accountability to local communities. A major systems upgrade and planning process is required as well as a need to introduce a greater degree of professionalism in the implementation of plans. Certain management functions of local councils will be outsourced (planning, budgeting, expenditure, review and accounting). Locally elected councillors would have oversight of these processes.

The chiefs who are custodians of our heritage and natural resources in rural communities should be more central to government decision-making. Proposals to bring the chiefs into the national planning process will be made.

Introduction of community assemblies

Under the proposed “community assemblies” system:

- Resources will be allocated for direct use by the communities at ward level
- These amounts will be voted on and allocated by stakeholders in the wards
- Stakeholders will include: chiefs, headmen, community groups, churches
- Members of parliament will be accountable to community assemblies in respect of provincial plans and their implementation
- Councillors will be accountable to community at ward level for allocation of specific resources
- Councillors and members of parliament will participate but not vote in these stakeholders meetings
- Debates will be public and accessible to all

5.6.4 Funding

The costs of the new arrangement will fall within recurrent expenditure.

6. CONCLUSION

The key themes running through this NAREP Election Manifesto centre on:

- *approaching* the task of national development in a holistic manner that recognises the importance of institutional and stakeholder coordination in development planning
- *delivering* development projects in an economically efficient manner by building strategic stakeholder coalitions and partnerships
- *investing* in individuals at all levels of society to promote a greater sense of responsibility and self-determination among the broad citizenry

The power, influence and reach of government must be used to build stakeholder coalitions for development in all sectors. This includes strengthening political parties and making them more relevant to their communities. It means encouraging the work of civil society and its community-based adherents. It also means engaging with the Church and traditional authorities to drive grassroots development and instil individual self-worth in every citizen.

The policy proposals outlined in this manifesto are ambitious. They reflect the type of thinking that is vital if the majority are to be lifted out of poverty. We must promote the type of development that can comprehensively address the problems of poverty being experienced by residents of communities that are located beyond the line of rail. If Zambia is to stand a chance of attaining quantum economic growth and tackling poverty, a new path towards addressing the country's development challenges must be pursued. How we fare in meeting this challenge will be a test of the capability of a completely new generation of political leaders.

Implementing NAREP's bold and radical vision will require us to:

- recognise that there is no inherent contradiction between financial stability, economic growth and improved social conditions for the majority – all three can be embraced within a well-defined multilayer framework
- have clear and timely communication and be open about the serious challenges facing Zambia as well as the sacrifice that will be required from everyone to overcome them
- maintain a clear strategic economic vision for the country and delegate implementation to a strong civil service that will be encouraged to robustly challenge any deviation from the vision

The success of Vision 3:3:8 will be directly impacted by the extent to which investment is made in developing Zambian citizens. While government must play a major role in making this happen, this is a responsibility that cannot be borne by government alone.

We will not succeed in more uniformly developing the nation if we continue to rely on failed ideas and the tired and ineffective leadership approaches of the past. In 2011, we must put into office responsible, values-based leadership that is determined to promote sound fiscal responsibility, strong institutional integrity and clear accountability – leadership that truly has a heart for the people.