

# NATIONAL RESTORATION PARTY – VISION AND STRATEGIC PLAN

## “INVESTING IN OUR PEOPLE TO BUILD A GREEN ECONOMY”

### Introduction

Zambia has a population of 12 million in a vast and largely arable setting of 752,000 square kilometres. We are a nation that must carefully examine the reasons for our failure to achieve outstanding social and economic progress. Nations like Singapore and South Korea, which faced far more pressing challenges than Zambia at independence and yet possess far fewer natural resources, have each achieved economic output surpassing that of most of sub-Saharan Africa. This is particularly alarming when one considers that average personal incomes in Zambia and Singapore 45 years ago were at roughly the same levels. At that time, South Korea, which now ranks among the world's leading economies, had a far lower level of average personal income than Zambia.

Hungarian-born development economist Peter Bauer postulated that the economic performance of any nation depends on personal, cultural and political factors; on people's aptitudes, attitudes, motivations, and social and political institutions. He argued that poverty and prosperity are not usually matters of whether one has land or natural resources. *Poverty or riches and personal and social satisfaction depend on man, on his culture, and on his political arrangements.*

The National Restoration Party (NAREP) believes that Zambia's failure to find solutions to its present problems is really a question of *leadership*. Not only *can* Zambia propel itself to greatness; for the sake of the majority of its disadvantaged citizens, *it must do so*. However, our nation will need to promote the emergence of the type of national leadership that can offer a vision that goes beyond the ordinary. Our nation needs leadership that believes politics should be about *people* rather than just about power. NAREP believes that sustainable social and economic development cannot be achieved unless the nation's leadership is committed to developing and implementing policies that are people-centred and that give *all* Zambians the opportunity to develop themselves to their full potential.

### The NAREP philosophy and ideology

NAREP intends to adopt a governance framework based on principles derived from a philosophy known as the “Just Third Way”. The NAREP ideology is shaped by the acute poverty and deprivation of opportunity faced by millions of Zambians.

In the address to launch NAREP on 2 March 2010, the following development challenges were among several challenges identified:

- death and disease knock on the door of every household that is unable to afford drugs to treat complicated as well as common ailments
- poor feeder roads constrain rural development
- flooding and related diseases like cholera occur every rainy season in high density areas with no solution in sight
- constant disruptions in energy and fuel supplies have become an accepted part of business and daily living
- employment remains elusive for the many including our youth and the nation's school-leavers

In order to redress unacceptable imbalances in incomes and opportunity, NAREP seeks to adopt a model for development that will create universal access to future ownership of the

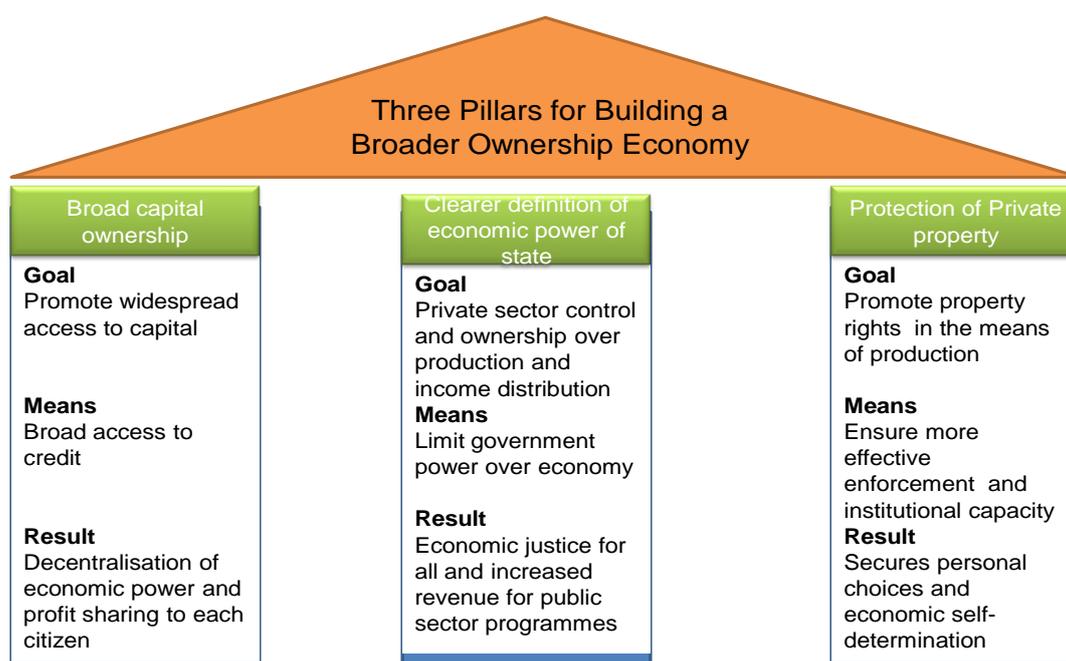
capital that will drive future economic productivity. This will not result in land redistribution or capital expropriation by the state but will entail a more equitable distribution of natural resource wealth by allowing for access to finance and reducing the barriers to formal economic participation. NAREP believes that Zambia could achieve more just and orderly participation in the creation of the nation’s wealth by protecting and preserving existing property rights while promoting future ownership opportunities as new and more advanced technology is adopted by business enterprises. Gradually, many more Zambians from all levels of society would have the ability to gain direct property interests in productive resources and would have a source of income beyond the sale of their labour.

Governmental policy will be designed to remove roadblocks to broader participation in corporate equity ownership for all households. The need for governmental intervention and an intrusive tax system would gradually and systematically be restructured.

NAREP will reconstruct the economic system and replace it with a system built upon three pillars:

- Facilitating economic empowerment for everyone
- Defining more clearly the economic role of the state
- Protecting private property

The pillars of the NAREP ideology of building an ownership economy are illustrated below.



### **Pillar 1: Economic Empowerment for Everyone**

NAREP intends to build the world’s first new fully-integrated “green” economy and attain widespread access to new capital ownership as a result of new business opportunities generated by this initiative. True national empowerment will lie in improving the capacity of ordinary Zambians to own property rights in the future capital that will drive this green economy and the economic spin-offs that will result from such developments. The sale of

labour for wages has been for many Zambians, the only means of sustaining livelihoods. While earnings from labour are important, providing clear opportunities for broad capital ownership in future business enterprises in a new “green” economy can create greater wealth for a wide group of Zambians at all levels of society. This could be achieved in at least three ways:

- through the implementation of policies aimed at a “green” revival of previously unviable investment and business opportunities
- through the encouragement of new (“green-field”) economic activities
- through offering incentives to existing businesses to voluntarily consider broader ownership

The goal is to attain widespread or access to finance and open markets, which foster the creation of new wealth and capital.

### **Pillar 2: Clearer definition of economic role of the state**

It is important that a government provide clear guidelines on its economic philosophy and goals. The NAREP government’s primary economic roles will include: encouraging responsible private sector growth and policing abuses; monitoring and regulating harmful monopolistic practices; removing barriers to ownership opportunities; preventing inflation and ensuring currency stability; protecting property, enforcing contracts and settling disputes; promoting fair wage bargaining; protecting the environment; and providing a safety net for human emergencies. Within these general limits, the state would promote economic empowerment for everyone. The state would play its role in reducing human conflict and waste, creating an environment that encourages people to increase their economic efficiency and create new wealth for themselves and the global marketplace.

Low taxes collected through a simplified tax system with this redefined role of government would result in increased production and increased total government revenues for legitimate public sector purposes. This will in turn reduce the need for income redistribution through “confiscatory” income taxes.

Taxation will remain the main source of government revenue. NAREP intends to significantly reduce taxes while expanding the base and general compliance. In the light of this, NAREP aims to increase the state’s revenue collection levels via the following:

- Setting a partial amnesty for prior tax defaults on the basis of full disclosure
- Broadening the tax base through connectivity of governmental agencies
- Major reduction of individual and corporate tax, encouraging voluntary compliance
- Implementation of a simplified, efficient and comprehensive Electronic Tax System
- Earmarking government revenue for legitimate public sector purposes
- Commissioning electronic “Tax Appropriation Systems” with measurable deliverables
- Publicizing deliverables to makes residents appreciate the benefits of paying tax
- Introducing stiffer tax avoidance penalties

### **Pillar 3: Protecting private property rights**

Zambia needs to facilitate the creation of new owners of future wealth. By ensuring that existing property rights are fully protected and at the same time creating incentives for the joint participation by capital owners and current and future employees, greater national prosperity can be achieved by all.

Common sense indicates that private property ownership generally leads to proprietors ensuring that their assets are well managed and in most cases expanded as and when opportunities arise. NAREP therefore believes that it is important to protect private property rights. NAREP will seek to promote and protect private property rights via the following types of intervention:

- Removal of barriers to ownership opportunities
- Stiffening of punitive measures for misappropriation of property (intellectual or otherwise)
- Streamlining and strengthening the enforcement of contractual rights
- Provision of incentives for compliance with property laws that protect the environment

### **What is the NAREP Vision?**

NAREP aims to move the nation ***from poverty and scarcity to prosperity and shared opportunity***. The NAREP Vision is therefore *necessarily* bold and ambitious:

- It foresees an era of sustained local wealth creation and national prosperity that will benefit every Zambian
- It sets out a radical plan to attain food security and energy independence
- It promises cost-conscious, efficient governance through value-based leadership
- It envisages major rural advancement as well as radical urban modernisation.

We see a prosperous country living at peace with itself and with its neighbours, that is able to project itself confidently in the world as a leader in its areas of strength. Under a NAREP administration, Zambia will be a country in which every citizen will have access to quality healthcare and education; and whose freely elected government is committed to selflessly serving all of the people in order to facilitate the attainment of their full potential.

NAREP recognizes the fact that the answers to the current economic difficulties lie largely in the vast untapped human and natural resources that Zambia is endowed with. Foreign assistance in this regard should only be viewed as a technological boost to attaining *Home Grown Sustainable Development Plans*. With respect to the development of the nation's human resource, it is expected that tourism and agriculture are the most likely mass employers and mass providers of the basics for survival. NAREP has also identified a major opportunity in 'mass recycling' and 'green energy' industries. This will be spearheaded through a *Zambia Sustainability Plan* to be implemented over the next 20 years (attached hereto).

To create the qualified workforce to meet the demands of the new economy, NAREP will establish mass recruitment centres through public/private partnerships operating under the infrastructure owned by the Zambia National Service (ZNS) and through underutilised technical colleges around the country. These institutions will be substantially revamped with major re-investment to cater to this new drive to recruit the nation's otherwise idle youth. Recruits will be paid a monthly allowance in addition to the being sponsored for training they will be offered.

Beneficiaries of this major training drive will be selected to ensure that they will constructively contribute to the economy by undergoing broad-based "*On the Job 2 Year Skills Training*" as they maintain or construct tourism infrastructure or produce critical items such as mosquito combating gadgets, appropriate copper and steel based irrigation systems, paving bricks, fertilizer production, cement production, housing bricks, grain, cotton lint, basic cotton materials, essential oils, bio-fuels etc that will be essential in the short run for economic re-ignition and temporary employment of millions of unemployed people whose

labour is currently going to waste. The private sector will be encouraged to support this initiative through voluntary finance and job training opportunities. This initiative should go a long way towards addressing the classic employee dilemma of being qualified but not having experience.

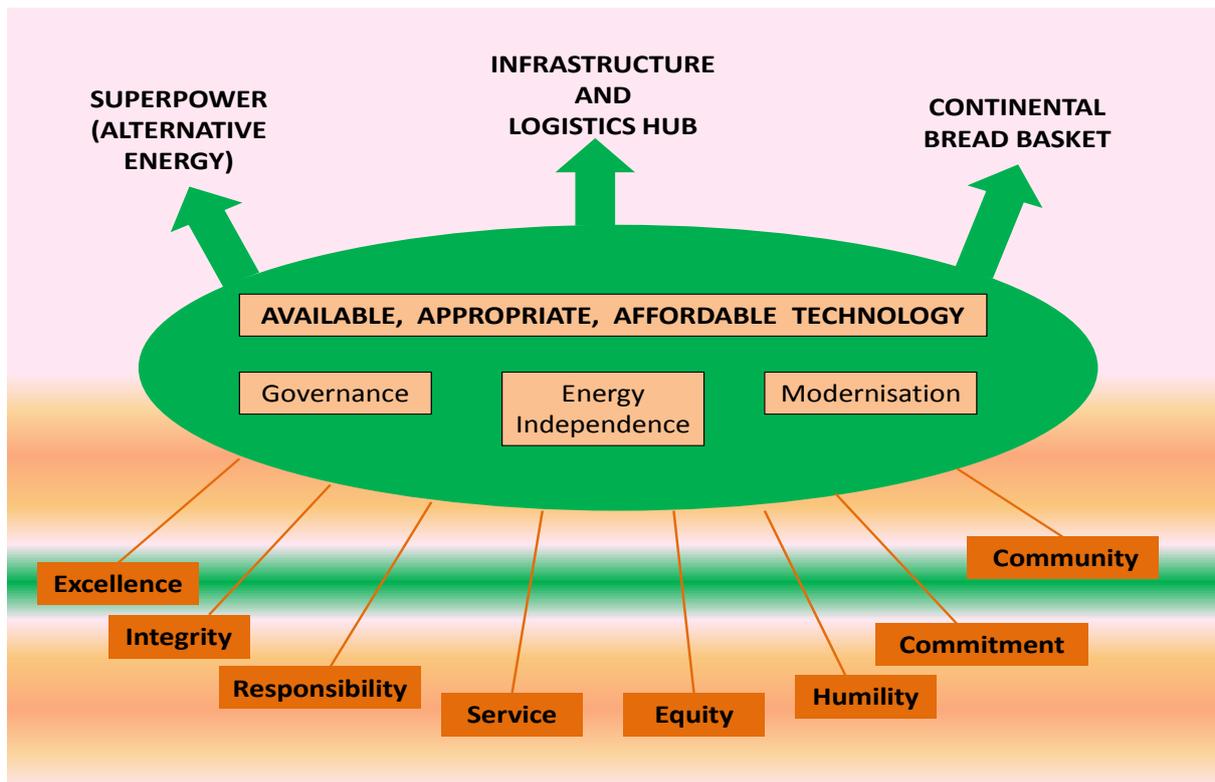
The *On the Job 2 Year Skills Training* programmes will initially require a capital injection but will in the long run be cost effective because the training programs will be designed to complement each other. This means, for example, that the group of youth that will be producing foodstuffs during that phase of training will ensure that they feed themselves and others in other programs whilst the ones that will be producing cotton will ensure that they clothe themselves and other youth who are in other training programs. Upon completion, such skilled individuals will be available as part of the local skilled labour force, creating a wealth of productive skills that will be used to turn Zambia into a competitive and cheap production zone with all residents having the basics of life such as clothing, decent shelter, brick paved roads, adequate food etc. Zambian citizens will – in time – be able to compete on the global labour marketplace with youth being assisted to relocate and work in other countries developing a basis for repatriation of an agreed proportion of earnings to a National Fund that will run the *On the Job 2 Year Skills Training* program.

In order to promote home-based self sustenance as opposed to over reliance on export earnings and imported goods, NAREP will seek to:

- Ensure that Zambia adopts the *Zambia Sustainability Plan* for a green economy
- Ensure that Zambia becomes self sufficient in iron beneficiation and recycling technology
- Attain household and national food security using local technology
- Ensure that imported technology is used as much as possible to assist in appropriate local technology development
- Revitalize the formal education sector so as to meet the nation's skills requirements
- Set targets for the formal education sector to churn out and export surplus skills
- Encourage the *Zambian Diaspora* to market Zambia as a prime tourism destination
- Ensure that common tropical diseases such as malaria are controlled
- Propel the "Energy Independence Initiative" via adopted solar and bio-fuel technology
- Peg targets for export of surplus bio-fuels only for purposes of balancing trade
- Introduce targets for production of cotton under irrigation so as to clothe the nation
- Implement cost-conscious, efficient governance through value-based leadership
- Use local resources to improve housing and roads in rural and urban areas

NAREP believes that building such a country will require a transformation of our national mindset. This will happen when everyone is encouraged to play their role in a society that is responsibly led by competent, service-oriented, honest leadership that places emphasis on values. NAREP believes that an adherence to value-based leadership is the key to the transformational change of our national mindset and has established eight core values against which performance within and outside government will be continuously assessed: excellence, integrity, responsibility, service, equity, humility, commitment, and a sense of community.

NAREP's vision foresees **three outcomes** which are built on **three pillars** that draw their strength from **eight core values**. Hence "Vision 3:3:8" as depicted graphically below:



**Vision 3:3:8**

Under NAREP's guidance, Zambia will be a country that will play its role as:

- An energy superpower

This goal will create a commercial basis for infrastructure development and produce a more sustainable model for significantly reducing poverty in rural and urban areas. There will be extensive use of solar technology to power villages and towns, reducing dependence on costly fixed line infrastructure. We will harness the nation's great potential to be a world player in the grand scale production of bio-fuels (including ethanol and palm oil) thereby reducing our dependence on imported petroleum and related products. This will create abundant employment opportunities in both rural and urban Zambia and will open up land and industrial development well beyond the major cities and settlements along the line of rail. Zambia will also continue to develop itself as a major hydro-power generator through public/private partnerships and independent power producers

- The continental breadbasket

The natural and intended consequence of opening up the rural areas to new investments in clean energy production will be the development of the vast agricultural potential of the country. Zambia has not been able to claim its position as a major global agricultural centre due to the very limited or no access to vast areas of arable land. The development of plans to create a clean energy economy will hasten infrastructure development (particularly dams, grain storage facilities and interconnecting roads within and between the provinces) in vast arable areas that have hitherto lacked access. Policies to promote community farming on a commercial scale as well as to enhance ongoing commercial farming will also be introduced as part of the initiatives to develop Zambia's status as a major developer of bio-fuels

- A regional inland infrastructure and logistics hub

Zambia's unique geographical location has been preached about for many years. We are surrounded by 8 countries (9 including Burundi at the end of Lake Tanganyika). With the correct political will and careful use of resources, Zambia can, within 10 years, claim its place as the continent's foremost inland regional infrastructure and logistics hub. One example of how this would work is in the downstream processing of mineral concentrates out of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. 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

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. This will ultimately improve our competitiveness.

### **The pillars of the NAREP vision**

The NAREP Vision rests upon the attainment of three objectives:

1. Implementing **efficient and effective governance**
2. Implementing measures to achieve greater **energy independence**
3. Implementing a rural and urban **modernisation** drive across the nation.

#### **1. Governance – improving efficiency from top to bottom and bottom to top**

NAREP will:

- Establish a provincial and communal governance framework for civic-driven change
- Radically reduce all central government expenditure and introduce efficiency through performance-based accountability
- Direct more resources towards promoting development at grassroots and community levels ensuring greater decentralisation and local decision making
- Provide transparency into government operations, expenditure and decision-making

The process will involve:

- A complete review and improvement of the structure of government
- Bringing development decision-making more directly to the people
- Restructuring cabinet and publishing performance metrics, targets and deadlines

- Creating communal assemblies with stakeholder engagement at ward level
- Building infrastructure and providing training at the ward (community) level

### **How will this be done?**

Changes will be effected at four levels:

- Reducing **Cabinet** from over 23 ministers (currently) to 12
- Developing a clear policy for strengthening the **civil service** and improving its efficiency and effectiveness
- Redesigning delivery of **local government** services
- Introducing “**community assemblies**” at ward level

### *Cabinet changes*

The NAREP administration will have 12 Ministers responsible for the following:

1. Health and Human Services
2. Education and Child Development
3. Energy, Mining, Infrastructure and Technology
4. Youth, Sport and Culture
5. Gender, Decentralisation and Community Development
6. Finance
7. Agriculture
8. Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources
9. Foreign Affairs
10. Labour and Home Affairs
11. Defence and Security
12. 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 more 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 should 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

## **2. Energy independence – achieving greatly reduced reliance on imported energy**

NAREP refers to its initiative in the energy and agricultural sectors, as the “Technograrian Revolution”.

The term “technograrian” is a combination of two words: “technology” and “agriculture”. It refers to the use of agricultural initiatives and adaptable high quality but not overly expensive technological solutions to address the development obstacles confronting Zambia. It is a tool for unlocking wealth from the country’s vast arable land area while at the same time harnessing our abundant water resources. It is a plan that will transform the rural landscape into active centres of major economic development. This will have the following benefits:

- Employment opportunities shifting from exclusively urban to rural areas
- Rural ownership of the means of production allowing earnings from both labour and capital
- Natural decongestion of towns and cities
- Sustainable rural expansion
- Agricultural and industrial development of vast untapped internal landmass
- Better and more productive use of abundant national water resource

### **How it will work?**

NAREP will:

- Engage communities that will benefit from this initiative to ensure that the concept is fully understood and where appropriate, supported
- Carry out a land audit to determine available land for cultivation of sugar cane, jatropha, sorghum, camelina, palm oil and other sources of bio-fuels on an industrial scale
- Facilitate conversion from customary to titled communal land ownership
- Encourage the formation of village “Technograrian units”
- Introduce solar panel energy generating units throughout the country that will power up small village settlements formed around the Technograrian communities
- Invite local and international investors in a fair arrangement to partner with the Government and local communities to form the “Technograrian units”
- Establish the units in such a way as to ensure that as much value as possible is retained by local communities
- Facilitate the electronic delivery of education that will focus on the new industries

NAREP will immediately undertake a study to confirm the feasibility of introducing a policy that will make it mandatory for every litre of petrol and every litre of diesel sold in the country to contain a minimum amount of ethanol (in the case of petrol) and a minimum amount of palm oil (in the case of diesel). Gradually, these percentages will be increased over time until Zambia, like Brazil will have 90 per cent or more of

its motor vehicles running on fuel efficient ethanol-blended fuel produced within the country.

Zambia will enter into strategic alliances with foreign manufacturing interests to promote the local production of machinery and equipment to support the industrial spin-offs from this new policy. An example is the assembly of simple electric vehicles as well as the charging systems used to power them.

### **3. Modernisation – national rural and urban modernisation and development drive**

Zambia needs modern, well-constructed and maintained:

- Housing
- Hospitals and clinics
- Schools and training institutes
- Roads
- 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.

In order to modernise, we must first define our national interest. NAREP believes that Zambia's national interest should be based on the immediate needs of all its people including those that are continually neglected by leadership. With this in mind, our country's national interest should reflect our culture, history, unique location as well as our abundant land, water and mineral resources.

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 would be commenced within 90 days of a NAREP administration
- The audit would be made public within 9 months of commencement
- A major rural and urban modernisation and development plan will be launched
- 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
- A wide ranging road development programme will be undertaken to marshal resources for major interconnecting infrastructure between and within the 9 provinces of Zambia

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 and in a manner that can benefit the surrounding 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. The motto to reflect our national interest will be ZAMBIA FIRST!