


PARTY MANIFESTO 2021-2026



Zambia Forward

**TIME
FOR
CHANGE**

A stone monument with a plaque and a flag in the background. The monument is made of stacked stones and has a white plaque with black text. To the left, a flag with green, white, and red stripes is visible. The background shows trees and a clear sky.

THIS PLAQUE WAS UNVEILED ON 24TH OCTOBER 1964
TO MARK THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE AFTER
SEVENTY YEARS OF COLONIAL RULE.
IT IS DEDICATED TO ALL THOSE PEOPLE, MEN AND WOMEN,
WHO BY PERSONAL SACRIFICE ENABLE INDEPENDENCE
TO BE ACHIEVED.
THIS MONUMENT STANDS AT THE SOURCE OF THE ZAMBEZI
RIVER FROM WHICH ZAMBIA HAS DERIVED ITS NAME AND
WHICH, WITH ITS GREAT TRIBUTARIES HAS PLAYED SO
LARGE A PART IN THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF ITS PEOPLE
AND COMMEMORATES THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION IN
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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFCFTA	AFRICAN CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE AREA
COMESA	COMMON MARKET FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
DIP	DECENTRALISATION IMPLEMENTATION PLAN
CSLAs	COMMUNITY SAVINGS AND LOANS ASSOCIATIONS
ESC	EMPLOYMENT SERVICES CENTRE
ETP	ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION PROGRAMME
FDIs	FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT
GHG	GREENHOUSE GAS
GMA	GAME MANAGEMENT AREA
ICT	INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY
M&E	MONITORING AND EVALUATION
MSMEs	MICRO, SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTERPRISES
PPP	PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP
PSD	PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT
UNCCC	UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE
UPND	UNITED PARTY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASH	WATER SANITATION AND HYGIENE
ZAFFICO	ZAMBIA FORESTRY AND FOREST INDUSTRY CORPORATION
ZEMA	ZAMBIA ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY
ZPPA	ZAMBIA PUBLIC PROCUREMENT AUTHORITY
ZRA	ZAMBIA REVENUE AUTHORITY
ZED	ZAMBIA ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

Message from the President

We, the people of Zambia, have always achieved unity of purpose. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Zambians of all ethnicities united in delivering political independence. In the early 1990s, Zambians again joined hands in delivering multiparty politics and a more democratic society. In 2005, we united and embarked on a long-term dream, The Vision 2030, to become “**A Prosperous Middle-Income Nation by the Year 2030**”. In our goal, we committed to sustaining high rates of economic growth and significantly reducing poverty. With much sacrifice and effort by the Zambian people, we attained macroeconomic stability and economic growth by 2011, earning a reclassification to Lower Middle-Income Country status.

Since 2011, our economic fortunes have dissipated, and economic growth has decreased from over seven percent recorded in 2010 to less than two percent currently. The country’s debt has once again skyrocketed to unsustainable levels. Consequently, the high level of debt service has reduced the capacity to make critical investments in health, education and infrastructure as well as ability to dismantle outstanding payments to creditors, both local and foreign, including to pensioners. Also, high unemployment levels have become the norm. While lower copper prices and frequent bouts of climate related droughts have weighed down performance, Zambians know that lack of visionary leadership, corruption, and political patronage in the public service, are the main reasons for their struggles.

We, as a people, have this historic opportunity, to use the power of our vote in 2021 to change our country and create a united and prosperous Zambia with equal opportunities across ethnic, religious, regional, generational and gender considerations, living in harmony and in a free democratic society. We are also committed to addressing the issues of inequitable distribution of wealth where 90.0 percent of the country’s wealth is held by 10.0 percent of the population, with uneven allocation of resources between urban and rural areas. Through our vote, we can usher in an era of good governance and prudent economic management that will foster accelerated national development and empowerment for every citizen through sustainable use of our vast human and natural resources.



The country, now more than ever before, needs visionary leadership and economic management skills for development and social progress. The United Party for National Development (UPND) commits to work tirelessly to realize the dream of a prosperous Zambia anchored on mutual understanding, love and national unity for speedy economic and social development, with a targeted economic growth rate of 10.0 percent per year for us to achieve the Vision 2030. We will take positive and transparent steps to implement an ambitious economic and social transformation to move Zambia forward and achieve overall poverty reduction within a decade.

This manifesto reflects how, with your participation, we can make this vision a reality and demonstrate to the world that our best years as a nation are within our reach. This manifesto has benefited from the views of a broad spectrum of ordinary citizens across our society, including the youth and women, miners, farmers, marketeers, economic, social and security sector experts, to mention but a few. We are most grateful to them for sharing their wisdom and dreams for the future. They can rest assured that through our collective effort, we can realize a united and prosperous Zambia – Yes, Together We Can.

Hakainde Hichilema

PRESIDENT

Introduction

Founded in 1998, the UPND, is a national political party that stands for progress, good governance and a united and prosperous Zambia. The party's overall objective is to make the Zambian economy work efficiently and competitively to lift the living standards of the people sustainably.

The party's guiding principle is a people-cantered, pro-poor, development strategy that guarantees the basic needs of all the people of Zambia. To this end, the UPND will:

- a. Develop a mixed economy based on production, efficiency, social justice and the eradication of poverty.
- b. Institute measures to attain macroeconomic stability (i.e., low inflation, stable interest rates, high growth, fiscal discipline) and prioritize areas of national development.
- c. Build a national coalition and consensus in economic planning and implementation through a Consultative Economic Advisory Forum of Business, Labour, Government and the Civil Society.
- d. Encourage private and public sector economic programmes that improve people's wellbeing.
- e. Devise a national programme for innovation that will unleash the talents and creativity of Zambians, including the youth and women.
- f. Set into motion a process of economic transformation and the diversification of the economic base through maximum utilisation of local endowments and the promotion of value addition, particularly in industry, agriculture, tourism, small-scale mining and manufacturing.
- g. Prioritise job creation through high growth, prioritisation of jobs-rich sectors and targeted interventions, particularly for the youth and women.
- h. Reduce socio-economic disparities among regions to create a foundation for sustainable development by harnessing our resources.
- i. Encourage local investors to go into manufacturing through the establishment of a citizen credit institution.

The UPND administration will place a high priority on establishing a stable and predictable policy environment that will promote private investment, protection of private property, growth and job creation. Attention shall be placed on attaining and preserving prudent macroeconomic management, characterised by public-private consultation, policy consistency, fiscal prudence, and investment promotion. Deliberate efforts shall be made to lower the cost of doing business, including those relating to regulatory compliance, public sector bureaucracy, energy, transportation, trade logistics and credit. The government, through the relevant ministries, will be mandated to provide annual updates to track performance across a range of parameters including investment attraction, tourism promotion and the cost of commerce and trade.

Because a well-functioning economy depends on order, peace and security established by the law, the UPND administration places a high priority on the establishment of a sound legal environment that ensures the rule of law, peace, justice, civil liberties, and security for all. We will focus on securing the law, including making necessary changes to the constitution, as well as widening the democratic space, fostering dialogue, debate and tolerance of different views.

The Vision

Our vision is to have a united and prosperous Zambia with equal opportunities across ethnic, religious and gender considerations, living in harmony in a free democratic society, thus carrying forward Zambia's Vision 2030.

Mission

Our mission is to foster accelerated national development through the mobilisation and sustainable use of human and natural resources for the empowerment of every Zambian citizen.

In defining the core of the party's manifesto, the UPND continues to build a people-centred agenda for change and reform firmly anchored on

delivering sustainable development. Our vision and mission are rooted in global and regional sustainability frameworks, including the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Paris Agreement on Climate Change and the African Union Agenda 2063. Our focus is to build inclusive solutions that cut across the four corners of the sustainability framework: human, social, economic and environmental considerations. In a nutshell, our goal is to meet the needs of today, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.



Religion and the State

The UPND will maintain Zambia as a Christian Nation while promoting and upholding religious freedom and tolerance of other religions and beliefs.

Our core values include:

- Unity in diversity
- Equality before the law
- Respect for the freedoms and rights of all citizens
- Transparency
- Accountability
- Integrity
- Social Justice

The UPND Agenda

The UPND Government seeks to realise Zambia's aspiration of becoming a prosperous middle-income country through three main phases: recovery and stabilization; steady growth; and take-off. In 2021, we will firmly implement credible policies to lower the fiscal deficit, restore market confidence, bring stability to the economy, enable a speedy recovery in economic growth, and ensure debt management and sustainability. Under a climate of steady growth, we shall deepen investments in human capital, strategic economic sectors and export promotion.

With this foundation, we shall accelerate the transformation of the economy by advancing value-addition, industrialization and the integration into global markets. The following are some of the programmes that we will set up to achieve this:

a. **Economic Transformation Programme (ETP)** – the ETP will be the overarching framework that will bring together our interventions in the various sectors of the economy to create more and better jobs and to eliminate poverty. It will also focus on value addition in agriculture, mining and manufacturing to make the economic transformation programme more action oriented. With job creation as a critical focus, we shall prioritise jobs-rich sectors such as tourism and construction, while harnessing the potential of our youth in the digital economy. The private sector will lead the programme. At the same time, the government will promote human capital development and facilitate economic activities through policy formulation, sound regulation, effective service delivery and maintenance of a secure and stable investment climate.

b. **Entrepreneurship**—we will target the formation of a robust indigenous entrepreneurship base as part of the agenda to determine our destiny, retain resources within the country and build a strong middle-class. Entrepreneurship efforts will include a focus on youths and women who will be encouraged to participate in MSMEs. Youths and women will be strongly encouraged to participate in business, including through initiatives to promote the growth of and performance of Micro, Small and Medium-size Enterprises (MSMEs). Through the formation of Community Savings and Loans Associations (CSLAs), groups shall receive entrepreneurship training, with financial support provided by an MSME Development Fund. We will also establish the Zambia Enterprise Development (ZED) Initiative to support start-ups and existing enterprises, including allowing for the creation of business incubators that have a high potential for growth and job creation.

c. **Digital Revolution** – deepening the digital and knowledge economy will allow Zambia to accelerate our progress towards the 2030 Vision of becoming a prosperous middle-income country. Every aspect of human, social, political and economic activity is becoming rooted in information generated by the online activities of people and machines. The dawn of the information age, and more recently, the rise in automation in the fourth industrial revolution, presents both opportunities and challenges for developing countries, especially those that seek to industrialise. It is therefore imperative that as a country whose demography comprises mainly of the youth, we craft our collective digital

future and devise national programmes to leverage these events through innovation that will unleash the talents and creativity of Zambians.

We must aspire to become the centre of digital transformation and use technology to drive productivity and strengthen resilience in agriculture, manufacturing, health, education and all other sectors of our economy. In a nutshell, we shall make Zambia move towards a digital economy that will be driven by deliberate digital governance policies. To achieve this, we will scale-up investment in broadband capacities, including through public-private partnerships (PPPs), to build a robust, easily accessible and secure government information and communication technology (ICT) environment. We will also work with service providers to ensure the sound planning and installation of digital infrastructure that is essential to efficient and inclusive service delivery, economic investment and growth that creates an attractive environment for citizens. We shall build a robust, accessible and secure e-governance system to enable businesses and citizens to deal with government promptly and efficiently when applying for services such as permits and licenses.

To implement a successful economic transformation agenda, we will create a conducive regulatory environment and address the critical impediments that may affect the achievement of our overall objective.

These include:

- Good governance – we will ensure that public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in a transparent and accountable manner to achieve the high economic efficiency and competitiveness required to lift the living standards of the people.
- Improved Policy Environment – we will firmly strengthen the formulation and implementation of the credible macroeconomic, social, external sector and sectoral policies, including specific policy reforms to bring stability to the economy, enable a speedy recovery in economic growth, and ensure debt sustainability.
- Strengthen Public Financial Management – we will undertake financial and budgetary reforms to improve public financial management to ensure prudent use and promote accountability and transparency in the use of public resources.
- Improved Service Delivery and Productivity – we will ensure adequate investment in the social sector (education, health and water and sanitation) so that we have well-trained and healthy citizens to power the economic transformation agenda.
- Improved Rule of Law and Human Rights – the rule of law will be the benchmark that will guide the UPND in government. We will put in place policies and strategies to enhance access to justice, observance of the rule of law and human rights to ensure there is order and security in the country.



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/15/Downtown_Lusaka.JPG

Economic Management

Since 1991, we, as Zambians, have individually and severally sacrificed to bring our economy back on course. We eliminated hyperinflation, brought inflation to single digits in 2006 and sustained macroeconomic stability until 2011. Between 2006 and 2011, the economy was characterized by robust growth, low inflation and a stable exchange rate that averaged K4.20 per US dollar.

However, after 2011, economic haemorrhaging set in, under the combined weight of large and concurrent fiscal deficits, policy inconsistencies, corruption, and misplaced priorities. Economic growth has slowed to under 2.0 percent. In contrast, public debt, which was around 11.4 percent of national output, has swelled to unsustainable levels above 100 percent.

Our Kwacha has emerged as one of the worst performing currencies in the world, depreciating to an all-time low of K22 to \$1 (USD). Our sovereign bond issues carry the same tag.

Consequently, the cost of living for ordinary Zambians has gone up, making life harder. For example, a 25kg bag of mealie meal that cost K45.00 in 2011 went as high as K140.00, while a litre of diesel (fuel) more than doubled from K6.22 to K15.59 over the same period. The COVID-19 pandemic is projected to make life even harder for Zambian citizens and, in the absence of a significant turnaround, threatens to rob us of the 2030 Vision.

Several factors can define this economic misfortune.

They include:

- a. Economic mismanagement – non-prioritization of expenditure including implementation and co-ordination weaknesses.
- b. Uncoordinated and expensive borrowing.
- c. Waning market confidence and participation in the economy.
- d. Policy somersaults – inconsistent policy environment and conflicting positions within the government.
- e. Deterioration of good governance – weakening of critical institutions and an intensifying culture of corruption.
- f. External shocks – lower copper prices, poor rainfall affecting electricity generation as well as the COVID-19 pandemic.

The UPND government is up to the task of instituting a robust recovery programme and placing the economy back on its previous growth path. Unlike the pre 2011 period, we are conscious of the risks of delivering jobless growth, such as stagnated social indicators and widening inequalities. Our focus will therefore be on attaining outcomes beyond economic growth and towards greater inclusion and poverty reduction. Through sound and responsible economic management, we shall implement our development agenda of economic transformation to deliver our national vision and individual aspirations of our citizens.

We will firmly strengthen the formulation and implementation of credible macroeconomic, social, external sector and sectoral (microeconomic) policies, including specific policy reforms to lower the fiscal deficit, manage and eventually reduce public debt, and restore social and market confidence. This will bring stability to the economy, enabling a speedy recovery in economic growth, and ensuring debt sustainability. In this regard, we commit to doing the following:

- a. Strengthen tax policy and administration to broaden the tax base, reduce the individual tax burden on families and companies, while

shifting emphasis on consumption taxes and improve overall revenue collection.

- b. Ensure fiscal expenditure rationalization, prudence and discipline.
- c. Maintain a strong, cautious and conservative monetary policy stance.
- d. Increase budgetary allocations to social protection, including addressing the plight of pensioners.
- e. Improve economic and fiscal governance through the strengthening of regulations and laws to ensure transparency of spending decisions.
- f. Improve budget credibility through better planning, adherence to expenditure plans and improvement of the quality of government's spending.
- g. Increase international reserves, creating a buffer to cushion the economy against external shocks.
- h. Improve the country's economic stability through easing access to credit, lowering lending rates and reducing inflation.
- i. Strengthen statistical analysis capacity to improve policy-making and better track progress.

Jobs Creation

A significant challenge that many Zambians face today is unemployment; particularly for the youth. Formal sector employment opportunities are scarce and continuing to decline. The private sector is struggling, not only due to electricity blackouts and high energy costs, but also because of poor economic management that has failed to maintain economic growth above the increase in labour participation. Also, low levels of entrepreneurship coupled with limited access to appropriate finance, technology and markets, have further constrained employment creation.

Under these circumstances, most of our youth have faced little choice but to engage in informal low paying activities that present minimal opportunities to advance themselves, thereby keeping them trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and informality.

Further, some have resorted to crime, drug abuse, and other destructive activities. Some politicians have even taken advantage of the poor and unemployed youths to cause mayhem during elections.

The UPND has a strategy for employment and job creation for Zambia. The approach recognizes that robust private sector growth, particularly the growth of the MSMEs, is the most powerful driver of job creation. Through this jobs strategy, we aim to harness the full potential of Zambia's youth by prioritising growth in the jobs rich sectors in our programme for economic transformation and placing a higher priority on the plight of the youth, including through targeted initiatives and programs. We will thus:

- a. Educate, motivate and encourage the youth to become successful entrepreneurs, who will in turn dramatically improve the employment situation and create jobs for others.
- b. Establish labour and employment policy reforms that ensure that harmony and healthy synergies exist between the workforce and the private sector as the main engine of job creation.
- c. Ensure that there are strong synergies between our job creation strategy and MSMEs strategy so that the initiatives we develop to support the MSME contribute to stimulating job creation as well as training and apprenticeship programs.
- d. Promote broad-based re-education, up- skilling, retooling, and skills development for formal and informal workers in the public and private sectors, particularly vulnerable groups (women, youths and the disabled).
- e. Broaden the formal employment base to ensure workers are protected by the law and have access to pension and health systems.
- f. Implement an economic diversification programme that prioritizes jobs-rich sectors, such as agro-processing, tourism, construction and ICT.
- g. Focus on changing the mindset and culture of our young generation so that they appreciate their value and reject being used as tools of violence during elections.



Private Sector Development

The private sector is the engine of innovation, employment creation, investment and growth for any economy. Dynamic private companies offer the most effective way to create wealth, jobs and prosperity for all on a sustained basis. Therefore, creating the right conditions for businesses to expand and grow is indispensable if we are serious about achieving the Vision 2030. It is only through a well-functioning private sector that our youths will have the chance to get decent jobs and earn a decent living. It is only through a well-functioning private sector that parents can provide for their children, ensure that families have access to affordable goods and services, and that poverty can be eradicated.

In this regard, the UPND Government commits to placing private enterprises at the centre of production and trade, and to supporting private sector development to achieve our overall objective of economic growth, job creation and poverty reduction. We thus commit to improving the relationship between the government and the private sector, including through well-tailored PPPs, particularly in labour-intensive, job-creating ventures. Through a Consultative Economic Advisory Forum, we will collaborate with the private sector on planning and implementation of the development agenda and consult to address hurdles to growth and job creation.

- a. Improve the business environment and reduce the cost of doing business for the private sector.
- b. Improve regulatory frameworks and remove administrative barriers to business entry and operations.
- c. Commit our political support to the Private Sector Development (PSD) reforms.
- d. Ensure that there is a built-in mechanism for harmonizing the divergent stakeholders' needs and interests at political, institutional and technical levels.
- e. Ensure that the PSD reform process is sufficiently consultative and that all its key local partners in both the public and private sectors participate to ensure ownership of the process.
- f. Ensure that roles for government and the private sector are well defined and understood, i.e., the role of the government is to create legislation that is business-friendly and facilitates private sector growth while the role for the private sector is to provide input into the process of developing business-friendly legislation and point out when difficulties are noted.

- g. Prioritise public investments in services that harness the benefits of regional, continental and global trade arrangements and promote PSD through an informed knowledge economy.

Micro, Small and Medium- sized Enterprises (MSMEs)

MSMEs employ the majority of the country's workforce. However, for MSMEs to have a meaningful impact on employment, the numerous constraints faced by the firms will have to be addressed. Obstacles such as: a lack of affordable financing, irregular supply of energy, poor access to skilled human resources and new technologies, high cost of regulatory compliance, and a lack of economies of scale.

To enhance growth and support MSMEs, the UPND administration will place a high priority on establishing a stable and predictable policy environment that will promote private investment, growth and job creation. We will also undertake the following initiatives:

- a. Formation of MSME Community Savings and Loans Associations – the Community Savings and Loan Association will provide entrepreneurship training and soft loans. Financial support will be provided to start-up associations through an MSME Development Fund. The primary aim of this Fund will be to lower financing costs for qualifying MSMEs, by providing third-party credit risk mitigation, soft loans and, where appropriate, grant financing. Partial Credit Guarantees will be used to reduce risks to commercial banks that extend loans to selected MSMEs.
- b. Establishment of the Zambia Enterprise Development (ZED) Initiative – the ZED Initiative will facilitate business plan competitions to support start-ups and existing enterprises that have high growth potential. Under this framework, MSMEs will present competing business plans showing how they seek to use innovative methods to grow their businesses and create jobs in the priority sectors mentioned above.
- c. Youth Entrepreneurial Services Development Program – this program will involve the formation of functional Employment Services Centres (ESC) that will focus on improving access to employment opportunities. Specifically, ESCs functions will include outreach to jobseekers and firms, registration of jobseekers, profiling and referrals to opportunities. ESCs will also provide youths with tailor-made support to improve employability, including life-skills training covering topics such as aspirations, self-esteem, personal initiative, goal-setting, decision-making, communication and leadership. Young women will benefit from dedicated mentoring to address pervasive social barriers and boost self-confidence.
- d. Promote development of MSMEs at the community level to allow local access to all daily and business essentials. This will drive down the cost of doing business and reduce the need for communities to travel to distant towns and cities, whilst creating localised employment opportunities.
- e. Delivery of targeted tax incentives for start-ups to allow breathing space in the first three years when these businesses most often fail.

Government

The hallmark of our approach to government will be to have a small, diverse and efficient government characterized by proper planning, transparency and accountability in the management of public resources. Further, the UPND shall run an open government that will work with the various stakeholders from the private sector and civil society as true partners in development in areas of policy and programme implementation. We will ensure that all agreed or approved projects and programmes are implemented rigorously in an efficient, effective and timely manner.

In this regard, we commit to:

- a. Put in place a strategy and action plan to transform the public service so that it can manage affairs efficiently and with more exceptional professionalism to achieve sustainable growth, eliminate poverty and address inequality.
- b. Develop more effective leadership and management of a changing public service, ensuring sectoral management capacities are strengthened to manage significant transformations of sectors such as agriculture.
- c. Improve the capacity to formulate, analyse and implement policies.
- d. Ensure that monitoring the implementation and impact of various policies and projects is strengthened by improving the framework for Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E).
- e. Improve the capacity to make better decisions at the local level, as part of our decentralization programme, so that the delivery of services is more sensitive to people's needs and ability to pay.

Law, Justice and Security

The equitable provision of safety, security and justice to all citizens is essential for the proper functioning of our country. Lack of safety, security and justice impedes the provision of, and access to, other services such as education, health, water and sanitation. The UPND government will be committed to the rule of law, justice, civil liberties, the security of all the Zambian people and the protection of private property.

We believe that security and justice institutions that are democratically controlled - alongside an independent judiciary that can check the power of the legislature and executive including security institutions - is absolutely critical to strengthening the rule of law. This, in turn, fosters development by enhancing the voices of individuals and communities through access to justice, ensuring due process of the law and establishing remedies for the violation of rights. To promote the law, justice and security as an essential foundation for the wellbeing of the Zambian citizens, the UPND government commits to:

- a. Strengthen all relevant institutions to guarantee security, safety, fundamental human rights, civil liberties and justice.
- b. Modernize the operations of the judiciary to speed up the dispensation of justice because justice delayed is as good as justice denied.
- c. Widen access to justice to all, particularly women and children as the basis for curbing gender-based discrimination and exclusion.
- d. Guarantee adequate funding to all institutions mandated to provide security, ensure safety and dispense justice so that they can operate autonomously, efficiently and effectively at all times.
- e. Mount a comprehensive training and capacity building programme for all relevant institutions to ensure that they are adequately trained and can provide high-quality services to all citizens.
- f. Support and strengthen the intelligence agencies to provide services that can deal with modern threats such as money laundering, cross border crime, human trafficking and environmental degradation.
- g. Ensure strict adherence to the rule of law and end selective application of the law to restore faith in the country's critical national institutions of governance.



Separation of Power

The UPND government will work to strengthen and preserve the integrity of the concept of separation of powers among the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, as provided for in the constitution. We believe that constructive relationships between these three arms of government are essential to the effective maintenance of the constitution and the rule of law. The UPND government will, therefore, be committed to entrenching separation of powers and a system of checks and balances among these three branches of government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness. In each of these constituent areas, we commit to undertake the following:

The Executive

- a. Ensure that the executive is duly accountable to the people of Zambia through the National Assembly and the judiciary as the hallmark of servant leadership.
- b. Promote a culture of transparency and accountability, especially amongst controlling officers, who will be made to appear before the appropriate committees of parliament as a matter of routine and sanctioning those who choose to abdicate this particular responsibility.
- c. Ensuring that the president has regular question and answer sessions with the media, parliament and opposition leaders.
- d. Ensure regular engagement between the president and the leaders of opposition parties to solidify consensus behind the Vision 2030 while ensuring a sense of unity of purpose.
- e. Ensure that all cabinet ministers are appointed based on competence for the portfolios assigned to them to ensure that they meaningfully contribute to the country's overall national development agenda.
- f. Ensure that the role of ministers will be to provide strategic leadership and policy direction to their respective ministries while reserving the responsibility of overseeing the day-to-day operations to controlling officers.
- g. Subject all senior public officials to performance-based contracts, which will be reviewed annually to ensure that they are making tangible contributions to the national development agenda.

The Judiciary

- a. Guarantee the independence of the judiciary so that it is impartial and effective in the interpretation of laws and administration of justice;
- b. Respect court judgments and orders to entrench the rule of law and enhance constitutionalism.
- c. Separate the offices of the attorney general and minister of justice to improve the impartiality and objectivity when it comes to legal issues to which the government is an interested party.

The Legislature

- a. Support reform efforts to make Parliament legislatively, administratively and financially autonomous so that it can play its rightful role as a bulwark of democracy.
- b. Support the National Assembly in staffing and training the parliamentary budget office so that it becomes fully operational to support members of parliament in their role overseeing the executive.
- c. Support the National Assembly in developing a strategic plan for its legislative agenda to ensure that it meaningfully contributes to the country's development agenda.



Zero Tolerance to Corruption

Corruption

Propelled by greed and selfishness, corruption has become the most regressive pandemic in Zambia. It has damaged the social and institutional fabric of the country. It is widespread and increasingly becoming part of everyday life, with the risk of becoming an integral part of the fibre of our culture. Not only are public or official decisions, such as the awarding of government contracts, bought and sold, but very often access to public service or the exercise of a right, such as obtaining public documents, has to be paid for through illicit bribes. Several mechanisms have supported the spread of corruption and turned it into normal practice, with upright civil servants removed from office. Similarly, businesses that oppose corruption are penalised through the withdrawal of their operating licenses or by granting favour to their competitors.

The UPND is fully committed to fighting this scourge, based on a strong principle of zero tolerance to corruption in all its forms. In addition to strengthening the Anti-Corruption Commission, the UPND will increase the benefits of being honest and the costs of being corrupt. Besides this, the UPND Government will:

- a. Establish special fast track anti-corruption courts to clear the backlog of outstanding corruption cases and expedite the conclusion of similar cases going forward.
- b. Ensure that all public offices will have open-door policies at all levels from the minister to the lowest technocrat.
- c. Ensure that all unclassified public records are readily available and open to the public for scrutiny.
- d. Ensure government officials declare any new wealth annually.
- e. Conduct lifestyle audits, with any civil servant found wanting being suspended until a court ruling.
- f. Introduce unexplained wealth orders to allow law enforcement to seize any property purchased using means that cannot be proven within the courts of law.
- g. Launch “Operation Recovery”, to ensure public money corruptly obtained is returned back to the public.

Decentralisation

Little effort has been made by successive governments to support decentralisation by devolution because over time this will ensure the transfer of power, ownership and responsibility of decision-making closer to the people. It also provides the rights of the local population to have a voice in government, and better protects minorities. While the Decentralisation Policy and the Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP) has been developed to reflect Zambia’s vision and aspirations in good governance, they have not been implemented.

The UPND Government commits to:

- a. Actualise the provisions of the constitution by ensuring that decentralization by devolution is implemented.
- b. Review and align the roles of the district commissioners with the functions of the town clerks/council secretaries;
- c. Improve the capacities of local authorities to make decisions and deliver services to the people at the local level.
- d. Review the role of provincial administrations to ensure local level participation in governance.

Land Policy and Planning

Land administration services and management is very critical to the development of the country. The absence of an all-inclusive national land policy has made it challenging to address several obstacles that retard social progress, such as the indiscriminate use of land and poor land development practices. There is a need to improve land administration and management to place the country’s land development on a sustainable path.

While the current land laws do not discriminate against anyone based on disability, there is a lack of knowledge and appreciation among land administrators of the need to allocate land to people with disabilities mainly because of the customs, norms and beliefs that disabled people cannot use the land productively. This stigma and prejudice restrict these people with disabilities’ equal involvement in land allocation and use.

The UPND Government’s land policy will seek

to promote equitable access to land for all the citizens of Zambia: for both the poor and the wealthy and irrespective of gender. We will strengthen land tenure security and enhance sustainable and productive management of land resources by upholding transparent and cost-effective systems of administration. We will thus:

- a. Ensure the equality of citizens to access land wherever they may be in Zambia.
- b. Ensure citizens enjoy similar legal protection to own and transact in the land, whether or not they are on state land or customary land.
- c. Review the laws governing land, and the way land is allocated to Zambians and non-Zambians
- d. Ensure that all players in the public and private sectors plan and efficiently manage land, which is a vital and limited resource.
- e. Correct the indiscriminate use of land and poor development practices by promoting orderly land management.
- f. Ensure a disciplined land market and effective and efficient land administration and management systems.
- g. Ensure future urban development fits with the ethos and image of the town or city, whilst reserving land for recreational facilities and activities.



Climate

Climate change has created severe challenges for the economy. It could alter our way of life in fundamental ways over the coming decades if not met with an adequate response. With extreme weather conditions having increased in both frequency and intensity, floods, droughts and prolonged dry spells are causing dramatic declines and volatility in energy generation and agricultural capacities, especially for the rural dwellers who are already vulnerable to severe food insecurity. Extreme heat, charcoal

harvesting and land degradations have combined to accelerate deforestation, with dire implications for the health and stability of critical aquifers and ecosystems. Hence, fuelling tensions in human-wildlife coexistence and among communities as fertile land and water sources become scarce. Climate change has intensified the challenges in the energy crisis, thereby affecting other sectors through prolonged hours of load shedding that have the potential for curtailing economic growth and long-term prosperity.

While the agricultural sector will be the primary focus of the UPND's Government's fight against the adverse effects of climate change, efforts will also be made to give as much attention as possible to meeting adaptation needs in the other sectors such as energy, tourism and health, which are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. In this regard, we will need a holistic approach to dealing with the adverse effects of climate change. If not adequately addressed, climate change could threaten our ability to feed ourselves, to remain healthy and safe from extreme weather and to manage natural resources that support the country's economy. The overriding objective on climate change will be to increase resilience and improve mechanisms for adaptation and remediation with the view to protecting livelihoods from the impact of climate change, reducing green-house gas (GHG) emissions and utilizing our nation's enormous natural wealth sustainably. We commit to strengthening the institutional framework for implementing climate change commitments to meet Zambia's nationally determined contributions of the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Convention on Climate Change (UNCCC).

Some of the measures that the UPND government will undertake to mitigate the effects of climate change will include:

- a. Investing in and empower institutions that have been established to coordinate and implement climate change programmes.
- b. Integrating climate action into sector strategies, by promoting smart agricultural practices; sustainable forestry, water and land management; renewable energy resources; ecotourism and

smart-urban programs, including waste-to-energy programmes that complement electricity generation.

- c. Promoting climate-resilient public infrastructure, especially for rural roads and bridges, while strengthening the framework for disaster risk management in line with the international best practice, including the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction.
- d. Noting the need to maintain fiscal prudence, we shall leverage blended financing and climate finance facilities as well as de-risk mechanisms to mobilize private resources towards climate action.
- e. Strengthening institutions for effective implementation of regulation and clean-up efforts, including in addressing legacy environmental pollution by mining activities that have affected communities' health and presented socio-economic costs.
- f. Investing in schemes such as afforestation, catchment area conservation and improved landscape management, especially at the local level.
- g. Creating income-earning opportunities for rural communities that participate in landscape management and GHG reduction activities by rolling out a national framework to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation under the REDD+ initiative. This will set Zambia on the path to becoming a green economy with the ability to generate significant carbon credit revenues as an alternative to deforestation.
- h. Scaling up activities of Zambia Forestry and Forest Industry Corporation (ZAFFICO) to increase the hectareage of land under sustainable management practices.
- i. Changing agricultural practices, such as diversifying livelihoods, promoting sustainable land management, advancing gender equality and improving smallholder farmers' access to climate information so that they build resilience to climate change.
- j. Building the capacity of local governments to manage the impacts of climate change.
- k. Strengthen the Zambia Environment Management Authority by giving it more powers to address issues affecting the environment.



Economic Sector Programmes

Agriculture and Agro-Processing

Agriculture is the critical priority sector in the growth and poverty reduction agenda of the UPND government. Over 60 percent of the population derives its livelihood from agriculture, yet the sector has not been fully exploited. The main constraints in the sector include dilapidated agricultural support infrastructure; inadequate delivery of extension service; and natural disasters such as drought and floods due to climate change. Other challenges are low productivity among small-scale farmers; poor land husbandry practices; inadequate value addition due to a lack of fully developed agro-industries resulting in the export of raw materials; inadequate agricultural finance and credit; and high dependence on one crop, maize, especially by the small-scale farmers.

Under the UPND Zambia will aim to feed itself,

becoming the breadbasket for the region while increasing its agriculture exports globally. In this vein, we shall strive to make Zambia a player in the global agriculture supply chain.

Against this backdrop, the UPND Government will implement a comprehensive programme of agricultural transformation as a key to boosting labour productivity and increasing agricultural production. It is only through the agrarian transformation that we will be able to end hunger and under-nutrition while accelerating economic growth. We will, therefore, restructure the sector to focus on activities and interventions that raise productivity and drive the modernisation of agriculture. We will ensure that the critical preconditions for agricultural transformation, which include the stability of the political economy, the long-term consistency of policies and an acknowledgement

of the importance of public investment in the sector, are put in place. Ultimately, we envisage increasing agriculture's contribution to economic growth by not only increasing production for food security but also boosting agro-processing and manufacturing for both domestic and export markets. To achieve this agenda, we will prioritize the following areas:

1. **Agricultural Productivity** – agricultural productivity in Zambia significantly falls short of the minimum required thresholds to deliver profitability for farmers, food security, nutritional needs, job creation and poverty reduction. This low productivity is attributed to the use of inefficient production techniques and inadequate access to agricultural inputs, among other factors. The UPND Government will improve agricultural productivity to meet household and national food security en route to becoming the regional breadbasket. More specifically, the UPND Government will do the following:

- Gradually create a pathway to reduce dependence on harmful chemicals in farming and move towards more soil friendly organic farming and use of natural soil enhancement methods.
- Ensure access to affordable agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, chemicals and pesticides, and machinery working closely with the private sector through a supportive business environment.
- Partner with the private sector to ease access to and ensure availability of low-cost finance to farmers.
- Establish agro-input manufacturing industries in partnership with the private sector to produce seed, fertilizer, and tools such as ploughs, tractors, pesticides etc.
- Promote the establishment of permanent agro-dealer networks across the country to facilitate the distribution of agricultural inputs even in remote areas.
- Provide targeted farm input packages including livestock through pass-on programmes, fertilizer, seed and appropriate farming technologies to vulnerable groups of small-scale farmers.
- Provide targeted research-based information about agricultural production, marketing, distribution and regional market access opportunities,

as an integrated service for commercializing the sector.

- Enhance agricultural diversification away from maize and mitigate natural shocks such as drought by growing drought-resistant crops, which will also be widening the agricultural export base.
- Promote small and medium scale agro- based and non-agricultural industries.
- Increase the irrigable acreage to ensure sustained food security.
- Partner with banks and insurance companies to develop insurance products that can help farmers increase their access to insurance and mitigate against risks such as droughts and floods due to climate change.
- Strengthen climate resilience through improved farming methods, climate-resilient seed varieties and irrigation.

2. **Agricultural Extension Services** – we will ensure that the provision of agricultural extension services and access to appropriate technology is an integral part of our agrarian revolution. In particular, the UPND government will pursue an extension strategy that will not only ensure national food security but will also improve rural livelihoods. The UPND government commits to undertake the following:

- Review and update the extension policy and strategy taking into account the needs of different groups of farmers to ensure they are served in the best possible manner.
- Revive and strengthen all farmer training and research institutes across the country to respond to farmers' needs and challenges to raise agricultural productivity.
- Increase funding for agricultural extension services, including incentivising extension personnel so that they can perform their role with dedication and commitment.
- Promote mechanisation of agriculture with

appropriate technology to enhance growth and productivity while taking into account the specific challenges of each farming community.

- Pilot community-owned commercial farming enterprises in each district to demonstrate farm mechanisations; use of improved technologies such as improved seed and artificial insemination; best farm management practices and agricultural marketing.
 - Develop and rehabilitate communal infrastructure such as dip-tanks and agricultural camps to service delivery closer to the communities.
 - Improve public information services on meteorological events and market information, such as regional prices for crops, to help farmers sell their products to the right areas.
3. **Market Access** – Farmers have been heavily constrained by limited access to markets, mainly because of poor infrastructure such as roads in rural areas, inadequate availability and supply of agricultural information, and insufficient access to financing. A key focus will be placed on connecting the farmer to upstream domestic and international markets with the view to increasing farmer's share in final products. To facilitate market access, the UPND government will undertake the following:
- Promote farmer clubs and agricultural cooperatives to increase economies of scale and competitiveness as well as enhance bargaining power and financial accessibility.
 - Strengthen the agro-value chains to enable farmers to get access to finance for their production but also generate access to markets for their products.
 - Prioritise the grading of rural roads to open up rural areas for enhanced agricultural production.
 - Increase access to agricultural finance through the establishment of an agrarian financing bank targeting only agricultural-related business and farming.

4. **Agri-business development** – this will involve value addition in the entire value chain system, from providing inputs to farmers to connecting with consumers, as well as marketing and distribution. We will rebrand the agriculture sector as an attractive, commercially viable and modernised occupation, especially among the youth who generally consider farming to be arduous and an occupation for older people. We will prioritize women and youth by undertaking the following.

- Implement programmes to improve the youth's and women's access to land to allow them to set up or expand agricultural businesses.
- Encourage value chain addition and agro-processing to improve the gross margins for farmers to maximise returns on their investment.
- Improve the youth and women's access to financial services by developing suitable credit and finance facilities.
- Improve overall access to capital, including domestic and foreign direct investments, for the modernisation of agriculture.
- Organise women and youths into farmer cooperatives and other social solidarity initiatives (especially in rural areas) to improve their image as suitable partners for financial service providers.
- Increase the youth and women's access to farm inputs and agricultural technology, such as machinery to increase productivity.



Energy

Energy is the backbone for development, serving humanity and driving economic growth. Zambia's main economic sectors - mining, agriculture, tourism, and trading - all depend on equitable and secure access to energy. However, investment in the sector has not grown in proportion to the demand for electricity. With the effects of climate change on water levels in the Zambezi River Basin, especially in the Kariba Dam, the situation has become dire and the country is currently facing a power deficit.

ZESCO has been load-shedding power even to productive sectors, thereby slowing economic growth, driving job losses and disrupting livelihoods. Reduced power generation has affected revenues for companies and contributed to a loss of economic opportunities, particularly for the small-scale businesses that cannot afford to run their own generators. This, in turn, has had real impacts on the fiscal deficit position and Zambia's debt levels, including debt carryovers from ZESCO. The energy crisis is fuelling an environmental disaster, as increased charcoal production and use for the urban population poses a threat to sustainable natural resource management, including the ecosystem of aquifers which support this sector.

Overall, the real losers are ordinary Zambians. They not only face the indignity of more load shedding but also higher prices for some products, as companies pass on some of the costs to the consumers. The situation is more difficult in rural Zambia, where only 5 percent of the population has access to the electricity supply.

This situation highlights the need for Zambia to increase and diversify its electricity generation capacity and enhance energy efficiency. It calls for concerted efforts by all stakeholders - the government, cooperating partners, private sector, academia, civil society, media and the general citizenry - to work together and find practical solutions.

The UPND government will ensure that the energy sector has steady and transparent policies, particularly around shifting focus towards alternative renewable energy sources to ensure an end to load shedding whilst ensuring sufficient capacity to power our economic growth.

We will:

- a. Deliver affordable and clean energy through the implementation of an ambitious Renewable Energy Investment Plan that will improve the energy mix. This will reduce our vulnerability to climate shocks by leveraging the declining cost of technologies to harness our vast solar resources, complemented with wind and geothermal energy.
- b. Ensure a cost-reflective and steady tariff that allows investors to continue investing in the sector.
- c. Diversify the geography of large-scale electricity generation sources, including through PPP initiatives, to ensure sufficient generation in each province.
- d. Scale-up investments in off-grid solutions, by de-risking investments in communal infrastructure.
- e. Minimise transmission and distribution losses and enhance the overall reliability of the electricity network.
- f. Scale-up the program of rural electrification through the extension of the grid network and deployment of off-grid electrification solutions
- g. Accelerate the integration of transmission projects to improve access to the regional power markets.
- h. Restructure ZESCO to improve its operations, autonomy and efficiency that will ensure the company's long-term financial sustainability.
- i. Restructure the fuel supply model to ensure fuel security and remove middle men from the supply chain.

The UPND government will play a supportive role by providing an enabling policy environment to attract private investment into the sector. With the right policy and investment climate, Zambia will become an energy powerhouse, meeting its national energy requirements and exporting to the entire SADC region.



Transport and Logistics

Transport and other logistics services such as warehousing, clearing and forwarding, and border services are imperative for facilitating economic

activity, trade and development as they form the backbone of the economy. As Zambia's economic activities and trade have increased over time, the value-addition of transportation service activities has also grown in tandem.

However, investments in transport infrastructure have been one-sided, with the primary focus being road transport infrastructure. While road transport is critical for a vast landlocked country with many neighbours - particularly for connecting hinterlands and rural agricultural communities to towns, cities and regional markets - it requires considerably higher maintenance, repair and rehabilitation costs than equivalent rail infrastructure. This is especially true of the bulk road haulage of commodities like copper, agricultural bulk goods, etc. The lack of cost-effective, bulk commodity freight options such as rail also has a significant impact on the overall cost of transport services in Zambia.

Also, local transporters are benefiting far less from the country's immense public investment in road infrastructure than their foreign counterparts. The country has been spending colossal sums of money on imported transport services because the bulk of the transportation business is captured by foreign operatives plying the Zambian roads. In the process, imported transportation services have increased disproportionately more than domestic services. Zambia's balance of payments expenditure on imported transportation services increased from US\$210 million in 2004 to US\$957 million in 2018.

An age-old problem in Zambia has been the significant public investment focus on urban transportation infrastructure and main artery national and regional interconnectors, much to the neglect of rural transportation infrastructure service development. Connecting rural areas and communities, particularly agricultural communities, to national and regional commercial centres, the maintenance, repair, rehabilitation and upgrade of rural transport networks, systems and infrastructure services, is crucial.

In the aviation sector, Zambia has opted to invest extensively in many international airports, but without robust commercialization strategies for these airports. Modernisation and digitisation strategies to turn the airports into high-functioning world-class international establishments that are end-destinations or logistical hubs in

themselves are non-existent. Furthermore, innovative approaches to integrate the airport into the cities where they are located (e.g., overnight tourism passes into the city) are lacking.

The UPND government will, therefore, pay attention to balancing investments in road and rail infrastructure going forward, leveraging PPPs that provide balanced fiscal risks and aligning with the medium-term budgetary headroom (capacity). Under the UPND, Zambia will draw increasingly on bilateral as well as joint regional infrastructure development and transport trade facilitation arrangements under the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), COMESA and SADC.

The overriding objective of the UPND government in the transport sector is to strengthen domestic and regional connectivity, with the view to connecting producers with markets, supporting participation in regional and global value chains, lowering the cost of doing business, enhancing competitiveness, and improving public service delivery. In this regard, the UPND government will prioritise rational and balanced public investment in road and rail infrastructure, which leverages PPPs and FDIs and is founded on a track record of good governance and sound economic management. We will also ensure that local transporters benefit from public investment in road infrastructure and that the modernisation and commercialisation of the aviation sector brings positive returns on investment. We will establish the right environment for ensuring that domestic economic actors thrive from public investment. We, therefore, commit to the following:

- a. Ensure an effective transport policy for supporting efficient and equitable licensing and registration procedures as well as the fair distribution of and access to economic and transport business opportunities, through transparent and impartial procurement and contracting rules and practices.
- b. Ensure an effective policy for guaranteeing the full participation of local private transporters in the transport services sector.

- c. Enhance coherence between transport policy and trade, commercial and industrial policies, to support the upgrading of domestic services and integration into regional and global transportation value chains.
 - d. Promote PPPs and FDI in the transportation sector to improve both the capitalisation prospects for the private sector and the future fiscal revenue stream for the government from the past public investments.
 - e. Bring advanced technology to border post management to ensure efficiency and transparency in the movement of goods and people
 - f. Establish proactive services import demand management policies and strategies through balance of payments,
- co-ordination and coherence between trade-in-services and monetary policies.
 - g. Ensure innovative and effective aviation sub-sector policies and strategies, which modernise, integrate and commercialise the airports and maximise the return investment from these establishments.
 - h. Ensure inclusive rural transportation development and progress through higher prioritisation of public investments in the maintenance, repair, rehabilitation and upgrading of rural transportation networks, systems and infrastructure services, particularly feeder roads that ultimately connect rural agrarian communities to commercial centres.
 - i. Taking advantage of Zambia's geographical location to transform Zambia into a regional hub for road, rail and air logistics.



Mining

The mining sector remains a significant part of the Zambian economy, accounting for over nine percent of GDP and 70 percent of export earnings. The sector is also a significant source of government revenue and formal employment, both directly and indirectly. We have a long history of mining and a large known resource base of copper, emeralds, gold and other deposits, with potential for further discoveries.

Mining is also instrumental to domestic commerce through mine suppliers and the supply of raw materials to industry.

The main challenges the sector faces include the lack of local participation in this industry, a lack of transparency and accountability regarding revenue management, and uncertainties about energy supply and property rights. Other challenges include the lack of consistency surrounding fiscal policy and the lack of support for diversifying the economy and leveraging of infrastructure for the general population.

Besides, there is no effective use of local products and services, resulting in more than 90 percent of goods and services used by the mining industry being imported.

As a result, the country has not managed to convert its mineral wealth fully for the benefit of the Zambian people. As UPND, we seek to optimise the economic value extracted from our mineral wealth to the benefit of not only current but also our future generations. We, therefore, commit to:

- a. Undertake a major mining sector policy reform including tax policy and administration reform that will bring various stakeholders on board to design a sound policy and administration system, with broad policy consideration that will stand the test of time.
- b. Enhance monitoring and oversight mechanisms and technologies to reliably ascertain the volume and content of mining output for taxation purposes to ensure Zambians receive their fair share.
- c. Promote diversification both within the copper sub-sector through the extension of the copper value chain, and from copper to other minerals by promoting exploration and processing of gemstones and industrial minerals.
- d. Promote small-scale mining as it has closer links with the local economy, generates more local jobs and supports the retention of earnings within the country.
- e. Put in place a policy and plan to facilitate local ownership and increased participation of Zambian players in the industry.
- f. Put in place policies and regulatory frameworks that address the uncertainties of energy supplies and property rights.
- g. Put in place a national supplier development policy for the mining industry to increase the local supply of goods and services to the industry; and
- h. Work with the communities and the investors to ensure that the development agreements entered into with the Government balance the provision of incentives with concerns of the communities such as environmental impact and labour issues. We shall also collaborate with investors to scale-up the clean-up of legacy environmental damage build up over the years.



Tourism

Zambia's vast natural beauty, wildlife and attractions make the tourism sector one of the vital economic sectors that can significantly contribute to economic diversification

and job creation. Zambia is blessed with many tourism hotspots including 20 national parks, 34 game management areas, four major rivers, 16 major waterfalls including the mighty Mosi-o-Tunya Falls, eight freshwater lakes, diverse wildlife and more than 780 bird species.

It is undeniably one of Africa's most pleasurable destinations. However, tourism to Zambia falls far short of the sector's full potential, with fewer foreign visitors than comparable countries. Similarly, the average visitor stay in Zambia is also lower than our neighbours. As a result, the tourism sector's contribution to GDP is meagre at about three percent. Considering the devastating effects of COVID-19 on the tourism sector, one of the UPND government's first acts will be to take deliberate, calculated steps to foster the sector's economic recovery.

The UPND government will revamp and increase the tourism sector's contribution to the economy and employment. We commit to:

- a. Maintain a stable economic landscape to reduce the cost of doing business, including streamlining license acquisition, easing tax compliance, visa processing and exemptions, and improving connectivity.
- b. Put in place a robust tourism marketing strategy to incorporate all tourism products including traditional ceremonies, visual arts, culture, heritage sites and others.
- c. Promote tourism diversification to other products in addition to the Mosi-o-Tunya Falls.
- d. Improve data collection of tourism-related statistics to help make informed policy decisions.
- e. Ensuring each province has an international airport for improved accessibility while providing incentives for domestic and foreign airlines to ensure full utilization of airport facilities and transformation of Zambia into a regional tourist and transit hub.
- f. Open up the northern tourism circuit (Northern, Luapula and Muchinga Provinces) to enhance tourist flows in that area of great potential.
- g. Establish public policies and investment strategies that benefit and include local Zambians in the ownership and operation of tourism services and enterprises in the country.
- h. Enhance involvement of communities in the management of Game Management Areas (GMAs) through Community Resource Boards and enhance the benefits of GMAs and their conservation to local communities and wildlife.
- i. Protect our wildlife by tightening regulations for hunting as well as the processing, sale, import and export of wild animals and trophies.
- j. Strengthen the national historical framework by

maintaining museums and restoring information on cultural and natural heritage.

- k. Develop pricing mechanisms that favour Zambians and off-season marketing to boost local tourism.
- l. Strengthen partnerships with other countries to improve wildlife populations.
- m. Strengthen academic credentials for the hospitality industry.

Manufacturing

The manufacturing sector holds the key to Zambia's economic transformation by producing higher-value goods and services, generating better-paying jobs, and encouraging innovation and improved processes. Despite Zambia's great endowment in raw materials, energetic labour force, abundant land, water and vast minerals resources, the sector's contribution to the country's GDP, at under 10 percent, has been insufficient for wealth creation and employment.



The key challenge facing manufacturing is the attitude of the government towards the private sector. Specifically, the government needs to resolve its ambivalence on the role of the private sector in its development strategy. For instance, there is a need for more government discipline in fiscal affairs to address the range of adverse impacts on private sector development that arise from macroeconomic instability. For example the high-interest rates and restricted access to capital for private firms as government's high borrowing on the domestic market crowds out the private sector.

Considering the strategic importance of the manufacturing sector in job creation and economic growth, the UPND government's task will be to lay the foundation for a steady rise in manufacturing output to at least 15 percent of GDP by 2026 and 25 percent of GDP by 2031. We, therefore, commit to:

- n. Reformulate and implement a well-balanced MSME development policy to suit the needs of Zambian businesses on the ground.
- o. MSME financing, the establishment of industrial parks, and reservation of government contracts for manufacturing firms.
- p. Consult with all key stakeholders in addressing the various challenges affecting the growth of the manufacturing industry in the country.
- q. Create an enabling macroeconomic environment, strengthen the public agencies that support private sector development and enhance public-private dialogue.
- r. Improve regulatory frameworks and remove administrative barriers to business entry and operations and facilitate the development of high growth sectors.
- s. Ensure fiscal discipline and minimise government borrowing in the local market so as not to crowd out the private sector.
- t. Introduce targeted policy incentives which attract large capital inflows with required Zambian equity participation.
- u. Ensure policy linkages with education to build a skilled labour market which attracts capital into target industries.

Financial services

A world class financial services sector is critical to attracting investment in the economy. The UPND government will introduce legislation that widens the scope, and lowers the cost of financial services available to large sections of the Zambian population. This includes legislation that encourages the provision of such services as retail banking, credit ratings, credit finance, consumer finance and other types of finance at affordable rates.

In addition, the UPND government will create an enabling environment supported by strong regulation to support Zambia's financial sector development and evolution towards a digital economy. This includes strong data protection laws and reduced barriers to entry for innovative new entrants in the financial technology space (FinTechs).

In light of rising cases of abuse of office in both the private and public sectors, a key focus of our effort will be legislation aimed at improving the corporate governance environment in the country. This will include strengthening qualifications for directors and board appointments and insolvency laws (qualification and appointment of practitioners) to guard against recent cases of blatant abuse of the process by political players. In addition, existing laws relating to illicit financial flows will be strengthened.

We will strengthen the capacity and autonomy of the central bank (Bank of Zambia) so as to reduce political interference in its operations. We will also enact strong investment banking regulations to ensure that investors such as pension funds are protected from rogue private and public players.

Science and Technology

The UPND recognizes the catalytic nature of science and technology in driving innovation in all sectors of the economy. The technology driven and knowledge-based economy that we aspire to have requires the harnessing of all our human capital and ingenuity.

The UPND will ensure that science and technology are correctly applied in the development, support and marketing of products and services by investing in research to develop new technologies relevant to our country. Promotion of the digital economy, in addition to the general advancement of knowledge and skills, shall be one of our focus areas. We shall achieve this by investing more in educational facilities that offer training in this sector. With appropriate government support the digital economy is expected to be a major area of opportunity for our youths.

The alignment of the content of the educational curriculum with the needs of industry will create an

interdependent relationship that generates home-grown solutions to our developmental problems whilst also generating highly skilled and well-paying jobs.

Innovative technological solutions will be rewarded and supported by government using legislative and financial incentives.

The UPND will promote Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in schools to ensure that students are equipped for jobs of the future, and to support the development of science and technology industries.

Research and development will be supported by the government through better management and investment in the Science and Technology Institutions. These institutions will lead and collaborate with industry and the wider private sector in developing relevant innovation for our economy.

The application of science and technology to all aspects of government will help reduce corruption, make provision of services more efficient and help benefit all those who struggle to access and benefit from government services.

Arts, and Culture

Development of the arts culture as a Viable Industry

The UPND appreciates the establishment of the National Arts Council of Zambia (NAC) whose motto of “PUTTING VALUE ON THE ARTS” sits well with the party’s aspiration in this very important yet neglected sector. We shall pay full attention to the NAC motto, which is fundamental to the development and support of the arts and culture sector as a viable industry.

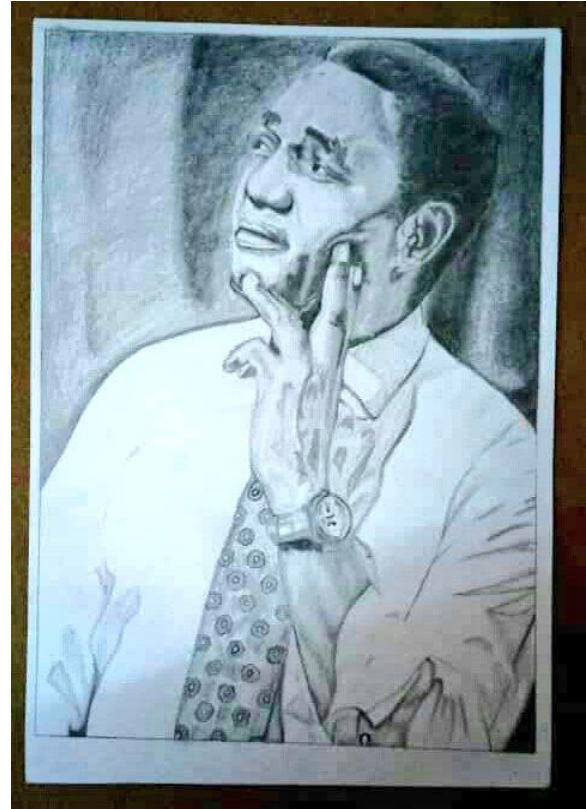
The UPND will realise the long-held dream of arts and culture practitioners that arts ought to run under the microscopic eye of the Ministry of Arts. In addition to contributing to the gross domestic product (GDP), as is the case in Nigeria and South Africa, we shall actualize the abundant job, innovation and business opportunities in the arts sector.

Some of the arts and cultural products that need serious development and support include: Film, Theatre, Music, Traditional Dance, Fine Arts (Writing) Visual Arts (Painting and Sculpture) and Crafts (Basketry, Beads, Tie & Batiks), and Fashion which thrives on the textile industry.

we in the UPND believe and understand the NAC’s moto in two regards: (i) the industry must

pay well for all arts and cultural products, and (ii) the Practitioners of arts and culture should produce quality products to satisfy both the local and international market.

We shall ensure that the various arts disciplines in Zambia, notably those affiliated with the NAC, are engaged to ensure that job creation and business opportunities in their respective fields are supported.



Sports and recreation



Overall, the proposed UPND Sports Policy aims to turn Zambia into the most physically active nation in Africa, a continental sports powerhouse and a global leader in the use of sports as a tool for sustainable development. The policy acknowledges, recognizes and builds upon a number of previous national and international policies, which signifies the desire of Zambia to develop and implement progressive policies.

Crucially, the proposed sports policy reflects the UPND's desire to harmonise and align all policies with the UPND's 2030 agenda and vision of a united and prosperous Zambia. In addition, the policy aligns and delivers key national policies (e.g., in health, tourism, education) and international policies including the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), AU Sport policy framework 2020 – 2030, Kazan Action Plan.

The UPND Sports Policy for Sustainable Development is aimed at building sustainable sports structures and programmes in line with the overarching priorities of the UPND 2030 Agenda. It is also meant to inspire national sports actors to feel obliged and proud to fulfil the set national sports goals within the 4 policy pillars. These are: a prosperous and sustainable Zambia; an active Zambia; a winning Zambia, and support systems.

A PROSPEROUS AND SUSTAINABLE ZAMBIA:

All Zambian sports bodies recognised by the National Sport Council of Zambia should use sport and recreation as a tool for sustainable development and contributor towards prosperous and united Zambia.

AN ACTIVE ZAMBIA:

All national sports actors should create eco-friendly, inclusive and culturally embedded sports and physical activities for all citizens.

A WINNING ZAMBIA:

All provinces and districts should create localised, systematic and effective high-performance sports

systems and programmes that feed into the national system and programmes.

SUPPORT SYSTEMS:

To identify and develop support mechanisms, strategies and programmes to ensure the achievement of all policy objectives situated within the pillars of the 2020-2030 sport policy framework (i.e., A prosperous and sustainable Zambia, An Active and A winning Africa).



Social Sector Programmes

Education

Education, a pillar of human capital development, is critical for rapid socio-economic development. The deterioration in Zambia's standard of education from pre-school to university has reduced our competitiveness in the world. With a world driven by knowledge, there is a need for immediate action to be taken to restore our education system to international standards.

While Zambia has had well-written strategies for the sector, they have not been actualised. As such, instead of the sector being prioritised, its budget allocations have been reduced over the years from 20.2 percent of the budget in 2015 to 12.4 percent in the 2020 budget. This is at odds with international commitments to provide at least 20 percent of the national budget to the education sector.

The UPND Government commits to re-aligning the education sector programmes and National Development Plan to prioritise the education, science and skills development sector as one of the key potential sectors for job creation and economic development in the country. We will ensure that we provide quality and equitable access to education as well as efficient management of the sector. The UPND shall look at curriculum content so that it is revitalised to meet Zambia's development aspirations and goals. This will include a focus on entrepreneurship instead of focusing on passing a test whose content is far removed from a young person's ability to manage their immediate environment, support their wellbeing, and create or find a job. We will promote policies that will address the core barriers to access to education and ensure that established standards for quality education are met and enforced.

In this regard, we commit to:

- a. Increase the share of education in the national budget in line with the country's commitment at the international level.
- b. Reform the bursary and student loan system so that students who cannot afford to pay school or university fees can take up their places. Under this system, every student who wants to study will be able to study regardless of financial status, with any recoveries deferred until they are financially capable of doing so.
- c. Provide a platform for the government to engage with professors, teachers, scholars and students through a consultative and non-confrontational approach.
- d. Develop education-industry linkages and foster innovation and entrepreneurship to ensure graduates will have relevant and employable skills.
- e. Respect, support, empower and reward our teachers, tutors and lecturers for their noble cause.
- f. Promote culture, arts and sport, where employment opportunities remain unrealistic as an integral part of our national development.
- g. Ensure girl children have equal access to education as boy children by tracking and addressing challenges that girl children face such as child marriages, menstrual hygiene and pregnancies.
- h. Put in place policies that will address the effects of pandemics like COVID-19 that has brought education to a standstill for many young people. These will include e-learning e-provision and the use of ICT in all schools.
- i. Developing incentives for industry players to take on students and graduates, allowing them to gain practical experience and build relationships, ensuring employment opportunities.
- j. Improve quality and range of education courses available, combined with respectable education facilities.



Health and Nutrition

Development is not possible without a healthy population. Health is not only a social imperative but also an economic asset as a second pillar of human capital development. However, there are still vast inequalities in health and health care, especially between rural and urban areas. Also, health services are in decline, with long queues for treatment, unsanitary and inadequate facilities, high prices, non-availability of medicines and a shortage of qualified personnel. Consequently, most citizens who can afford to or who have government connections end up seeking medical services abroad, costing government colossal sums of money. Health services in this country are in critical need of strong, systematic refocusing and systems strengthening.

Basing our re-orientation approach on the conventional modes of health service delivery, the UPND will prioritize health financing improvement, the securing of medicines and non-medical supplies, rebuilding the human resources for health, securing modern health equipment or state-of-the-art service delivery at all levels, a rational approach to health infrastructure maintenance, and the efficient use and strengthening of health information and data systems. Equally importantly, we will re-orient the health system towards the efficient, effective, productive and equitable combination of these traditional health inputs to provide quality health care equitably to all Zambians everywhere in the country.

Development partners have been an all-weather friend to Zambia in terms of health system strengthening and service delivery promotion. The UPND will work closely with development partners by creating a conducive, inclusive and consultative environment in the health sector. With the lessons from the COVID-19 pandemic, the world has again been reminded about the importance of focusing on preventive community public health and primary health care.

Health is inextricably linked to nutrition. For example, 40 percent of Zambian children are stunted due to poor nutrition, putting the country among the top 20 nations for rates of stunting globally and the tenth worst in Africa. Stunting makes children more susceptible to disease and infection but also impairs their mental or cognitive development. Our agricultural policies and crop diversity, in particular, should support nutrition and feeding adjustments, especially for pregnant and lactating women and children, to produce favourable health outcomes.

The UPND Government commits to:

- a. Introduce policies to improve the mobilising, utilising and accounting for health financing resources, eventually enhancing the quality of health care and services.
- b. Ensure rural and urban communities are involved in the planning and delivery of health services through a return to a more balanced focus between preventive community public health and primary health care on the one hand and higher-level hospital health care on the other.
- c. Improve the quality and availability of micro-community level care and health services and to enhance the general health status of the community.

- d. Partner with the private sector to create centres of specialisation so that Zambians can access specialised health care locally, whilst also attracting regional medical tourism.
- e. Reformation of the National Health Insurance system to ensure the benefits of the system are available to all citizens.
- f. Work with development partners to ensure that health care inputs are secured, well- utilized and fully accounted for, to the benefit to the Zambian people, whilst gradually ensuring Zambia progresses towards eventual self-sufficiency.
- g. Ensure training of health personnel meets international standards.



Social Protection

UPND will improve social cash transfers which shall help boost standards of living for disadvantaged Zambians: people who are vulnerable to poverty and in need of state support. These generally will include older people, people with disabilities, and some people with young children.

UPND shall depoliticise the social cash transfer scheme and ensure budget allocation is enhanced.

- d. Empower Zambian women and young people, not through consumption-based freebies, but rather via:
 - Free education
 - Access to land
 - Business opportunities
 - Meaningful employment
 - Participation in governance.

Youth, Women & Persons with Disabilities

One of the major challenges facing Zambia is the lack of gender balance, as well as the lack of youths and people with disabilities in political leadership, business leadership and decision-making positions. UPND has observed some trends in the barriers to women, youths and people with disabilities’ equal participation and representation in politics, commerce and decision making.

To this effect the UPND Government shall:

- a. Strive to achieve equality of representation for gender in all position of government.
- b. Not discriminate against any Zambian in based on creed, tribe, gender, physical ability or political affiliation.
- c. Promote a culture of meritocracy as the norm rather than the exception in making appointments to national positions.



Water and Sanitation

One of the objectives of the Vision 2030 is to provide secure access to safe potable water sources and improved sanitation facilities to 100 percent of the population in both urban and rural areas. This, therefore, places the Water Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) sector among the expenditure priority focus areas for the government in the planning frameworks. However, this sector does not get adequate resources. As a result, Zambia's statistics in the WASH sector remain poor. For example, 35 percent of the Zambian population has no access to clean water, 56 percent are without sanitation, and there are 1,000 reported child deaths every year from diarrhoea. In addition, more than 25 percent of basic schools do not have access to safe water supply and sanitation.

The UPND Government commits to ensuring that the objective of the Vision 2030 of providing secure access to safe potable water sources and improved sanitation facilities to 100 percent of the population in both urban and rural areas is achieved. In this regard, we commit to:

- a. Increase budget allocation and release such allocation timely – The inadequate provision of water supply and sanitation and non-release of such funds is not a saving to the government purse but rather a health hazard that causes much more resources to be used by the health sector to fight the epidemics this causes. So, it ends up being a 'lose-lose' game. On the other side, increased funding to the WASH sector would reduce the disease burden and consequently reduce the resources required by the health sector, resulting in a 'win-win' situation.
- b. Revive the sector advisory group for the WASH sector to create a forum where there will be continuous interaction and engagements by all stakeholders. This will also provide a mechanism through which the government will get feedback in real-time to offer informed interventions and address any challenges that may arise during programme implementation.
- c. Enhance monitoring and evaluation (M&E) to ensure value for money for WASH expenditures. We will come up with mechanisms to partner with stakeholders in the sector to provide effective M&E, including through national WASH IMIS to plan and report accurately.

Major Reforms to be under-taken

Governance

Good governance entails transparency, accountability, consultation and dialogue between the governors and the governed. To achieve this, there must be watchdog institutions that ensure a level playing field in the area of governance. Fundamental among such institutions is an independent judiciary, a free press, and an active civil society.

Zambians need a government which understands that holding public office is about service to the nation and not about reaping the personal benefit. Strong institutions of governance have a direct bearing on the development of a country. These institutions will ensure that no one is above the law.

In this regard, the UPND government commits to:

- a. Establish a durable constitutional order that will catalyse the political, economic and social development of the country.
- b. Complete the constitutional reform agenda, anchored on a broad-based consensus among all Zambians.
- c. Domesticating key international and regional conventions to uphold good governance.
- d. Revive the process of expanding the Bill of Rights to integrate economic, social and cultural rights.
- e. Guarantee independence and autonomy of the judiciary, a free press, and an active civil society.

Electoral reforms

Although the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) is guided by the Electoral Commission Act No. 24 of 1996, its role in conducting legal and electoral reforms is not elaborated. This, therefore, means that it has no formal mandate to fulfil its task. However, it does have administrative and regulatory powers to initiate legislation on the conduct of elections, which is only in the form of statutory instruments like the electoral code of conduct and conflict management regulations.

Some of the weaknesses ECZ faces include its structural limitations where, for instance, the commission lacks autonomy as its commissioners are appointed by and therefore answerable and accountable to the sitting republican president.

Further, the commission has no autonomy in initiating and drafting electoral bills and taking them to parliament as it relies on the executive through the Ministry of Justice to do this. Thus, the commission can only make legislative and policy recommendations to the Ministry of Justice. Moreover, the ministry exercises discretion over what it chooses to take on board.

Another limitation the commission faces is that its legal department is minimal, currently comprised of only two lawyers. Also, the ECZ does not have autonomous funding and depends heavily on the executive for its operational budget. Because it has no formal mandate to review electoral legislation, most activities in this area are simply not budgeted for.

The UPND Government commits to reform the ECZ by undertaking the following:

- a. Establish an independent electoral commission where the selection of commissioners will no longer be at the discretion of the sitting republican president.
- b. Elaborate ECZ's roles in conducting legal and electoral reforms including the powers and functions of both the ECZ and the Ministry of Justice in initiating and drafting electoral bills and taking them to parliament.

- c. Restructure the ECZ and ensure that its legal department is capable both in terms of financial and human resources to carry out legal and other related research aimed at improving the operations of the ECZ.

Public Order

The Public Order Act has several good intentions in so far as it provides a regulatory framework within which we are all supposed to undertake our various activities so that peace and unity continue to prevail in our country. For example, section 3 of the Public Order Act prohibits uniforms and flags in connection with political objectives; section 4 prohibits any quasi-military organization. Similarly, section 10 prohibits weapons in public places. These provisions are very well intended, and the UPND does not think any Zambian would have anything against them.

The main challenge, however, is concerning section 5 of the Public Order Act, and in particular, subsection 4, that requires a person who intends to assemble or convene a public meeting, procession or demonstration to give the police at least seven days' notice of that person's intentions. While the Act only requires giving the police at least seven days' notice, the application of this law has been to prohibit opposition political party to hold public meetings. In some instances, the police have even gone further to ban opposition political leaders to even just walk freely in the streets or markets in Zambia.

The UPND Government will ensure this piece of legislation is not abused. In this regard, we commit to:

- a. Reform the Public Order Act and prevent its abuse. Specifically, we commit to provide in the Act the freedom of assembly and the penalties for anyone, including the officers entrusted to enforce the Act if they abuse any provisions therein; and
- b. Give autonomy to the police in the enforcement of the Act.

Public Service

There is a need for a dedicated and professional public service that should provide a more enabling environment for the socio-economic development of the country. This has been hindered by the politicisation of the civil service, especially at senior management level where professionalism has been completely discarded. Political cadres have been appointed as permanent secretaries in government ministries and as chief executive officers in state-owned enterprises. This phenomenon has entrenched corruption in the public service as these unqualified officers' only survival strategy is political appeasement and corruptly accumulating wealth, some of which they donate to appointing authorities so that they are not removed. This has, in turn, demotivated the professional staff, some of whom have ended up joining the bandwagon.

The UPND government commits to reform public service by undertaking the following:

- a. Depoliticise the public service and improve leadership and managerial skills as well as officials' mindsets to ensure an optimal public service delivery system.
- b. Restructure and re-orient the Public Service Commission so that it can protect the public service from unwarranted political interference and ensure that the merit principle is respected in appointments and promotions.
- c. Decentralise the governance to push service delivery down to the local level with a significantly increased CDF and provide an enormous scope for community action in holding local government service providers accountable.
- d. Re-engineer existing service delivery processes through the use of technology and digitisation to make them faster, more transparent and more efficient.

Debt and Expenditure Management

Zambia's debt situation is bad and getting worse, placing a heavy burden on ordinary Zambians. This has been as a result of poor economic management in the past, particularly fiscal expenditure and debt management. In 2011, Zambia's external debt was only 20.8 percent of GDP but has risen sharply to 85.7 percent of GDP by 2019. Also, the debt significantly shifted from concessional borrowing to non-concessional or commercial loans, thereby raising the debt servicing costs and requiring more interest per US dollar.

The massive and unsustainable borrowing of the past was spurred on by insatiable public spending appetites, characterised by irrational, non-prioritised and wasteful expenditures. This was underpinned by weak public financial management by the apex fiscal institutions, and fuelled by underlying political interference, greed and corruption.

The UPND government commits to immediately stop excessive public expenditure and borrowing upon the formation of the government. We further commit to sharing decision-making responsibilities honestly and fairly and allow the National Assembly to approve all loans and guarantees to be contracted by the state. In this regard, we commit to:

- a. Streamline the reporting of public debt and ensure full disclosure.
- b. Tighten the oversight role of parliament in debt contraction.
- c. Ensure transparency and accountability in procurement and reporting of public debt.
- d. Restructure debt management by creating a national debt management office as an autonomous agency responsible for developing and executing debt management policies that minimise financing costs over the long term and for managing the aggregate cash needs of the Ministry of Finance in the most cost-effective way.
- e. Strengthen public investment management as well as project selection and financing to ensure any debt contracted for project development gives adequate investment returns to ensure debt sustainability.



Procurement

Public procurement is a crucial component of public services delivery, good governance and sustainable economic and inclusive growth. While it is appreciated that our legal procurement framework covers most aspects of a well-functioning public procurement system (i.e., it establishes an independent regulatory body, the ZPPA, which is responsible for making policies, setting standards, monitoring compliance and performance, managing performance development, and disseminating information on public procurement; etc.) there are still some gaps and weaknesses in the legal frameworks, procedures and practices, which has resulted in malpractices, that have cost the government colossal sums of money. They include a lack of a systematic approach to public procurement planning, a lack of transparency in the awarding of contracts and a lack of robust and independent complaints review mechanisms. Also, there are no updates to procurement plans once prepared and no monitoring system for feedback, as well as weakness in the links between the budget execution and the procurement processes.

The UPND government commits to undertake procurement reforms to ensure fiscal discipline, transparency, accountability and strengthened internal controls in the procurement process. Specifically, we commit to commits to:

- a. Establish a robust and independent complaints review mechanism.
- b. Ensure that the legal framework against fraud and corruption is fully enforced to protect the public interest, enhance transparency, and improve competition.
- c. Strengthen the linkages between budget execution and procurement to overcome funding problems and a lack of certainty over payment.
- d. Enforce the publication on an e-platform of contract awards notices along with details of all bids and rationale for selection to ensure transparency in contract awards.
- e. Ensure contracts management is supported by adequate monitoring and training.
- f. Establish an independent office of the Auditor of Public Procurement.

Tax Reforms

While the current tax system has some modern features found in advanced economies, the tax instrument integrity has over the years been compromised through the introduction of multiple tax rates, exclusions, exemptions and deferrals, which make sustained revenue mobilisation unattainable. Frequent tax changes have eroded the confidence taxpayers have in the tax system and resulted in lower revenue yields. For example, the mining tax regime has been changed more than 12 times since 2000.

The UPND government commits to undertake tax policy and revenue administration reforms in line with our domestic revenue mobilisation strategy. In particular, we will initiate the following:

- a. Develop revenue mobilisation systems both at sub-national and national government level.
- b. Target revenue mobilisation efforts away from income on individuals and corporations, and more towards consumption taxes and property taxes that remain underexploited and have continued to register a worrying decline.
- c. Reform the personal income tax regime by removing several regressive elements that favour high-income taxpayers at the expense of low-income households.
- d. Overall broadening of the base to lower individual tax burden.
- e. Streamline tax incentives to make them more effective, targeted and resilient against potential tax leakages, while maximizing in-country capital retention.
- f. Address the proliferation of regulatory and licensing fees at all levels of government that increase compliance costs and corruption.
- g. Modernise and strengthen capacities of our key revenue administration institutions, including promoting increased exploitation of IT advancements to ease both administrative and compliance costs.



Pension Reforms

All of Zambia's pension schemes are deficient in design, financing, and administration. As a result, a lot of retirees - some of whom retire at senior management levels - become destitute upon retirement simply because the Zambian pension system is faulty. All the successive governments in Zambia have only paid lip service to this issue and simply adjusted the retirement age, which in effect does not resolve the problem but merely defers it to a later date.

Some of the inherent deficiencies in the Zambian pension schemes include:

1. Fragmented supervision of pension schemes. There is an apparent lack of co-ordination in the supervision of public pension schemes. For example, the National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA) is supervised by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS). In contrast, LASF is supervised by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) and PSPF is supervised by Cabinet Office.
2. Delayed remittance of contributions and payment of benefits.
3. Most schemes are in actuarial deficits arising from accrued pension liabilities exceeding the assets held, making it difficult to pay the beneficiaries on time.
4. The current pension system is limited to the formal sector. It excludes the informal sector, which constitutes the majority of Zambia's labour force.
5. The board of directors is appointed on political patronage, thereby limiting appreciation of issues of pensions among members serving on various governing boards for pensions.
6. Most pensions have high administrative costs due to bloated organisation structures and high salaries for the executives.

We commit to reform the pension to achieve the following objectives:

- a. Adequacy of retirement benefits.
- b. Incentives that encourage people to work for more extended parts of their lifetimes and to save more while in employment.
- c. The option of partial withdrawal of pension contributions for specific purposes including investment in business or during unemployment.
- d. Specific investment mandates to avoid white elephant projects which are not beneficial to pensioners.
- e. Administrative efficiency to minimise pension system running costs.
- f. Diversification of retirement income sources across providers and financing forms.

Media Reforms

The operating space for media houses and media practitioners has continued to be narrowed in Zambia. This has resulted in harassment of journalists, suspension of operating licenses and in some cases the closure of media houses with dissenting opinions to those of the government.

As UPND, we hold the view that communication and expression through various media - including state media, printed and electronic media - should be considered a right and freedom to be exercised in Zambia irrespective of whether such communication gives a dissenting view to that which we hold.

To this effect, we commit to enacting a consultatively established Freedom of Information Act, which will play an essential role in keeping government transparent and accountable and to expose any government misconduct and waste.



Trade Policy Reforms

Trade Policy is one of the most fundamental purposes of government, which has been directed toward achieving three principal objectives: raising revenue for the government by levying duties on imports; restricting imports to protect domestic producers from foreign competition; and concluding reciprocity agreements such as COMESA, SADC and African Continental Agreements to reduce trade barriers and expand exports.

However, these goals are sometimes in conflict with each other. It is, for instance, impossible to both raise tariffs to protect domestic industries while pursuing a policy of reciprocal lowering of trade barriers to increase exports.

Our trade policy reform objective will be to pursue an export-led trade strategy that will improve the competitiveness and quality of Zambia's exports and create greater access to regional and international markets. However, we note that there are some limitations that the country still faces, such as limited access by Zambian businesses to regional and international markets, and limited knowledge of new export market opportunities.

The UPND Government commits to promoting participation in regional

and global value chains and making exports become an engine of economic growth to increase the share of Zambian businesses in the worldwide market as well as improve the quality and market acceptance of Zambian products. To achieve this, we will:

- a. Develop national export trade strategies, mainstream trade policy and place export strategy and promotion at the centre of our national development policy.
- b. Harmonise the trade policy with the industrial, commercial, immigration and foreign policies.
- c. Put in place export financing support instruments to support Zambian businesses.
- d. Ensure collaboration with the private sector in undertaking awareness campaigns on market access initiatives and of the quality standards required by the regional and international markets.

Foreign Policy

In the recent past, Zambia was the last bastion of peace on the continent of Africa. We hosted a lot of refugees running from persecution in the 1960s to late 1990s. However, in the last few years, the country has handed those seeking refuge back to their persecutors, while denying entry to those who champion the human rights of Zambians under persecution. On the whole Zambia's foreign policy has always been reactive, vague, contradictory and mainly tailored to benefit the Zambian elite.

In addressing the gaps in the country's foreign policy, the UPND government's principal foreign policy objectives will be anchored on encouraging regional economic integration in Africa, promoting the peaceful resolution of conflict in Africa, and using multilateral bodies to ensure that developing countries' voices are heard on international issues. It will also engage in more in economic diplomacy and non-predatory trading engagements with the rest of the world.

The UPND Government will implement a proactive foreign policy anchored on mutual respect and for the benefit of all Zambians. We, therefore, commit to:

- a. Ensure that bilateral trade, economic and technical cooperation will be the hallmark of our foreign policy.
- b. Ensure that professional personnel, some of whom the country has trained at a high cost, are allowed to represent the country in our foreign missions.
- c. Rebuild diplomatic links where these have been broken and restart foreign missions. We will then use these partnerships and existing relationships to market Zambia to establish stronger trading relationships.

Diaspora remittances to Africa are at least 3 times higher than foreign aid. What is the UPND strategy for leveraging the diaspora financial muscle?

Firstly, our foreign missions must be attended by High Commissioners and officers who are appointed on merit and who can fulfil our diplomatic, trade and economic objectives with absolute excellence. We are highly rigorous when vetting people for roles in the central bank and other important statutory bodies and the diplomatic service must be no different. History has shown that relatives, cadres and friends have graced our foreign mission, but this phenomenon will come to an end.

A professional diplomatic service will also facilitate better consular services. Secondly, we will create a platform for Zambians in the diaspora to invest more in Zambia. It begins with access to information such as which assets and opportunities exist? These will include Zambian stocks, bonds, treasury bills, cattle, real estate, angel investing and other opportunities. The diaspora platform will not only allow access to information but will also provide resources for disbursements, advice and facilitation.



Conclusion

The current state of affairs makes it apparent that Zambia's economic, social, and democratic progress is in urgent need of repair. A turnaround is not only required but has become a desperate imperative. We are confident that, like the noble eagle on our flag, Zambians can rise and save our country. It is the only country we have: a country well-endowed with natural resources, a pleasant climate, friendly, hospitable and hard-working people. As a united people working together towards a common purpose to realise a better and more prosperous country with equal opportunities for all, we can confidently say that our best years as a country are ahead of us, but only if we act now to save ourselves. Through this manifesto, the UPND seeks to rebuild trust in public institutions and to provide firm ground for the actualization of a permanent social contract to better our nation. We seek to make The Vision 2030 a reality, in which Zambia's great wealth can translate to economic empowerment for its people now and in generations to come.

However, to realise such a sound legacy, we must act. Act to spread the message in our vision – a message of reviving our self-esteem and dignity and a new leadership driven by a promise to deliver economic transformation,

anchored on prudent economic management. It is a program to restore good governance and uphold and protect the fundamental liberties in a democracy, including the freedom of assembly, speech and association. This is a message that Zambians must always come first in the development agenda of their government.

We must all then act to mobilize our neighbours, relatives, friends, and workmates to register to vote. Act to vote for UPND and for progress on the polling day and encourage others to save Zambia from further destruction. We must follow through, to stand and protect our votes so that each of our millions of voices is heard.

Lastly, we encourage you to act to hold leaders accountable, for UPND will always act in the interest of Zambian citizens on the understanding that holding public office is about service to the nation and its people, and not to enrich oneself at the expense of the majority of your people. This is our call to action.

This is our promise to you that within a climate of effective management and hard work, Zambia shall gain passage to become a prosperous middle-income country.

Zambia Forward, Together We Can





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