

JUSTICE EQUITY & PEACE



Manifesto of the Socialist Party
2021-2026

MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

2021-2026

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FOREWORD

This is your chance to win ... vote wisely!

ON AUGUST 12, 2021, you will have the chance to cast your vote and choose your next president, member of parliament, mayor or council chairperson, and councillor.

This election will decide who will get to run the country for the next five years. Whichever party wins will be empowered to make decisions that could affect your employment, education, healthcare, housing and much more. We strongly encourage you to register as a voter, cast your vote, and do so wisely.

This election will determine our country's destiny for a generation. It is our individual and collective opportunity to set our country on a revolutionary path and establish a more just, fair and humane society – a socialist Zambia. Our manifesto takes the most radical and honest approach to our problems, their causes and solutions.

This is our chance to meaningfully tackle hunger, disease, ignorance and poverty by prioritising education, health and peasant agriculture. This is our chance to genuinely tackle the problems of poor water supply and sanitation, housing, food, roads and jobs, across the width and breadth of our country.

Our manifesto sets out how the Socialist Party government will transform Zambia over the next five years, and the values which will propel it.

Human identity is made up in part of beliefs about how to live; what is admirable, worthwhile, precious, and shameful. These are not abstract notions, but are better understood as parts of who we are, distinctions that guide us through the world as surely as a sense of up and down or near and far. And they are full of consequences. We decide which chances are worth taking, which attachments worth making, which tedious tasks are worth the reward. Making our choices count is, however, far from straightforward.



To live well requires two things: we need to face our choices with clarity, and we need the power to make choices that matter.

The current economic, social and political order denies us the power to make important choices, since we are each, to varying degrees, compelled to spend our time on things that we do not choose and that don't carry meaning for us.

This manifesto offers us the chance to break away from the torturous path we have travelled over the last three decades of neoliberal capitalist experiments that have landed us in poverty and despair.

Your party – the Socialist Party – stands a very good chance of winning. And you must win, because what you can't do for yourselves, nobody can do for you.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'F.M.' with a stylized flourish.

Fred M'membe
President of the Socialist Party



“ Many will find this
manifesto an
exact portrait of the
distressing difficulties
they each face today

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**We are a party of the
humble, by the humble,
for the humble**



WE ARE a party devoted to the humble, the poor; to fighting against abuse, injustice, and the degradation of human beings.

Our manifesto demonstrates the tragedy of our humble masses, the untainted, ordinary people – students, nurses, clinical officers, doctors, peasant farmers, small business people, maids, security guards, cleaners, garden ‘boys’, drivers, teachers, farm labourers, agriculture extension officers, police officers, soldiers and security personnel, construction workers, fisher folk, preachers, civil servants and other public workers, retirees, the unemployed and many others. And we do so with an economy of data and explanation, since we know that

many of our people are busy trying to make ends meet, and have little time in the midst of weighty problems. It is written, moreover, in simple, straightforward language.

Many will find this manifesto an exact portrait of the distressing difficulties they each face today.

And as a political party, we realise that the masses are decisive, they are extremely irritated and disconnected. But they do not seem to understand the social essence of the problem, they are confused. They are attributing unemployment, poverty, lack of schools, hospitals, job opportunities, and housing – almost everything in fact – to



administrative corruption, embezzlement, and the perversity of politicians.

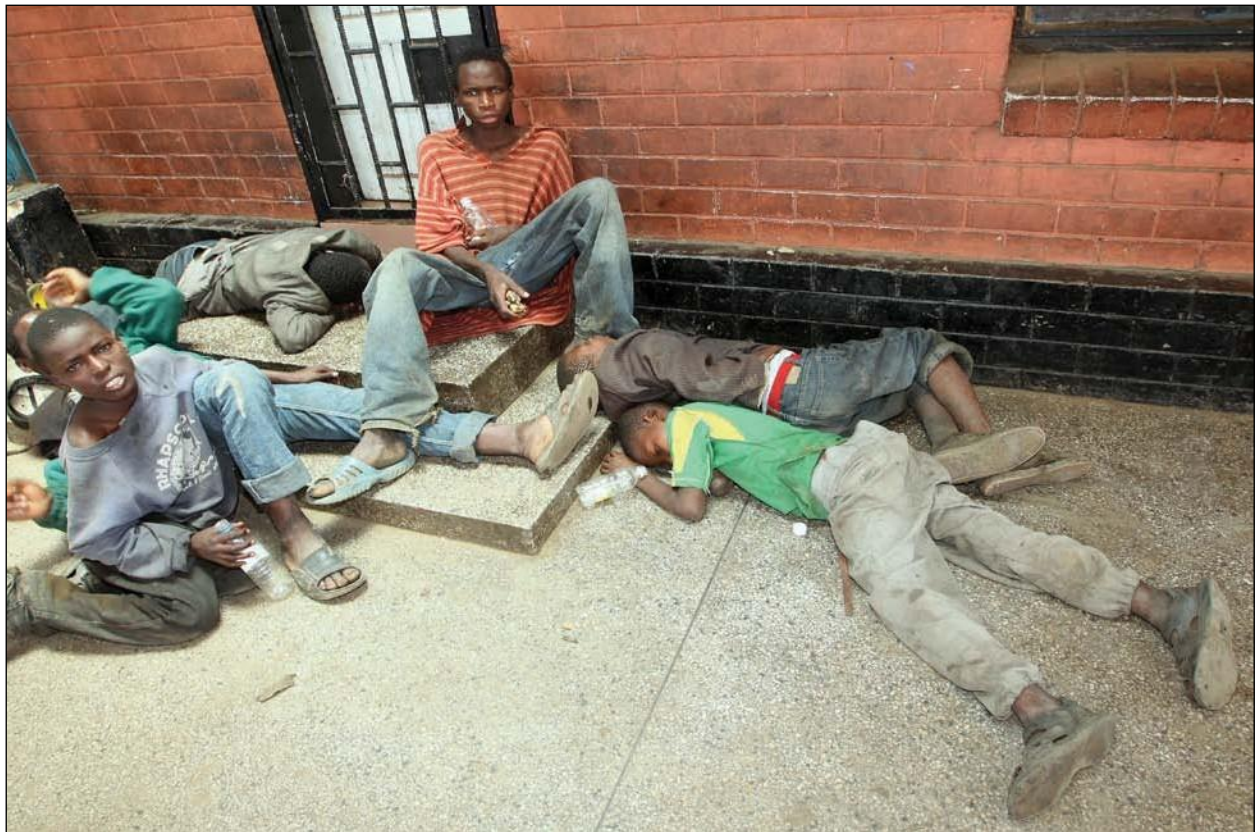
And many political parties are harnessing much of this discontent, yet they are not blaming the capitalist system and imperialism for it. We would say this is because we have been taught a third religion: the religion of respect for, and gratitude to, capitalism since our enslavement some 400 years ago.

The people are confused, but they are also desperate and able to fight and move in a given direction. The people have to be led to the road of change, of revolution, by stages, step by step, until they have achieved full political consciousness and confidence in their future.

This is where the Socialist Party comes in, to explain everything – the injustice, poverty, unemployment, political corruption, and ruthless exploitation – to everybody candidly, in order to lead the people in a revolutionary direction.

We cannot meaningfully talk of democracy in a society divided between Kwa (areas where the poor live) and Ku (residential areas for the rich), where there are terrible inequalities, and where people are not guaranteed even their basic human rights.





“ No matter how enormous the difficulties, no matter how complex the task, there can be no room for pessimism

2

**The Zambian masses
will deliver justice,
equity and peace to
themselves**

WE HAVE no alternative but to struggle if we wish to harbour any hope for survival. Only with tremendous effort can we face a future that objectively appears desperate and sombre.

The humble Zambian masses are the force that can make the construction of a more just, fair and humane society – a revolutionary transformed Zambia – possible. As such, the Socialist Party manifesto is anchored on the Zambian masses delivering justice, equity and peace to themselves.

Since 1991, Zambians have been subjected to a neoliberal global programme that aims at redistribution of wealth from workers to capital, wages to profits, and from the poor to the rich. The strategies have included the rolling back of workers' rights through neoliberal labour reforms, taking away people's sovereignty, privatisation of public assets, and restrictions on freedom of the press, association, and expression. This has led to a widening of inequality, increased poverty, conflicts, expropriation, and the increasing barbarisation of human relationships.

In 15 years from now, we will have a population of some 28 million. This is 11 million more than today. Around 30 years from now, we will have 24 million more people to take care of. The greatest majority (over 60 per cent) of this fast-growing population will be under 25 years old. A growing and youthful population will, therefore, continue to come of age in a time with no, or minimal, job and housing prospects; an absence of social services like health, recreation, and limited opportunities to better educate itself and gain new skills. Zambia will, therefore, be socially fragmented, politically disenfranchised, with an extremely poor populace dispossessed from its land, resources and heritage – and people at war with each other.

Zambia stands at the brink of a major catastrophe. The greed, corruption, and cruelty of the capitalist ruling class have taken away any hope that neoliberal capitalism can deliver to the masses of our people. The

only logical option is for the Zambian masses to unite under their own Socialist Party, win political power and secure justice, equity and peace for themselves and for generations to come.

We share the bitter feeling of impotence that many have in the face of such problems, and the instability in their lives to which these problems give rise. So gloomy are the realities and prospects for the future viewed as a whole, that they could generate pessimism and discouragement if we were not sure of our aims. They are bitter pills to swallow, but if we are to face up to the realities, we have to first become aware of them.

The value systems that Zambians had at one time hoped to create for their country; those of equity, non-violence, a sense of justice and national unity, are becoming a distant vision. Instead, today, Zambia has become a shameful example of how capitalism is creating and reproducing itself under conditions of extreme injustice, inequity and state-sponsored violence. If nothing is done to address this decay, a total collapse of the social, political, cultural and economic life of Zambia as we know it, or might have hoped it to be, is imminent.

We do not have, nor do we think anyone has, magic remedies for such difficult, complex, and apparently insoluble problems. History shows, however, that no problem has ever been solved until it has become a tangible reality of which everyone is aware. Today, our people are faced with the most serious and anguishing situations ever known to them. But no matter how enormous the difficulties, no matter how complex the task, there can be no room for pessimism. That would be to renounce all hope and resign ourselves to final defeat.

This manifesto outlines the values, as well as the economic, political and governance, required.





Our values

FOR US, there is no choice between being principled and unelectable; and electable and unprincipled. We should win because of what we believe in.

A new and complex era such as this requires principles more than ever. It requires a lot more awareness. This awareness is built by adding experiences of the past and present together with a vision of an anticipated future. It has to be built by adding together all revolutionary thoughts, the best ethical and humane ideas of all authentic religions, the sum total of the preaching of many political thinkers, of many progressive schools of thought.

Political ideas are worthless if they are not inspired by noble, selfless sentiments. Likewise, noble sentiments are worthless if they are not based on correct and fair ideas.

We have chosen to defend certain principles that are of tremendous value at a time of confusion and opportunism in our country and in the world, a time when many politicians are feathering their own nests.

Zambians are going to build a new society – a socialist Zambia – anchored on the values of equity, honesty, humility and solidarity.

Zambians will thrive best in a decent community of people with principles, standards, common aims and values.

3.1 Equity

You do not suffer just because you are getting fewer calories than required. There is another sort of suffering; social inequality, which makes you feel constantly debased and humiliated as a second-class citizen in your own country.

Inequality has divided our country into two nations – the Kwa and Ku nations – the nations of the poor and the well-to-do. As such, we cannot truly speak of One Zambia, One Nation.

Those who live in Kwa have poor water supply, sanitation, shelter, nutrition, schools,

healthcare, roads, and very high rates of unemployment. Those who live in Ku have the best of everything.

And whereas in the past it was easy to move from Kwa to Ku, today it is very difficult to do so. In those days, all one needed was to work very hard at school, college or university. Today, hard work is not a guarantee that one will finish school, college or university. It is money that determines that, the ability to pay school, college or university fees.

If you are born in Kwa, it is highly unlikely you will marry someone from Ku. Where are you going to meet? You live in different places, you go to different schools, churches, shopping centres, places of entertainment, and even bury your dead in different graveyards.

To unite our people in “one land and one nation” – as is our cry in our national anthem – will require equity of access to necessities such as education, healthcare, water, housing, sanitation, transportation, physical security, land and food. Most, such as health, education, and physical security, should be public goods, and others should at least be distributed according to the level of need in order to ensure access for all. Zambian society is a long way from realising this requirement. The rich have “first-world standard” goods and services, whereas the poor masses have access to poor-quality services or none at all. There should be no such gap.

The Zambian masses are suffering from poverty, injustice, humiliation and inequality. This suffering is both material and moral. Even when no one lives in absolute poverty, the existence of a glaring disparity in income levels indicates an intolerable imbalance in the way wealth and resources are distributed, where average rural poverty is 76.6 per cent. Western Province has poverty levels of 82.2 per cent, Luapula Province 81.1 per cent, Northern Province 79.7 per cent, Eastern Province 70 per cent, North Western Province 66.4 per cent, Southern Province 57.6 per cent, Central Province 56.2 per cent, Copperbelt Province 30.8 per cent and Lusaka Province 20.2 per cent.



In a compassionate society, there should be no differences in outcomes based on factors for which people cannot be held responsible. Zambia has one of the worst situations globally. There is a glaring gap between the rich and poor. Between 2010 and 2015, the Gini coefficient increased from 0.65 to 0.69. This is a very high rate of income inequality. It is volatile and dangerous for national development.

It could be argued, of course, that those who enjoy the highest level of income have achieved it through hard work, and that they deserve the benefits of their efforts, regardless of the poverty afflicting others. There are many reasons to reject this argument.

Firstly, from a religious point of view. It is sinful to keep for oneself an overabundance of wealth when one's sisters and brothers are suffering, and even dying for want of simple necessities. In such a situation, it is of

no consequence how and why some people come to be excessively wealthy while others starve. Distributive justice demands that sufficient sharing takes place to ensure the basic needs of all are met.

Secondly, even if the demands of charity are rejected, and were it possible to argue that those enjoying excessive wealth are fully justified in doing so, commonsense dictates that our society cannot prosper under such conditions.

The good of each of us in the long term is secured and promoted by the common good. Failure to do so can only precipitate social instability and threaten the wellbeing of all, rich and poor.

History abounds with instances where the rich and powerful have brought about their own downfall by refusing to recognise in good time the legitimate demands of the poor. And as long as this gap remains at its

current scandalous level, the future of our country is at risk. If the gap between the rich and poor is unacceptable, then so, too, is the actual degree of poverty in our society.

By tolerating such high levels of poverty, the Zambian economy undermines the common good, and fails to demonstrate the solidarity that our shared human dignity demands.

3.2 Honesty

“When honesty is lost, then wait for the hour (the day of judgment).” These are the words of Prophet Muhammad. They paint a picture of the time leading up to the day of judgment, when righteous people will be sorrowful due to the lack of honesty around them.

We live in a society today where honesty is both valued and shunned at the same time. We expect people to be honest in their dealings with us, yet we watch and applaud liars, we vote for lying and deceitful politicians.

Without thinking, we teach our children that dishonesty is acceptable. We admonish our children for lying, yet the reality is we have been their teachers. Whether we tell lies or allow our children to live in a world surrounded by deceit, the lesson is learned, and honesty begins to disappear from the hearts of the next generation.

If you are honest, truly honest, you cannot be corrupted. If you are unassuming and have a clear understanding of the worth of people and of yourself, you cannot be corrupted.

3.3 Humility

In English, the word “humility” comes from a Latin root word that can be translated as meaning “grounded” or “from the earth”. Humility, or being humble, means that one is modest, submissive and respectful, not proud and arrogant. You lower yourself to the ground, not elevate yourself above others.

The socialist society we are seeking to build in our homeland is of the humble,

by the humble, for the humble. Without humility, the construction of such a society is impossible. And here, we socialists turn to Christ for inspiration. The Son of God humbled himself to be born in a manger, from a father who was a humble carpenter, and a mother who described herself as a nobody. His disciples, his best friends, were humble fishermen. From the beginning to the end of his mission on this planet he was surrounded by the humble, because these are the people he came to save. His entire doctrine was devoted to the humble, the poor; his doctrine was devoted to fighting abuse, injustice, and degradation.

3.4 Solidarity

All people on this planet originate from the same source. Biblically, we can say we are all children of the same mother and father. If that is the case why do we not care for each other like siblings do in a family?

Solidarity is the ability to feel the pain, the suffering, of another human being, and be moved by it to do something. And this solidarity is international, it is not limited to our country and small nation – humanity is our homeland. As such, international solidarity is not an act of charity, it is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible.

The Bible emphasises the need for solidarity. “Then the righteous will answer him, ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in, or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you?’ The King will reply, ‘Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me’.” (Matthew 25: 37-40).

It is your fellow human beings, and especially those who suffer and need justice, in whom God wishes to be served and loved. They are the ones with whom Jesus identified. All who work along that line of



God's scheme for life are considered Jesus' sisters and brothers (Mark 3: 31-35). This is the best way to follow Jesus, especially in Zambia's present situation.

3.5 The values of capitalism

Contrast our values of socialism with those of capitalism based on individualism, greed, unbridled competition and consumerism.

3.5.1 Individualism

From the day you leave your mother's womb, you are inculcated with the values of individualism; you are not taught to be part of a wider community, you are encouraged to solve all your problems by yourself. If there is no water in your community, you are not encouraged to come together and solve it. You are encouraged to look for money and sink a borehole at your house. If the school in your community is running down, you are

not encouraged to sit down with others and address its problems. You are encouraged to look for money and send your children to private schools. If the clinic in your area has challenges, you are not encouraged to address them collectively. You are encouraged to look for money and send your family to private facilities.

3.5.2 Greed

We live under a system that encourages greed. Everything of value must belong to you. State forests are being degazetted and shared among the financially powerful and politically well connected – 5,000, 10,000, 15,000 or 20,000 hectares to one person. This is while the great majority of our fellow citizens are crowded in Kwa. The well-off would rather go to the national parks and collect wild animals and have them as neighbours than share land with the poor from Kwa. No one in Kwa is allocated land in these degazetted forests.

3.5.3 Unbridled competition

We are told to make progress, to move forward, and that we need competition in every aspect of our lives. Where this happens, the economy becomes nothing more than an arena of competition, where the best-equipped, the luckiest or the strongest, prosper.

In the absence of truly human values, the weak, ill-equipped, or unlucky, fall by the wayside. Yes, competition can push a few to affluence, but what lifts up everyone is togetherness, kugwilizana, ukwikatana, kuswalisana, kwashamukwenu.

3.5.4 Consumerism

We live in a world of consumerism where we are forced in all sorts of ways to buy and buy – even things we don't need. If we do not buy, the capitalist system will not make money. Our houses are full of things we really don't need; wardrobes and suitcases are full of clothes and shoes we don't really need, but we still keep on buying new ones – 200, 300, 400 pairs of shoes! When are you going to wear them? There are only 365 days in a calendar year. For the sake of making profits, the capitalist system is even ready to poison your body with drugs, industrial foodstuffs, tobacco, alcohol, fizzy drinks, and many other items that are heavily advertised and consumed, but with disastrous consequences for your health.

Consumerism is key to the survival of capitalism, but not to the survival of the individual consumer. Unfortunately, it has become deeply entrenched in large sections of our society.

There is a preoccupation with the acquisition of money and goods, even to a point where it becomes impossible to use them – satisfaction is derived merely from having them. This is nothing less than a form of idolatry. It is all the more harmful when it occurs at the expense of others. Since there is a limited amount of wealth available, the greed of one is directly linked to the deprivation of another.

3.6 Zambia needs value-driven social transformation

Leaders lead, but in the end the people govern. Human liberation is basically a question of moral values. If a person sees the meaning of life in material wellbeing, accumulating wealth becomes an end in itself. "Eat and drink for tomorrow we will be dead." If, on the other hand, a person sees the meaning of life in moral values, i.e. the love of one's neighbour, then material possessions become mere means towards ends.

A human being finds fulfilment in committing themselves to the service of others, to transforming a society inclined to greed, selfishness and hatred into a "new creation", capable of love, compassion and generosity.

Today's politics is about the wellbeing of the people in a changing world. We must build a strong and active society that can provide it. We must do it together. We cannot buy our way into a more just, fair and humane society. We must work for it together; we must plan for it together because this can only be done together.

Once again, it is a question of balance. It is entirely legitimate under socialism for one to strive to increase one's wealth and to enjoy the fruits of one's labour, but it must happen in harmony with one's social responsibilities.

Material values should be accorded their proper place in relation to social, spiritual and moral values. Where this balance is missing, as it is in our economy today, injustice is the inevitable result.



4

Pillars of the socialist programme

THE MASSES of our people are engaging themselves in these struggles to gain material benefits, to live better lives and in peace, to have free education, quality healthcare, clean water, decent sanitation, a solid roof over their heads, and all the services required in an organised society.

4.1 Equity in access to education

Every child is special and has the right to education.

Today we have an increasing number of young people from poor families who are not attending school at all levels because they are not able to pay school fees. No young person should be excluded from attending school because they cannot afford to pay school fees. No one should be sent home from school or refused results of exams because fees have not been paid. All our young people must be entitled to free, quality education.

When any young person fails to acquire the basic skills needed to function as a productive, responsible member of society, the entire society – not to mention the individual young person – loses. The cost of educating our young people is far outweighed by the cost of not educating them. Adults who lack basic skills have greater difficulty finding well-paying jobs and escaping poverty.

Education for girls has particularly striking social benefits: incomes are higher, and maternal and infant mortality rates are lower for educated women, who also have more personal freedom in choices. And why should the burden of educating our young people be solely left on the already overburdened shoulders of the parents?

The Zambian masses need to take the economy and political power into their own hands in order to provide decent education, public services and standards of living for all – a society in which all can enjoy the full benefits of economic development. Capitalism, by its very nature, cannot provide this. It is only a socialist transformation of

society that holds a brighter future for our people. A free education policy is therefore necessary to ensure access for all, despite a citizen's wealth. Without a free admissions and school fees policy, equal access is impossible.

The Socialist Party in government will provide compulsory, quality, free education from nursery school to Grade 12. College and university education will be free for all Zambians. There will be no fees; uniforms, books, pens, pencils and school meals will be provided.

The Socialist government will provide state-of-the-art 21st century education. Computers, science laboratories, and quality teaching aids will pave a way for a science-based curriculum.

Under the Socialist Government, everyone will be provided with an opportunity to learn to read and write. The literacy campaign started by the party in June 2018 in Lusaka will be extended to cover the whole country. Illiteracy will be completely eradicated within 10 years.

This ambitious programme for education will be possible through; (i) mobilisation of the country's social capital. All Zambians with secondary school certificates will be incentivised and encouraged to volunteer hours towards the literacy campaign and formal school programme; (ii) building a system of high-quality childcare places owned and controlled by local communities and directly supported by government; (iii) paying increased attention to inclusivity and training of teachers who support children with special educational needs and disabilities; (iv) allocating 25per cent of the national budget towards education.

We understand that education and research have to be funded. We are not short of money to fund them. And, moreover, the children of the well-to-do have free education, paid for by these same humble workers whose children cannot go to school because of fees. We should also not forget that workers generate all the money in



government coffers and in private enterprises. There is a lot of workers' money – NAPSA and other pension funds – sitting in banks and being misused to build shopping malls and other symbols of wealth of little or no benefit to the workers. Instead of leaving it up to individual profit-seeking capitalists and their agents in government to decide how this money ought to be invested, the working class should decide on a democratic basis where and how the wealth generated by them is invested. Without a doubt, there would be reasonable amounts available for investment in free education at every level.

4.2 Universal healthcare for all

Zambians today live in a country with one of the worst health outcomes globally. Whereas the country's elite pays high fees to access the rapidly growing private sector and treatment abroad, the majority of the people are confined to underfunded, poorly equipped public institutions.

Too many mothers and babies die everyday. Every mother is valuable. The Socialist Party

in government will, therefore, provide access to quality health services for all. There will be no fees, medicines will be free, and waiting times will be short. There will be a midwife for all expectant mothers.

The guiding principle determining whether a patient will receive priority treatment ought not to be that patient's apparent usefulness or the parent's position in society. Rather, every person, whether rich or poor, educated or not, blood relative or not, should have equal rights to healthcare.

Equality among citizens and the demands of justice call for policies, which aim to provide adequate healthcare for all. People should never be reduced to the status of objects. Every person is of equal dignity. The value of one's life is, therefore, not measured by one's age, possessions, or position in society. Life is sacred. One cannot claim to uphold the principle of the sanctity of life if provision has not been made for even minimal healthcare for every person. This is a priority we cannot ignore if we wish to be

a caring and compassionate nation. It must be recognised that, if this problem is to be tackled, it will demand the allocation of more state resources.

In order to achieve universal health coverage, the Socialist Party will; (i) invest 20 per cent of the national budget in the health sector and give Zambians the modern, well-resourced, services they need for the 21st century; (ii) expand primary healthcare to include social care and mental health; (iii) tackle the social-economic determinants of health (housing, water, sanitation, clean energy, air pollution, alcohol and substance abuse, traffic accidents and sedentary life styles), and thereby reduce over 30 per cent of the current disease burden; (iv) grow the pharmaceutical industry in Zambia to ensure patients get fast access to all the drugs covered under the Essential Drugs List; (v) expand sexual health services, especially HIV services, which will include reducing the rates of undiagnosed and late-diagnosed HIV, ending the stigma of HIV in society, and promoting the increased availability of testing and treatment; (vi) invest in our health and care workforce.

The long-term goal is for our health system to have the best-trained staff in Africa, ready to deal with both communicable and non-communicable diseases, and to provide services to the rest of the world.

4.3 Dignified housing, safe drinking water and sanitation for all

Millions of Zambians today live in conditions of extreme poverty, with all its overcrowding, insecurity and unsanitary conditions. And millions of Zambia's infant population find themselves in this situation by default.

We have young adults sharing one-room houses with their parents, with only chitenge material from the last election campaigns separating them. They can hear and see whatever their parents are doing because the chitenge material is see-through and not soundproof. Whatever angle one looks at this from – traditional, religious or simple human decency – the situation is unacceptable.

This might be tolerable if it was for a month or a year or so. But these teenagers and young adults can leave home for college or university and be forced to return to their one-room houses after graduating because they cannot find jobs. The young women bring grandchildren into this same one-room house. The parents are unable to enjoy the privacy and freedom of their marriage.

These are the humiliating and degrading conditions which most of our people, especially in the urban areas, find themselves in and have to endure.

And they are drawing water from wells dug next to pit latrines. This is the case even in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, after 55 years of independence.

In addition, access to improved sanitation in Zambia has fallen over the last 15 years, and nearly half the population has no access at all. Due to the poor state of water and sanitation, urban areas are prone to water-borne diseases that break out almost every year.

Many of the houses in our compounds, Kwa, and rural areas have mud floors. The great majority of our people cannot afford concrete floors. A mud floor cannot be cleaned properly – it cannot be mopped effectively. By simply having a concrete floor, not less than 30 per cent of disease-causing agents are wiped from the house. A mud floor is an incubator for breeding germs.

In the meantime, their pension contributions to NAPSA are being used by property developers to contract shopping malls, where these poor people do not live, do not shop, or have meaningful jobs.

Although our housing problem is directly related to demographic growth, an analysis centred on this factor would be a partial, and consequently superficial, approach to the problem. It is self-evident that this problem is also closely linked to the so-called phenomenon of “explosive urbanisation” in our country. For the first time in our history, urban population growth is, in absolute terms, higher than that of the rural population.

This huge increase in urbanisation demands a gigantic increase in supportive urban services. To cope with this demographic growth alone, we would need to build thousands and thousands of new houses.

Apart from the effective proportional decrease of the rural population and potentially, agricultural production, this phenomenon of accelerated urbanisation causes other significant problems. Firstly, the unrestrained growth of such urban concentrations produces significant sources of environmental pollution, which add to other factors that in today's world contribute to degrade the environment.

But perhaps even more serious is that a significant percentage of this urban population increase is based on the proliferation of slums, Kwa, with the consequent worsening of problems resulting from the poor and unhealthy conditions that characterise these human settlements.

Overcrowding, lack of running water and sanitary facilities, increased violence, promiscuity, prostitution, drug addiction, crime, and other forms of antisocial behaviour, are some of the social consequences of this type of urban growth. Given its known social and economic roots, such growth is not, and cannot by any means be, planned in order to ensure minimal elementary conditions of urban development.

In our urban areas, the great majority of the population therefore live in Kwa. The trend, unfortunately, is an increasing proliferation of these deplorable human settlements. Most of the population in these monstrous urban conglomerates are expected to double over the next decades, will live under the same or perhaps even worse conditions.

A comprehensive approach is required to fight this situation and to struggle for diminishing or eradicating such conditions.

These realities, which serve as the basis of the sombre immediate outlook for our country and our people, are the most obvious expressions of the unbearable situation of injustice and inequality prevailing in our

country today. But they are not necessarily inexorable. We can, if we really want to, act to change this increasingly unjust future in favour of one that is bright and equitable. And this is what the Socialist Party promises and has committed itself to struggle for.

Again, no one saves us but ourselves. No one can, and no one may. We ourselves, the poor of this country, must walk the path. We have to give ourselves the human dignity that comes with having a solid roof over our heads and a concrete floor under our feet, running water, proper sanitation and all the other services required in an organised society. Leaders lead, the people govern.

The restructuring of country planning to favour the construction of low-cost houses

The Socialist Party in government will restructure town and country planning to favour construction of houses for the masses. All the natural resources required for the production of building materials are available in Zambia. Why should cement be expensive when limestone, the main ingredient in the production of cement, is readily available? The cost of building materials will be reduced. Construction skills will be taught to all those intending to build their houses.

In addition, we will be able to construct 50,000 low-cost houses every year from savings made from MPs' and presidential allowances, trips, and taxes on their salaries and benefits. Good governance begins with the ones entrusted to lead. We will lead by example.

Ensuring safe drinking water

Although water covers 9,222 of Zambia's 752,618 square kilometre territory, many Zambians have serious problems accessing water. In most districts water supply is a major problem. The main causes of Zambia's morbidity and mortality rates are water-related diseases; enteric fevers, dysentery, typhoid, cholera, amoebic infections, schistosomiasis, and many others.

A mother uses tremendous energy daily carrying water home for her family. In many parts of Zambia, a worker today spends not less than 10 per cent of earned income to purchase water.

In a country where the government spends billions on automobiles, presidential jets and other luxuries, the permanence of conditions forcing millions of women and children to spend a considerable part of their time and energy merely to fetch this vital liquid – sometimes from several kilometres away – is shameful.

It is said that water is life. Water forms the basis of all body fluids. It makes up two thirds of body weight, regulates body temperature and, without an adequate supply of water, humans would die within a few days. Water is essential for maintaining health, personal cleanliness, and general hygiene. Water is also indispensable to agriculture and industry. Clearly, water is a crucial concern for planet Earth and its inhabitants.

If water is life, all must have access to it, not only those with money. And the items required – pumps, pipes, chlorine for purification, taps – to supply it cannot be left in the hands of private capital. Placing water under private capital means that only those with money will be able to access it. Water needs solidarity. The water problem, to varying degrees, cuts across the class divide.

The demand for water is anticipated to drastically rise over the next decade. A growing population will require water for domestic, recreation, irrigation, livestock support, and industrial purposes. Overall, irrigation could easily account for well over 60 per cent, and industry a further 25 per cent. However, aquifers are being rapidly depleted and contamination is a rising threat, especially in urban areas and mining towns.

The Socialist Party in government will have to drastically increase the supply of fresh water. This will entail investment in the reuse of water for multiple purposes, efficient methods of harvesting rainwater, better extraction of groundwater, and conservation

(avoiding wasteful use and water loss from leaks). Each of these will be essential in order to meet demand.

It has been estimated that at least 20 litres of water per capita per day represents the minimum quantity required for drinking, food preparation and basic personal hygiene; a quantity higher than 50 litres per capita per day should ensure basic laundry and bathing in addition to the latter uses; quantities beyond 100 litres per capita per day represent optimal access and should ensure all the previous uses plus a considerable level of comfort and wellbeing.

Distance will be factored into the supply of water. A 30-minute walk to a water point compromises consumption hygiene. No Zambian will have to walk more than 20 minutes to fetch water.

Similarly, even when optimal water supply is achieved, if the supply is intermittent, additional risks to health occur because of the compromised condition of the drinking water supply, as well as interference with the function of waterborne sanitation systems. Therefore, ensuring an uninterrupted water supply will be a cornerstone of the socialist water programme.

Special attention will also be paid to the safety and quality of the water distribution system, education, and hand washing, as well as chlorination. Studies have indicated that improved drinking water supply reduces diarrhoea morbidity by 6 to 25 per cent, and improved sanitation reduces it by 32 per cent. Hygiene interventions, including education and hand-washing, can achieve a reduction of up to 45 per cent in cases of diarrhoea, and chlorination, with a few drops of bleach at the point of use, can reduce incidents of diarrhoea by 39 per cent.

100 per cent sanitation coverage

WHO released the first ever Guidelines on Sanitation and Health in October 2018. The guidelines were developed because sanitation programmes in most countries, including Zambia, have not been achieving



anticipated health gains, and there was a lack of authoritative health-based guidance on sanitation.

The Socialist Party in government will adopt the four principal recommendations set out in the guidelines:

(a) Sanitation interventions will ensure entire communities have access to toilets that safely contain excreta.

(b) Each sanitation system will undergo local health risk assessments to protect individuals and communities from exposure to excreta, whether from unsafe toilets, leaking storage or inadequate treatment.

(c) Sanitation will be integrated into regular local government-led planning and service provision to avert the higher costs associated with retrofitting sanitation, and to ensure sustainability.

(d) The health sector will invest more and play a coordinating role in sanitation planning to protect public health.

4.4 Adequate food for all

Today Zambia is the fourth hungriest country in the world after Chad, the Central African Republic and Madagascar.

Over the years, there have been a number of failed efforts and programmes to make hunger and under-nourishment mere memories of an unpleasant past for our people, and turn the agricultural sector into a dynamic development factor instead of a traditionally stagnant and weak sector.

The painful truth is that, despite the goals to eradicate it, hunger persists and tends to grow. The food crisis has become a secular, permanent condition of our people's precarious life. For the great majority of our people the food crisis is not a mere conceptual reference, but rather a tragic daily experience, a disgraceful reality.

The total failure of these endeavours to achieve the basic and essential objective of

supplying all our people with enough food to develop their potentialities to enjoy a full life is today more evident than ever.

The food crisis currently being experienced by many is not a recent phenomenon, although the current deep economic crisis contributes to its worsening. Strictly speaking, our food crisis, understood as widespread hunger and malnutrition among the broad masses of our population – so paradoxically in contrast with food overconsumption by the well-to-do of our country – has always been an unavoidable component of colonialism, neo-colonialism and underdevelopment.

To these gloomy prospects must be added ecological factors such as erosion, deforestation, depletion and pollution of water sources and other forms of degradation of the agricultural lands, which demand huge efforts to preserve and recover resources in this, a most vital sphere for survival.

These facts and realities are irrefutable. Everyone must be aware that such complex and difficult problems do not have easy solutions.

Our aspirations and demands clash with a lack of understanding, selfishness, and colossal vested interests. The survival of our people is threatened and we have no alternative but to struggle for a better society. The existence of so many hungry and undernourished people in our country is an affront to all of us. A stable, permanent solution must be found for this serious problem.

The Socialist Party in government will struggle without respite and draw up plans so that we can meet our people's needs for basic foodstuffs as much as possible and as soon as possible. Key aspects of this plan will be the following:

(i) Production of healthy food for all

The social function of agriculture, the act of cultivating and tending to the earth, is to produce the necessary energy for human beings to survive. Capital, with its agribusiness model, cannot produce healthy

foodstuffs, except for a small, privileged minority, as its logic is aimed solely at making the most profit in the shortest amount of time. We are committed to the production of affordable healthy foods for all. No one will go to bed hungry. Hunger undermines human dignity and is not an inevitable part of life. Ultimately, it is a product of human decisions and can be eradicated by human decisions.

We will reduce the cost of agricultural input, encourage conservation farming, diversify staple food from maize to other crops, and invest in agro-processing. Peasant farming will be supported to form cooperatives for finance, input supply, processing, marketing, and technological services.

(ii) Adoption of agroecology

Capital uses methods that enable profit maximisation, often adopting techniques that harm nature, increase the productivity of human labour and physical production per acre. However, this destroys nature, the future base of the production of food.

This method can no longer produce healthy food. We will take on the challenge of building agroecology as a model that represents a set of techniques for agricultural production, which will increase the productivity of work, the physical productivity per acre, and also decrease the physical labour of workers, maintaining equilibrium with nature. It is only with agroecology that we will be able to produce healthy food for the general population.

(iii) Adoption of mechanisation that is compatible with nature and rural labour

The model favoured by capital relies intensively on agricultural mechanisation, seeking only profit. Unmanned and driverless machines are already being used in Mpongwe and other commercial agricultural districts.

We will mechanise work in agriculture, seeking to decrease human labour, but operate on a scale and with characteristics that are compatible with rural family units and are respect the environment.



(iv) Adoption of cooperative agribusiness

Agribusiness is a necessity for the development of productive forces. However, our focus will be to ensure that agriculture produces quality food, avoids the use of preservatives and agrotoxins, and operates on a scale that is compatible with local communities. The income generated by agribusiness must be used for the benefit of workers, those who produce food. Cooperatives must be formed and controlled by peasants and agricultural workers.

(v) Agricultural education

The democratisation of access to formal education at all levels, from primary school to higher education, must be part of any programme of agrarian reform. Only knowledge can help develop productive agricultural forces and truly free people.

(vi) Peasants and the people in rural areas as keepers of the collective goods of nature

People's lives depend on cohabitating with millions of other living beings, including animals, insects, plants, and microscopic life forms. Our future depends on the survival of this biodiversity, which is under threat every day due to capital's greed, poor farming practices and deforestation.

We will redress the situation. Peasants, fisher folk and all those who live on the land or sea under various forms of social organisation, will be empowered to make a commitment to protect all of nature's wealth; biodiversity, water, forests, rivers, and animals, as part of our living and future.





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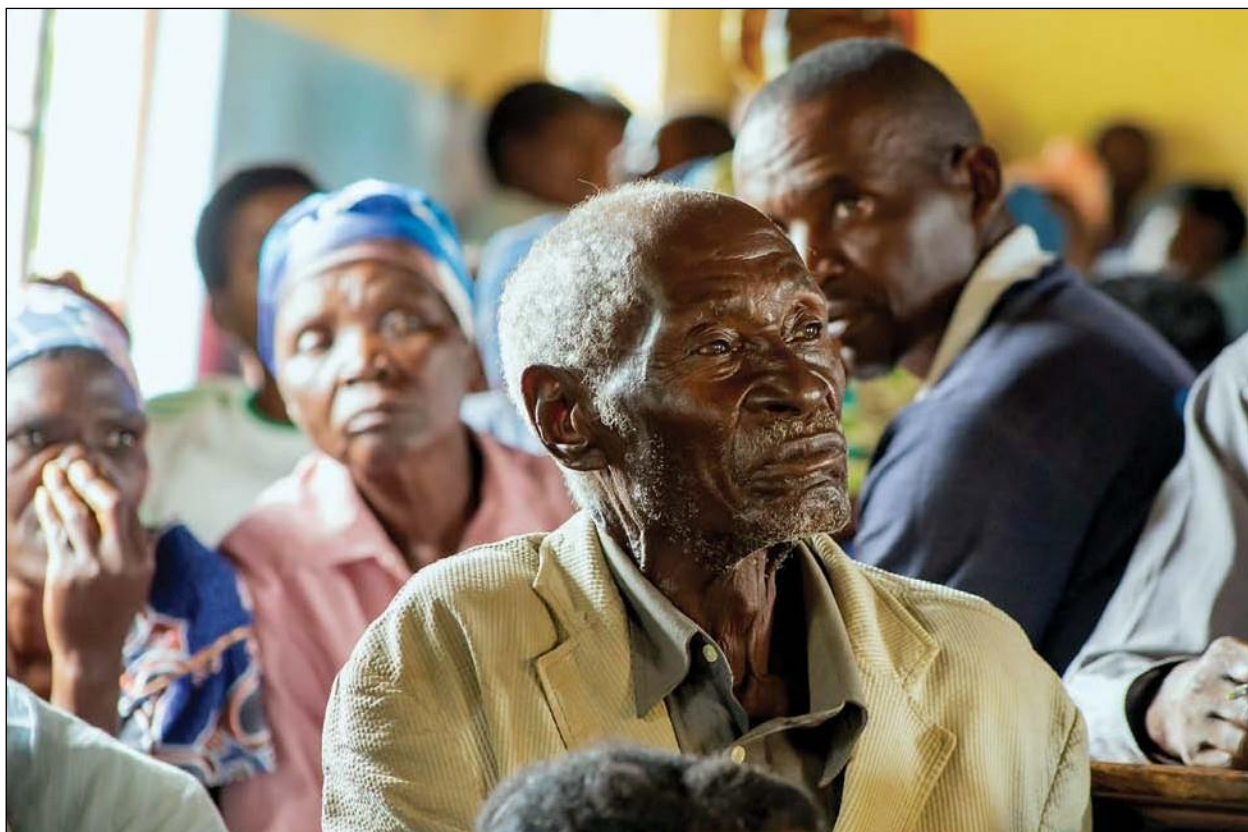


THE CAUSE



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“ A decent society takes care of all its people. It also provides for the weak and vulnerable, no one survives by sheer luck

5

The social dimensions and implications of our programme



A DECENT society takes care of all its people. It also provides for the weak and vulnerable, no one survives by sheer luck. This is the difference between a decent and indecent society. In an indecent one, luck is all you have to rely on to survive and prosper.

5.1 Dignity for the working class

Zambian jobs have increasingly become low skilled and insecure. Most workers are unable to survive on their wages. Yet most Zambian workers don't have the security of a trade union.

We will; (i) give all workers equal rights, regardless of their employment status, so that working conditions are not driven down; (ii) legislate to encourage sectoral collective bargaining; (iii) guarantee trade unions a right to access workplaces, so union representatives can speak to members and

potential members; (iv) raise the minimum wage to the level of the living wage for all workers aged 18 and over; (v) enforce all workers' rights to trade union representation at work; (vi) strengthen protections for women against unfair redundancy – because no one should be penalised for having children; (vii) institute gender pay auditing so that all workers have fair access to employment and promotion opportunities and are treated fairly at work, and; (viii) abide by and enforce the global labour standards of the ILO conventions.

5.2 Women's rights and equity

Social advancement for women in Zambia has been slow. Ours will be a government for women; (i) with a cabinet of at least 50 per cent women, which fights inequality and misogyny in every part of society; (ii) one that consistently gender audits policy and



legislation for its impact on women before implementation, and; (iii) that enforces minimum standards in tackling domestic and sexual violence.

5.3 Enhanced social security

After many years of mass poverty and inequality, the Zambian working class will rebuild and transform its own social security system. It will be a system designed to provide dignity in retirement and support during time of need, illness, disability or other difficulties.

(i) Pensions will be indexed to keep pace with inflation and earnings; (ii) pensioners will have free access to a package of universal services (including public transport, health services and legal representation); (iii) housewives will be entitled to a pension upon attaining retirement age; (iv) the pension

age will be 65, with adjustments based on the levels of contributions made, individual health status and arduousness of some forms of work, and; (v) we will remove the barriers in society that restrict opportunities and choices for people with disabilities in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

5.4 A better deal for children

The welfare of the child takes precedence for the Socialist Party.

For our people, children are seen as a blessing, a gift that is received with gratitude and treasured with love. They are a joy to their parents and a welcome gift to the community in which they are born. In promoting the welfare of children, there are many elements in our traditions that can be of great assistance to us. These are part of

our cultural heritage that should not be lost. Respecting the rights of the child entails promoting the welfare of children. The rights and welfare of the child are best realised in the context of the welfare of the family. The promotion of the welfare of the child, therefore, requires the promotion of the welfare of the family.

5.5 Recognition of senior citizens

There are great inequalities in later life, both financially and in the quality of life. Poorer, older people die younger and many experience poor health from a relatively early age.

The government must take responsibility for the elderly. No single issue could be more critical to the health and wellbeing of a nation than the care and support of its elderly. Traditionally, care for older people has been the responsibility of family members and has been provided within the extended family system. Today, many families are failing to cope on their own. The mostly unemployed family members, already struggling with very high living costs, are unable to cope. After a lifetime of toil, our society is therefore providing little or no care at all to its elders.

The Socialist Party government will move to provide the assistance senior citizens need. We will build a society where ripe age is an honourable, sheltered and cherished status, instead of the purgatory it is today. “Do not cast me away when I am old; do not forsake me when my strength is gone.” (Psalm 71:9).

5.6 Rights of prisoners

“It is said that no one truly knows a nation until one has been inside its jails. A nation should not be judged by how it treats its highest citizens, but its lowest ones.” Nelson Mandela.

Prisoners should be treated with respect befitting all human beings. Even the worst criminals do not lose their inalienable rights. And a judge is the proper authority to determine the humanity of prison or detention conditions.

5.7 The disabled

Zambia likes to tell itself that it is a fair and compassionate country. But when one looks at the way it treats disabled people one wonders what it is that is fair and compassionate in this country that has declared itself a Christian nation.

In other words, Zambian society is highly unfriendly to its disabled citizens. The streets, public buildings, schools, commuter transport, residential spaces and even health facilities are often designed oblivious of the challenges faced by disabled people.

The disabled, especially those from poor families, lack the basic tools and aids that they need to help with their daily, routine burdens. As such, they often cannot acquire the skills needed for a profession. Even those who end up acquiring skills are still discriminated against in the search for employment and other livelihood opportunities. This is in addition to the stigma that disability still carries with it in wider Zambian society.

The Socialist Government will pay special attention to the plight of our citizens with disabilities. Decades of neglect and lack of priority have to be overcome by intensively engaging the disabled, local communities, government agencies and many other relevant stakeholders in finding sustainable solutions.

Measures will include incapacity benefits, with payments varying according to the severity of the disability or illness; skills training for the disabled; affirmative programmes that demand the employment of the disabled; specific standards in town and country planning that meet the needs of the disabled; and a system that systematically monitors progress made in empowerment of the disabled.



6

Land, infrastructure and industry

THE ZAMBIAN people are still deprived of the backbone of a modern economy – a fair and just land distribution system, reliable and affordable transport, and communications and energy infrastructure.

Even when investment has been made in these areas, it has been poorly prioritised, overpriced, corrupt, foreign dominated, and has not paid attention to the immediate needs of workers, peasants and the greatest majority of the population. The Socialist Government will redress this situation.

6.1 People's Infrastructure Development Programme

We will create a 10-year People's Infrastructure Development Programme (PIDP) that will mobilise the Zambian masses to participate in building their own 21st century state-of-the art infrastructure. The programme will primarily support huge growth in education, health, housing, water reticulation systems and sanitation, peasant agriculture and agro processing.

Focus will be on feeder roads, irrigation dams, reforestation, warehousing, deep tanks, cold storage, markets, a faster rail network, water transport, mass commuter transportations for the cities, water works and sewerage systems, renewable energy sources and a countrywide universal access to superfast internet.

The biggest contribution to the PIDP will come from the Zambian people themselves. Their voluntary free labour, expertise, ingenuity and some financial contributions, will be critical. The Socialist Government will provide a total of \$20bn to the programme. External sources of funding will amount to only \$1bn. The huge economic potential of every part of our country will be met, and the lives of the Zambian masses will be transformed.

6.2 A fair and holistic approach to land use

Like many Sub-Saharan African countries, Zambia's population is expected to continue to grow for years to come. The population, which in 2019 stands at 18 million, is

expected to reach 140 million by 2100. Other projections point to a peak of 250 million around 2200 before the population growth rates stagnate. This high population growth, in addition to increasing urbanisation (currently at 45 per cent), will place a heavy burden on food production, education, housing, roads, water, sanitation, healthcare and energy provision.

The issue of land in Zambia is of great importance in determining the future of our country and wellbeing of our people. We are particularly concerned about the social impact and the justice dimensions of land policy.

Generally, the poor in Zambia are today increasingly losing access to land in both urban and rural areas. Government forests are being degazetted and the land shared by the rich and politically well connected, while the poor are crowded in kwa.

Our vision for rural society is one that offers people the opportunity to work on their own land, produce their own food, and contribute to the welfare of the country. We do not want a rural society where the people have been dispossessed of their land and turned into labourers on farms, ranches or plantations which belong to wealthy individuals – whether local or foreign – or multinational companies.

This apprehension is not far-fetched. We know all too well that numerous countries in the world today are victims of such practices. Rural life should be protected and promoted. The direction of our land policy must not be determined by economic considerations alone. The whole social fabric of present and future Zambia must be considered.

And we should never forget that our ancestors defended this land with their blood, with their lives. Our Ngoni ancestors, under the leadership of Mpezeni and commander Nsingu, gave their lives defending this from the bandit British forces of Cecil John Rhodes. In December 1897, Cecil Rhodes' army attacked Ngoniland with superior weapons – Maxim guns and seven pounders – killing commander Nsingu and thousands



of our people, destroying their villages and crops, and looting more than 10,000 cattle herds.

For ten years Chitimukulu Sampa resisted capitalist traders from entering Lubemba. Today, this land our heroic ancestors wisely and tenaciously defended is being given away to the descendants of very same people they resisted.

In our Church tradition, the biblical perspective tells us that land is a sacred trust given by God to the people for the benefit of all the people.

The Socialist Party in government will; (i) introduce land tenure and alienation policies that protect the interests of the poor, the environment and traditions of our people; (ii) remove the temptation from chiefs or village leaders to betray their people by yielding to the pressures of bribes or any other favours in exchange for offering land to potential

landlords, foreign or local, and; (iii) conduct a land audit and zoning programme that takes care of urban settlements, infrastructure development, farming, forestry, aquifers, game parks and recreational facilities capable of sustaining, (a) biodiversity, (b) the livelihoods of 250 million inhabitants and, above all, (c) the cultures of its inhabitants. This holistic approach to land use will then guide subsequent legislative processes meant to empower the masses of our people to access and gain control over land.

6.3 Transportation

An organised and efficient transportation system is a key prerequisite for economic development: (a) We will invest in the construction of roads using public owned enterprises. (b) We will build, and provide maintenance for, railway and road networks that link townships to places of production and trading areas.

A more organised and efficient transport

system will reduce the cost of transportation for the majority of the working class and ease transportation of goods and services. This will, in turn, accelerate rural development (c) Rail will be a major carrier of cargo and passengers. Investments in the railway system will not only create jobs for our people, but also minimise damage to our roads caused by trucks with heavy loads. (d) We will invest in marine transportation by acquiring boats that are efficient and safe to transport people and goods. We will also invest in shipping companies managed and controlled by working class people with the competency to run them.

6.4 Energy

A key principle for the development and implementation of a working class energy programme is the empowerment of collective local companies.

The overall goal for the sector is to provide affordable, environmentally friendly, and sustainable, energy services in order to promote social and economic development.

The Socialist Government will therefore; (i) through ZESCO, build a renewable energy division that will make optimal use of solar, wind, thermal and biomass – in addition to hydro-energy; (ii) support the creation of publicly owned, locally accountable, energy companies and co-operatives to rival ZESCO and existing private energy suppliers, with at least one in each region; (iii) expand Zambia's petroleum energy sources, ensuring that all domestic needs are processed in the country, and; (iv) establish a research institute to prioritise people-centred energy security, as well as map out a 50-year energy infrastructure plan.

6.5 Manufacturing strategy

Under neoliberal capitalism, our economy has been de-industrialised. The manufacturing base has been systematically destroyed. Livingstone, Kafue, Lusaka, Kabwe, Ndola, Luanshya, Kitwe, Chingola, Mansa, and other towns that once boasted significant manufacturing capacity, are today trailing

global trends, and yet have supermarkets full of imported goods. As a result, inequality has grown rapidly as the economy has shifted towards low-paid and insecure service jobs.

Our economy can only deliver for the masses if people in every district are given the opportunity to; (a) organise themselves; (b) collectively explore local resource-based manufacturing opportunities; (c) connect to value and retail chain countrywide, and; (d) have access to technical and financial support.

Only a socialist government can move beyond the narrow, individualist approach imposed by neoliberal capitalism. We will mobilise the collective talents and resources of all districts to create a manufacturing capacity that delivers prosperity to every corner of our country.

The first tasks for the Socialist Government will be to:

(i) ensure that every district is connected to the national energy grid, transport network and ICT backbone through PIDP;

(ii) secure technical expertise for each district to facilitate collective decision-making on the feasibility and viability of diverse manufacturing options; (iii) create or cooperate with R&D entities to support the necessary scientific and technological innovations, and; (iv) legislate to accord high priority to “manufactured in Zambia” goods for all government tenders.





Our macro-economic policy

IN ORDER to derive benefits from an economy, people must be able to participate in it, and for most people, the primary means of economic participation is through work. Where there is high unemployment we have an indication of an unjust economy.

Hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance, unemployment, lack of opportunity, insecurity, inequality, and hopelessness, are the main terms that could well define the living conditions of a greater part of the present population of our country.

It is time to break out of the past and break through with a clear and radical programme and vision for Zambia. The object of the economic development of our country should be to enable our people to live full and satisfying lives. Industry should serve our people, not the other way round.

The economic and social injustice implied in the gap between the living conditions of the highest strata of our people and the humble and exploited masses across the width and breadth of our country is an affront to our collective conscience. It is an imperative need of our times to be aware of these realities, because of what a situation affecting the great majority of our country's population entails in terms of human suffering, and the squandering of life and intelligence.

7.1 Economic freedom for the Zambian people

Zambia gained political independence more than five decades ago. Yet the ownership of its economy is overwhelmingly foreign, and along colonial lines.

The local bourgeoisie is small and weak. State ownership and control, which had seen an increase during a 20-year post-independence period, has receded, with the onslaught of neoliberal capitalism.

Effectively, a narrow elite under the influence of the world capitalist system makes decisions about our economy. Our Socialist Government will ensure more democratic ownership structures and workers' control that

will help the economy deliver for the masses and lead to a fairer distribution of wealth by; (i) gaining more control of the command centres of the economy (finance, mining, transportation, energy and food production and pharmaceuticals); (ii) giving Zambians a huge stake in the economy through a robust cooperative sector – covering financial services, housing, retailing, commercial and engineering services, agriculture input supply, processing and marketing; (iii) legislating the “right to own”, making employees the buyers of first refusal when the company they work for is up for sale; (iv) making state-owned companies, cooperatives and public agencies the preferred providers for all public and local council services, and; (iv) bringing back basic goods and services that were taken out of democratic control through privatisation, and are currently attracting higher prices and with poorer quality standards.

7.2 Creating jobs for the masses

We must not tire of talking about “jobs, jobs, jobs” until the solution is found. How can our people survive without jobs?

For the last 27 years, Zambia has been on an unbridled neoliberal capitalist path, which has been privatising and commercialising everything, including land. But the net result is what we see: unceasing and growing inequality and unemployment. This worry and fear exists among capitalists as well.

The worry and fear is that rapid technological progress will lead to mass unemployment, with machines replacing workers in a vast range of jobs, both manual and white collar, particularly with the advent of advanced computing techniques, such as machine learning and voice recognition.

It is real and a fact that, in Zambia today, machines have taken over our people's jobs in the mines, on commercial farms, construction sites, in the banks, and so on. But our people need jobs to survive. Where are the jobs going to come from for young people leaving school, college and university, and indeed, those who are being retrenched? We have to answer this question and solve the issue

of jobs. One of the main reasons for our high rate of poverty is the failure of the economy to provide sufficient employment.

It is not only we socialists who are worried about this problem. Even capitalists are worried, not only because of the social turmoil caused by this inequality and unemployment, which increasingly threatens their own privileged position, but also because of the long-term inability of this same system to provide growth, jobs, and a decent standard of living – that is, to develop productive forces.

Every winter they go to Davos in Switzerland for the World Economic Forum to discuss, mainly, ceaseless and growing global inequality and unemployment. The main cause of this growing inequality and unemployment is not because the world is today less capitalist or producing less goods and services. How much more capitalist do they want the United States, Europe, and indeed, the whole world, to be?

The Socialist Party in government will, therefore, prioritise job creation with a macro-economic approach as well as massive investments in education, health, housing construction and agro processing – see *chapter 4 and sections 7.3-7.7 of this manifesto for details*.

7.3 Creating the fastest growing economy in Africa

In order to create the much-needed jobs, the economy will have to grow faster than today.

However, under the current neoliberal capitalist system for organising production, the best-case scenario for exchange and finance in Zambia, GDP growth, is predicted to range from 4 to 5 per cent during the period 2021-2026, assuming there will be; (a) no sharper than expected decline in commodity prices due to continued trade tensions; (b) no faster monetary policy tightening in advanced economies that would affect financial conditions; (c) no slower growth in China and the Euro areas that would reduce export demand and

investment, and; (d) less domestic risks, including fiscal slippages, political conflicts and adverse weather conditions. A “middle-of-the road” scenario would reduce GDP growth to about 2 to 3 per cent.

By comparison, we will achieve broad-based, job creating, equity enhancing, sustainable economic growth rates of 8 to 10 per cent. A socialist-inspired and driven economy will focus on; (a) human capital formation (education and health) of the masses; (b) food production systems based on agro-ecological and climate-smart farming practices by millions of smallholders aimed at meeting domestic and regional demand; (c) a systematic harnessing of the country’s abundant natural resource endowment, especially renewable capital (fresh water, forests, arable land), and; (d) maximising returns from non-renewable resources (minerals).

7.4 Attaining a stable macro-economic environment that does not impose a huge burden on the livelihoods of workers, peasants, students and the poor

Zambia’s macro-economic imbalances have highly negative implications for workers, peasants, women, students and the poor.

First, with debt service and the compensation of employees now accounting for over 85 per cent of government’s domestic revenue, space for discretionary spending is shrinking quickly and affecting social spending. Second, rising payment arrears and tighter bank financing conditions affect the prospects for job creation and quality. Third, the tightening credit conditions in the banking sector has a disproportionate impact on SMEs and low-income households that already normally face tight financing conditions. Lastly, a pressure on inflation is also disproportionately affecting the purchasing power of low-income households, which tend to have low savings rates.

We will therefore; (i) renegotiate the bi- and multilateral debt to ensure sustainable repayments; (ii) front-load fiscal consolidation

to return to a medium risk of debt distress and create fiscal space for inclusive growth; (iii) strengthen debt management to reduce the debt service burden and minimise debt-related vulnerabilities of the working masses; (iii) rebuild foreign exchange reserves to four months import cover in order to buttress external stability, and; (iv) stop wastage, misappropriation and theft of public finances by the country's elite.

7.5 Getting a fair share from our mineral resources

Mining is an emotive issue. This territory was first colonised by capitalist businessman Cecil John Rhodes and his mining company, the British South Africa Company, in 1891, because of minerals. In December 1897, Rhodes unleashed his well-resourced and equipped army on our Ngoni ancestors who had refused to hand over their land to him for gold prospecting and mining.

More than 10,000 young Ngonis died in the battle that followed. Their commander, Nsingu, was captured and executed on February 5, 1898. These sacrifices and the sensitivities they generate should always be borne in mind when dealing with mining issues.

Overall, Zambia's economy has been dominated by expansion and fluctuations in the minerals sector, with its direct contribution to GDP in recent years increasing from an average of 6.3 per cent over the period 1994 to 1999, to 9.2 per cent between 2010 and 2015.

However, reliance on non-renewable resources like minerals for growth is, by definition, unsustainable. The extractives-based growth has not significantly contributed to poverty reduction in recent years. Foreign multinational corporations have been the major beneficiaries.

In order to maximise profits, the mining industry is capitalising but creating fewer jobs, paying comparatively less taxes to the Zambian state, out-sourcing services, using increased numbers of subcontracted labour,

and limiting its monetary transactions in the Zambian financial sector. Similarly, it has left a legacy of environmental liability in mining towns. In other words, the Zambian masses are not benefiting much from a mining industry still operating along colonial lines.

However, the Socialist Government won't nationalise mines. Our capacity to run them is still very limited. We don't have enough mineral scientists, mining engineers, economists, lawyers, or financing and mineral marketing experts. If we were to nationalise the mines they would run down very quickly.

Moreover, only a third of our mining potential is under exploitation, we still have two thirds to exploit. The remaining economic lives of these mines are between 8 and 40 years. Why fight over mines with such short remaining economic lives?

And nationalisation is not a principle but a tactic in the quest for public ownership of the means of production. There are many ways to skin a cat. We will leave the mines under their current ownership but ensure that fair taxes are collected to finance education, health and peasant agriculture. We will also levy the mines to finance the training of mining engineers, economists, lawyers, environmental experts, and so on.

However, new mining licences will be issued under very different conditions that will ensure increased state participation. Cooperatives will be formed with state assistance to exploit minerals like manganese, which are cheaper to mine. These mining cooperatives will also be linked to education, health and peasant agriculture.

Other policy measures that will allow Zambians to get a fair share from mining will be the following:

- (i) The Socialist Government will declare minerals as strategic metals for the country, and provide a protective legal environment. Under these laws, the export of concentrates will be outlawed, and the marketing of minerals will be coordinated by the state.
- (ii) Zambian labour will be accorded priority.

It will have stronger legal protection.

(iii) 30 per cent of all industrial input into mining will have to be Zambian. Mining will, in this way, play a role in supporting the manufacturing base of the country.

(iv) ZCCM (IH) will take a controlling interest in all new mines to be opened.

(v) Resource rent or variable income tax will be introduced to secure additional mineral rents.

(vi) All proceeds from mineral sales will first be credited to Bank of Zambia accounts – an essential aspect of currency and balance of payments management and stability.

(vii) Mines will have to adhere to state-of-the-art environmental technologies, practices and standards.

7.6 A financial system that supports our economy and the working masses

Neoliberal capitalism has surrendered the ownership of the Zambian financial system to foreign corporations. Only about 18 per cent of finance capital in the economy is Zambian owned. Without ownership and control of such a strategic sector, broad-based development, priority setting and macro-economic stability are difficult to accomplish.

Our Socialist Government will overhaul the financial sector. The aim will be to; (i) enhance Zambian ownership and control; (ii) foster financial deepening; (iii) secure increased long-term finance to the local economy, and; (iv) provide access for all.

We will transform the Development Bank of Zambia to support a network of regional development banks, credit and savings associations, a state-owned bank (to be formed), NATSAVE, ZamPost, and Zambia-owned digital financial services. This network will deliver the finance that parastatals, small businesses, cooperatives, local government authorities, innovative projects, and the masses of our people need across the whole country.

Further; (i) government accounts will only be held in the state-owned bank;
(ii) domestic government transactions will

be limited to state-owned cooperatives, and other Zambian-owned financial institutions (this includes salary transfers and other payments), and; (iii) priority for the purchase of government treasury bills will be accorded to Zambian-owned institutions. By limiting government transactions (20 per cent of GDP and almost 65 per cent of the formal financial sector) to Zambian-owned and controlled financial institutions, a chance will be created to grow the domestic financial sector.

7.7 Leveraging our renewable natural capital to foster economic growth and equity

The contribution of agriculture, forestry and fishing to GDP has declined in recent years, from about 20 per cent during the 1990s, to only 5 per cent by 2019. However, the sector's links with the rest of the economy remain significant. The sector still employs more than 75 per cent of the workforce. Similarly, in contrast to non-renewables, renewable capital (agricultural land and forests for example) can produce benefits in perpetuity for the rural economy and the majority of the Zambian workforce.

However, the development of capitalism, globalisation, the agribusiness model, and class conflict in general, has put in place new paradigms that we must confront. In this context, it is important to consider what is happening around the world – a collective working-class process of updating the agrarian programme.

The focus is no longer just on classic agrarian reforms of democratisation of land ownership, and guaranteeing the right to land for those who work it. The economic, social and ecological sustainability of land, water, forests and other renewable resources, has now become critical.





“ Diligence and frugality
should be practised in
running government and
other state institutions
and enterprises



Governance

GOOD governance and authentic democracy are possible only in a state that has rule of law, and on the basis of a correct conception of the human person. They have to be built on the basis of justice and moral values, and have to look to the common good. They demand a correct understanding of the dignity and rights of the person.

8.1 Tenets of democracy

Democracy, in whatever form, is in many ways nothing more than a set of rules for managing conflict. At the same time, this conflict must be managed within certain limits, and results in compromises, consensus, or other agreements, that all sides accept as legitimate. Further, democracy is not a machine that runs itself once the proper principles are adopted.

If groups perceive democracy as nothing more than a forum in which they can press their demands, society can shatter from within. If those in government exert excessive pressure to achieve consensus, stifling the voices of the people, society can be crushed from above.

A democratic society needs the commitment of citizens who accept the inevitability of intellectual and political conflict as well as the necessity for tolerance. From this perspective, it is important to recognise that many conflicts in a democratic society are not between clear-cut right and wrong, but between differing interpretations of democratic rights and social priorities.

Compromises and building consensus are not easy undertakings. They require a lot of knowledge, patience and tolerance. We will be constructing a new society on the threshold of a world dominated by capitalism and its values of individualism, greed, unbridled competition and consumerism. This does not make it easy. It requires a lot of education, a vital component of any society, but especially a democracy.

Additionally, there is a direct connection between education and democratic values.

In democratic societies, educational content and practice support the habits of democratic governance.

This educational transmission process is vital in a democracy because effective democracies are dynamic, evolving, forms of government that demand independent thinking by the citizenry. The opportunity for positive social and political change rests in citizens' hands.

The object of democratic education is to produce citizens who are independent, questioning, and familiar with the precepts and practices of democracy. People may be born with an appetite for personal freedom, but they are not born with knowledge of the social and political arrangements that make freedom possible over time for themselves and their children. Such an understanding must be acquired, learned.

Democracy itself guarantees nothing. It offers, instead, the opportunity to succeed, but also carries the risk of failure. Democracy is then both a promise and a challenge. It is a promise that working together, we can govern ourselves in a manner that will serve our aspirations for a more just, fair and humane society. It is a challenge because the success of the democratic enterprise rests upon the shoulders of its citizens and no one else.

Therefore, we view the single party state, except at rare moments in history, as a recipe for tyranny. What we have learnt from the Soviet Union and from Africa is that the concept of the party as a vanguard, which has the right to rule by virtue of calling itself something, and which is entrenched in the constitution as a permanent godfather of society, is a disaster. Equally, although multipartyism can favour democracy, it does not always guarantee it. Democracy, like any other human institution, is vulnerable and fragile.

In government, the Socialist Party will:

(i) Emphasise democratic constitutionalism as ultimately, the foundation by which a society, through the clash and compromise of



ideas, institutions, and individuals, reaches, however imperfectly, for truth.

(ii) Promote coalition building as the essence of democratic action. Coalition building teaches interest groups to negotiate with others, to compromise, and to work within the constitutional system. By working to establish coalition, groups with differences learn how to argue peaceably, how to pursue their goals in a democratic manner, and ultimately, how to live in a world of diversity.

8.2 The constitution

“We the people” means everyone. It is very clear that whatever constitution comes out of the process initiated by this current government will not meet the expectations of Zambians. The process has to be continued after change of government. Constitution building is a process requiring broad agreement, and public support is key to success of the process. Building agreement takes time and will involve compromises.

8.3 Government

Zambia has immense resources, but remains very poor. It will take time and great effort to make Zambia prosperous. Even then, we will still have to observe the principle of diligence and frugality. But it is in the coming few years that we must particularly advocate diligence and frugality, that we must pay special attention to economy.

Diligence and frugality should be practised in running government and other state institutions and enterprises. The principle of diligence and frugality should be observed in everything. This principle of economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economics.

Wherever we happen to be, we must not indulge in wastefulness and extravagance and must pay attention to thrift and economy. Thrift will be the guiding principle in government expenditure. It should be made clear to all government workers that corruption and waste are great crimes.

The Socialist Party in government will see to it that all our people constantly bear in mind that ours is a poor country. To make Zambia prosperous needs intense effort, which will include, among other things, the effort to practise strict economy, and combating waste, i.e., the policy of building up our country through diligence and frugality.

To reduce costs, State House will be an office and not a residence. The President, Vice-President, and cabinet ministers, will take care of their homes from their salaries. Cabinet positions will be reduced through amalgamation. Some ministries will become departments.

8.4 The judiciary

Our judiciary, in its current state, is incapable of efficiently and effectively promoting and defending democracy, a multiparty political dispensation and a more fair, just and humane society. Today, the poor of this country have no meaningful access to justice.

Those of us who have to pronounce judgment on persons and situations are to view the exercise of our authority as a service of truth for the common good, as well as for the wellbeing of the individual. The Socialist Party in government will champion a democratic transformation of our judiciary.

8.5 Oversight institutions

The Socialist Party in government will improve efficiency and accountability of public oversight institutions – the National Assembly, the Anti Corruption Commission, the Drug Enforcement Commission, the Financial Intelligence Centre and the Public Protector – through capacity building and increased funding. Everything possible will be done to ensure that these institutions perform their oversight roles independently, efficiently, and effectively.

8.6 Local government structures that deliver to the communities

Councils used to deliver vital local services to our communities. But their budgets have

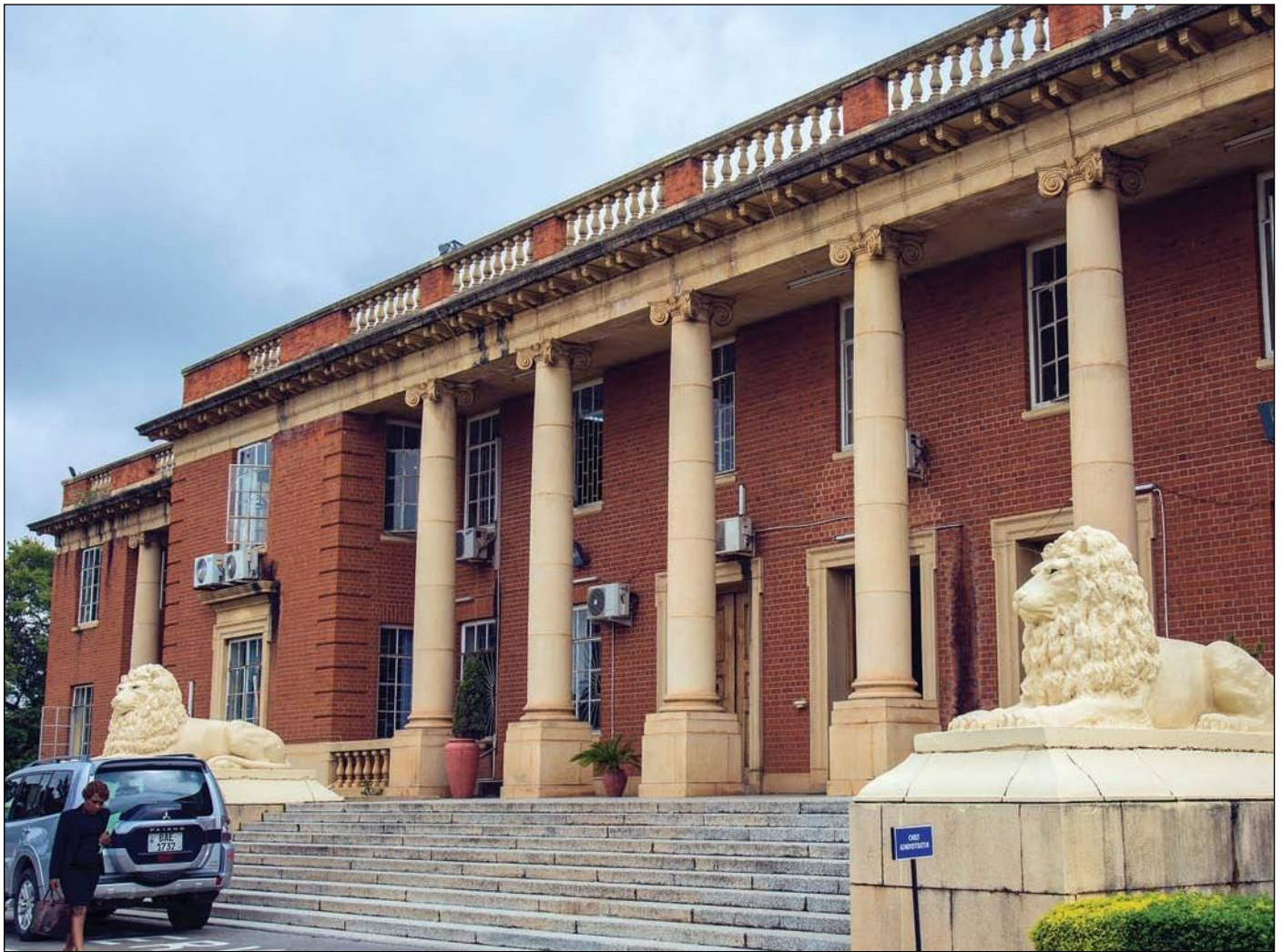


been slashed. This has led to a deterioration of local services, from bin collection to road repairs, and the loss of important community assets such as libraries, youth centres and women's refuges.

We believe in devolving power to local communities. This ought to be accompanied by the requisite funding. You cannot empower local government if you impoverish it. The Socialist Government will allocate extra funding to local government. We will also review and reform council tax and business rates, and consider new options to ensure local government has sustainable funding for the long term.

8.7 Media

Today's attacks on news media's already tenuous freedom are proliferating. They often come in the form of violence against independent journalists. Those in power also attempt to assert control over media outlets, even if it means shutting them down.



Zambia needs traditional, independent, media to hold the powerful to account. Where independent media is silenced, coerced, or captured, the public has few options for gaining any information beyond the narratives pushed by those in power and special interests. Social-media platforms can play a role, but their main strength – their democratic nature – also has a fatal flaw. They have proved ideal for spreading fake news, which taints public debate and erodes trust in both facts and institutions.

Appetite for fake news is a threat to healthy independent media. While social-media platforms get a lot of attention for their speed and accessibility, a credible free press – one which does not simply parrot the official line of governments or special interests, but rather seeks the truth – remains essential to strengthening accountability in places where it can often be hard to find.

Chronic underfunding squeezes independent media further. Journalists not

only lack resources to support their work, they are often so poorly compensated that they become vulnerable to corruption themselves. “Brown envelope, transport refund journalism” – when reporters are paid by individuals or organisations to publish favourable stories – is becoming increasingly commonplace. If traditional independent media are going to fulfil their essential role, they need resources.

Given the importance of a credible free press to both development and democracy, the Socialist Party in government will remove all constraints on press freedom, and create a more favourable financial, economic and political environment for the media to survive and prosper.





‘ If we desire a society that is peaceful, peace must become a means as well as an end. There is no just cause or justification for violence

9

Our programme for securing peace

TO MAKE our aspirations for peace and wellbeing become realities, we must take the right steps. The most effective means is to adopt an attitude of dialogue, that is, of patiently introducing the mechanisms and phases of dialogue whenever and wherever peace is threatened or already compromised.

9.1 Defence and security

The primary duty of any government is to protect and defend its citizens. The post-independence Zambian defence doctrine was shaped by the risks associated with geographical proximity to Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa, countries that were not yet liberated and hostile to Zambia's hosting of freedom fighters. It was necessary and noble to provide support to the liberation forces in these countries.

However, the ensuing massacres at Chikumbi, Luangwa, Mkushi, and many other places, by Rhodesian and South African raiding forces, exposed the fragile state of the country's defence forces. The country was not able to defend the liberation forces within its borders, neither was it able to protect its own military forces and citizens who perished in their hundreds during that process.

The period from 1980 to 1990 saw some efforts made to enhance defence capabilities: improvements to the command and control system, air defence system, special forces (commandoes), and a number of other areas of defence were undertaken.

With the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, as well as the change to a strong pro-capitalist government in Zambia, the build-up of defence capabilities was compromised. This was exposed by the disastrous deaths of Zambian troops on peacekeeping missions. For example, Zambia sent 776 soldiers to Sierra Leone, 436 of whom were captured by rebels, with 7 later found mutilated. The captured Zambian forces had their weapons confiscated and the soldiers were stripped. About a dozen

armoured vehicles were also taken by the rebels.

A global analysis declared Zambia incapable of defending itself in 2013, a fact that senior defence officials, and later President Michael Sata, confirmed. By 2015, Zambia had emerged as one of the largest defence markets for equipment manufacturers in Africa. The country was realigning its defence and strategic interests with the rest of the world.

A close look at the Ministry of Defence website indicates that the doctrine is indeed changing. By law, defence forces have domestic security responsibilities only in cases of national emergency. However, the current official document states the following as being the core functions of the army: "To restore law and order in areas where internal security is threatened, support civil authority in the maintenance of law and order whenever called upon, participate in emergency, relief operations and disaster management, provide troops for various United Nations and African Union operations as and when called upon, engage in developmental activities of the country, and, perform any other duty as maybe directed by the government from time to time."

On numerous occasions, the Army Chief of Staff has also publicly stated that the military is committed to maintaining the rule of law in Zambia, and, by all accounts, appears prepared to continue abiding by that policy.

The focus is therefore no longer only on external security. The functions are now more inwardly oriented. Yet Zambia is not facing a civil war situation and there are no known threats that would warrant this radical shift in the functions of the army. It is a *de facto* militarisation of civilian life – where an army is systematically turned against its own people.

The Socialist Party in government will change the defence and security doctrine of the country. The best-defended country is one where every citizen is a warrior – ready to defend territory, property and life. Defence is too great an assignment to be left in the hands of an ill-equipped army with an inappropriate doctrine.



Every Zambian will participate in the active and passive defence of the country. A system comprising reserve forces, territorial units, passive defence brigades, extended support units, and information networks, will ensure each Zambian is accorded an opportunity to play a role in the defence of the country.

Similarly, well-trained and equipped military personnel have to participate in the provision of mass education, health, food, shelter, transportation and economic infrastructure. The military will, therefore, become an active pillar of national development without compromising their external defence capacities.

This requires a “civil-military alliance” where military and civilian life are inter-twinned, where resources are effectively placed at the service of each component, where unity of purpose eventually enhances mutual respect, appreciation and trust between the military and civilian life.

In order to enhance military capacity, we will undertake a review to assess the emerging threats confronting the Zambia masses, including hybrid and cyber warfare.

We will; (i) ensure that our armed forces are properly equipped and resourced to respond to wide-ranging security challenges; (ii) the Socialist Government will commit to effective UN peacekeeping, especially within the context of Pan African peace-keeping missions; (iii) commit to a procurement process that supports job creation and the growth of the Zambian defence manufacturing industry; (iv) ensure entry borders are kept safe by immigration and Zambian Revenue Authority officers through cooperation and the collective border decision making of each security unit; (v) depoliticise the police by retraining officers to ensure that effective public safety becomes a priority through safe policing, and; (vi) establish an anti-white collar crime unit to fight economic crimes, such as drugs-related offences and corruption.

9.2 Political violence

If we desire a society that is peaceful, peace must become a means as well as an end. There is no just cause or justification for violence. Increased political violence in Zambia denies citizens their freedoms and rights, and instils fear and insecurity.

The Socialist Government will ensure there is no political violence perpetrated by cadres or law enforcement agencies. Peace will become the order of the day.

9.3 Structural violence

The immense poverty among our people is causing pain, stress and anger. Our people are prevented from having the basic social services that they need. The Socialist Party government will provide jobs and end poverty. This will reduce anger, stress and (structural) violence.

9.4 Domestic violence and rape

Physical and sexual violence taking place in our homes has reached alarming levels.

The number of children abused everyday, particularly girls, is unacceptable.

The Socialist Party in government will take a zero tolerance approach to rape, gender-based violence, and child defilement. It will change the social institutions and structures that are the basis of violence. Recreational facilities for children and youngsters in communities will be provided to facilitate non-violence and peaceful socialisation.

9.5 Peace

We aspire for peace and peaceful solutions to our conflicts. We recognise the need to eliminate not only wars, but everything that leads to wars. We desire a climate of peace which will guarantee our search for wellbeing, particularly now, when we are faced with an economic crisis that threatens the nation.

Dialogue plays a critical role in this process. No one should be excluded. Such an exclusion exists even if it is not declared, when freedom of speech and of expression is curtailed or totally denied; when legitimate complaints are systematically ridiculed or ignored; when no room is allowed for differences and dissension; when the climate of suspicion, fear and hostility pervades society to the extent that normal relationships and communication between people become impossible; and when people feel they are not accepted or respected. Neither the common good nor peace can be achieved by some without others.

9.6 World peace

In today's world, conflict in a neighbouring country has serious consequences for our nation. Investing in peace, stability, and transparent and accountable governance, is a foundation of development. The Socialist Party in government will champion conflict resolution and dialogue, negotiated settlements and peacekeeping missions.

9.7 International solidarity

The unity of all the developing countries and marginalised working masses is an absolutely necessary.

Most of the problems set forth in this manifesto are common to all our countries, regardless of political concepts, systems of government, philosophical conventions, and religious beliefs. The approach to these vital questions affecting us, and the solutions we seek, can and should be shared. We should also rise above the local controversies that sometimes turn us into enemies because of old disputes or intrigues, ambitions, or the machinations of imperialism.

Generally speaking, all are the product of the system of domination and colonial control that subjugated us for centuries. The abolition of wars between our countries should be a basic law of our states and an integral part of our struggle for universal peace.

We must not allow anybody or anything to divide us. We must use political formulas and negotiations to solve those problems that occasionally cause some countries to oppose each other. We should form an indestructible battle line of peoples to demand recognition of our noble aspirations, our legitimate interests, and our inalienable right to survive, both as developing countries, and as inseparable parts of humankind.

We will fight for peace and stand against neo-colonialism. We firmly believe that the real and basic interests of the struggling people of the world are the same, and hence, we stand for proletarian internationalism and will support the causes of progressive popular movements wherever they emerge. International solidarity is in the best interest of our own struggle.

We will, therefore, contribute to the growth of a socialist Pan-Africanism, and a peaceful, humane and environmentally sustainable, global community.





“ Your party – the
Socialist Party –
stands a very good
chance of winning.
And you must win,
because what you
can’t do for yourselves,
nobody can do for you

