

Observations on the National Situation and Lessons for SADC Region and Beyond

thank you very much
good evening everyone and welcome
my task is really to outline what these
elections in zambia
mean
and to discuss the context in which
these elections took place
and i'll start by first of all
making reference to the fact that
the elections were peaceful
by and large of course there were a few
cases of violence
but on the whole
people turned up in large numbers most
woke up very early in the morning
and we saw that
most of those on the queues were young
people
so this election appears to have been
decided
by
the young people of zambia
and of course the question is
why they have to do that why they had to
turn up in such black numbers
to come and vote
and one these cans can actually say that
the economy has been
only free for
uh we have as a country now our debt is
in excess of 12
billion dollars
and
this itself is unsustainable
only last year zambia was unable to
service
two million dollar
uh loan
to the uh
eurobond uh creditors
uh that itself was the signal that there

is something very wrong
but by and large um this selection has
been won by the opposition and it was
unexpected
it was expected because
uh the playing field was uneven
it was unfair
and
many people feared that there will be a
repeat of 2016.
the opposition was not allowed to
campaign freely
in many places the opposition leader who
is now present elect was prevented from
flying particular parts of the country
and while his competitor the the
president was flying everywhere
he was prevented from flying to
the copper belt
uh they was denied
flying permits to the eastern province
and the nakunde is the motorcade or is
you know we need to travel there by road
the police prevented him from entering
the city so that was some of the few
instances but there are quite many i
mean this this that i can talk about
on this forum but there are many of them
around
but also i think between 2016 and the
and this this year
we also saw that the opposition was
harassed in many places uh the position
was not allowed to campaign in many
places
in australia for example there were
rarely any rallies in fact it was
difficult to know the support that the
position had on the ground uh so was the
copper belt the opposition was simply
allowed to campaign there
so we were going to selection in that
environment of unfreeness and the and of
course

unfairness
but apart from that the media was also
restricted some of the media houses were
closed for the first ministry but
notably
and also uh
movie they're not moving tv but the
prime tv
uh some others like movie tv where we
are suspended
suspended or they were
given warnings uh there are many cases
where
uh whenever opposition leaders were on
on
a radio
you know the party cutters would do 10
up there and of course
make sure that the station that is
closest and the person who is talking
removed
um but let me ask let me try to ask and
ask and answer i think a broad question
that everyone is asking
and this is
what does this election result mean
the electoral commission of zambia
announced in the early hours of
yesterday
that
mr aganda chilema had won the election
and had pulled 2 million
810 752
uh 757 votes
followed by
mr
edical who poured 1 million 814 201
votes
a total of
4 million 800 plus
zambians cast their votes
and the
uh muslim poured 59 percent
of that

of all divided broadcasts followed by mr
lungu who poured

38

of the

broadcast

the scale of the

of the wind by european d is massive it

can be called a landslide

and the defeat

of the periodic front is also very huge

it was unexpected and the scale is

really devastating

what does this really mean many people

ask the question

how has this happened

and i venture to offer

a few explanations they may not be

exhausted

the first one has to do with

internal factionalism

within the patriotic front

within the photorespective front

there was already a developing

factionalism where

the

party was being taken over

by people came from the mmd

so there was a perception that the party

was being taken over by outsiders

that itself created this content within

the photographic front

the second factor

has to do

with

the decision by

uh president longue to contest a third

tail

that was an unpopular decision within

the pacific front itself and many people

did not actually support him

that himself has

created a a faction that was opposed to

him thirdly

was the fact that he chose a running

mate who was unpopular in the part
this is professor kanduro
that itself is a third factor that
created internalization within the
pathetic front
so within the paternity front and within
the the stronger front eastern province
muchinga
uh copper bell to osaka
ruapula and northern province
we have a lot of pf
members who had satisfied with the man
which uh the part was being run with the
man in which uh you know the running
mate was chosen that itself partly
explains why there was this sea change
this
rebellion so to speak by people within
the restaurant
secondly
is the economy
the economy has been very bad you know
and people have lost their job this high
you know unemployment among the youth
uh and in the urban areas and that this
also has been a very strong factor
especially from young people and the
part of the reason is that
resources were being distributed only
partisan lines
we have heard about empowerment funds
and all these things these empowerment
funds weren't even given to everybody
they only been given to
those people who were affiliated to the
apocalyptic front that itself
raised some a lot of anger in people but
of course the cost of living itself is
high and many people in urban areas
having difficult to make ends meet
many people in other areas are seeing
the prices of commodities rose so high
within this period
thirdly i think is the factor of

impunity
uh the the growing impunity uh
has been a concern
the growing corruption has been a
concern
and of course
the use of patronage in a manner
that shows that you can only get
somewhere you can only get something if
you belong to the ruling party
there was also and i think my colleagues
will come and talk about this and
amplify on it uh the issue of volcanism
where particulars were really the people
who were controlling the country and
controlling the government
the police were not even able to
maintain law and order because
of caddos
these many people especially urban urban
dwellers found it very unacceptable the
markets the first stations were
controlled by ruling particulars and
that particular experience did not
please the other people and let me
conclude by uh talking about rights i
think the last part i'd like to talk
about is the fact that people's rights
were eroded in the last seven or maybe
10 years but last seven years have been
worse
for example it was difficult for people
to speak those fear
in the country people were not able to
express themselves
because otherwise they would be
victimized
it was difficult to demonstrate no one
could demonstrate the police would come
and crush you
this is despite the fact that the
constitution allows zambians to protest
that allows zambians to assemble to
allow zambians to associate

but it was difficult to have any public meetings not even for ngos when everybody meeting was held and the especially a public meeting was to talk about government it was anti-government discussion

it would be disrupted even meeting in in churches meeting in the in

in hotels the meetings would be disrupted by either not particulars or by the police so that that culture that experience of fear

uh the fact that newspapers were closed at the wheel as long as they were seen to be uh opposed to the regime i think affected a lot of zambians and these are some of the factors that created the situation where most of the people voted we are actually voting in protest against politifact

so i would like to say and to conclude by saying what we had on thursday was a referendum

another five years for the same thing let me stop there for now thank you neil before you you depart for the time being

can you tell us more about the challenges ahead

for the new government especially on the economic front any challenges

yes the challenges ahead and any indication is the policy framework yeah

that informed the election pro program

yes the challenges are read is to really fix what can be called a broken economy the

the huge uh

the huge

uh youth unemployment i think it should

be addressed
uh the the huge date
is actually agent you know that we have
to find the solution to tackling and
dismantling the huge debt then there is
a problem with the minds
and i think that it should be really uh
task number one for uh
when he starts is this on his in
his desk
on tuesday next week the task number one
is to deal with the minds
uh what the fun government has done
is really to try to nationalize
the mopani and the and the kcm
but in a manner that does not really uh
bring anything on the table
no benefit that we've got from that
those decisions
uh because the companies were suffering
they were they were they were not
performing well and instead of allowing
new investment into these companies
uh instead of allowing them to
restructure themselves the the the the
government simply played to the gallery
by saying don't close we will help you
and then use government money to bail
them out
and
we are not going to have the money to do
that the decision to nationalize to
privatize the mines was made because the
zambian government was unable to run
there
what we thought would happen that would
come up with a tax regime where the
nation would benefit they would run
professionally they would run
commercially by the best international
investors and would get a higher return
from them what she was supposed to be
talking about are taxes how do we tax
the minds in a way that is beneficial to

zambian people their minds are a mess
and i think that is the area where
and i didn't mess at the time when the
the price is very high so i think that
is another area
we need to look to look at but there are
many other areas i think the the
displacement for example of the
empowerment funds the disbasement of the
the of the cash transfer the disbasement
of uh uh the
the physics physic funds was done in a
very you know patronizing and of course
the followed
you know
it followed ways that it went it was
used in a way to actually campaign and
not decide to empower people so there is
money there that it could be used uh in
a way that is more equitable but it was
not you know the the oh my oh commander
of distribution of money only to people
who were actually connected to the
regime so those are some of the things
that i think could be done
the most important thing is to ensure
that the economy is a stronger footing
uh and we have the resources right but
these associations have not been
properly allocated and the corruption i
think it stands
on top of most of these things and and i
hope that system will be put in place uh
to ensure that people don't benefit you
know from public resources
immediate ones but of course yesterday
we heard from uh
incoming president rich lemar saying
that he's going to ensure that
the catalysm culture is going to go but
you know
the markets and bus stations will no
longer be run by cutters that is a at
least it is a good signal and we hope

that that will be cut through
thanks thanks neil i think you've given
us some of the dynamics
that have informed the election outcome
it's a very interesting uh outline that
you've given us
now calling owen
to reflect on what neo has said so far
but also to
attend to
the the
issues that we put at the at the very
outset namely the
in particular
that they turn around strategy
and
weather given the
immense influence the first of all the
the economic challenges
whether this means
zambia is going back
to the traditional
route back to the imf and world bank
back to neoliberal economics
or whether it could be a mixture of both
in
including
resort to to state enterprises again as
engines of economic development
uh to address the
unemployment challenge
you know leave that to your own
thank you thank you
first of all
let me
agree with the nail on a number of
issues
pertaining to the
landslide victory over
european d
the factions in
the patriotic front especially
the rise of the mmd
and one might add eastern province

members of parliament into the central committee
annoyed uh adam
factions in the
party for two reasons the first one is
that they were outsiders
and that they were very hostile to to
the patriotic front when they were
in in office
but
beyond that they
strongly fought against
the rise
into the presidency of
ed galungu himself
so
the
faction that had
supported the rise of lungu in 2015
when the lungu presidency was actually
dead in the water
the forces
pitted against it were very strong the
newspapers at that time were referring
to
the cartel
and this cartel in my view has not
been
analyzed in detail
but it has a
for under the better word pro business
pro business rather than pro
region or pro
personal
agendas
so
uh it was a double betrayal for those
who had fought very hard to put
ed galungu into office to see him then
promote
the the ones who had been opposing him
maybe his uh his plan was to bring them
over to his side and clearly it hasn't
worked

the third term always annoys
zambians and
there was a
heated battle to prevent
him from assuming
office but
rather from even running as a as a
candidate for the party
but unlike
your own
lord i'll be back on standby laura
but maybe come back to owen later
owen
unfortunately he seems to have left the
meeting
okay laura
i call laura meaty
laura
uh laura ippo my my line is a bit
unstable
okay carry on
yeah i will try and uh rush through
uh okay
the
the millennials have
networks they're very well connected
they discuss issues uh continuously
and they are particularly hostile to
candulu
for not being supportive when she was
minister of higher education
and
they are also very attracted to the
promise
made by
a
it's all they had
a motivation to get rid of an enemy on
one side and to gain
the benefits of a free education which
many have realized is the true
empowerment and not the handouts of cash
that the outgoing
government was

known for
now
if we look at the national situation yes
neo has spelt it out quite accurately
but it's very uneven
the
problems on the copper belt
do affect the
the rest of the country but they are
quite
different
from the problems in osaka and even in
the problems in the new copa belt in in
northwestern province which
uh generally performs better
than the old copper belt
the eastern province had a a very
successful agricultural season
there was money secular
letting in the villages they were buying
motorbikes and bicycles instead for
change so clearly the moment
similar to 1991
rather than to the regime change of uh
2011. i think 2011 was
quite different from the others
i can't go into the details
now but uh suffice it to say that
2011 paul's gave us a three party
parliament and not a a one-party
dominant parliament like we had in
1991 and as we have now
in the
challenges ahead i think the the most
important one which the other
parties are not
taking into
account
is that neoliberalism has run its cost
it cannot make the promises that it made
in
the good governance days of 1990s
it has failed to create employment
globally

it has failed to create wealth the only
country that has
grown significantly is china
and so although it was not mentioned
even by the socialist party
in any detail
i think we are going to face some
serious ideological
battles ahead
pf was trying to use state enterprise as
a job creation
approach and also by implication and
even directly
linking um
hh personally and his party
to privatization and
therefore
the poverty that has continued
and a
an economic system
that
promotes
tax evasion
and actually
looks at tax evasion as a valid
business
strategy
as far as the tax
behaviors of the new mines
led by first quantum and the old mines
where you have glencoe
and vedanta is the the key actors
they are not exactly the same
suffice it to say that
it's been very painful to see zambia
failing to benefit from the sustained
high
copper prices
and
the government has
intervened at times with
twitter instruments to try and correct
this but we have always
back a trading so

it's possible that this is linked to the corruption that um and neo cemetery mentioned let me end by looking at the way forward i think the way forward must include a stronger regional cooperation there is currently a lot of competition between tanzanian trackers delivering inland from the port of jerusalem mozambique has also joined that game zimbabwe has a very huge number of tracks on the roads servicing its own and also the the the needs of uh inland countries like uh drc and uh from the zambian side they is a huge market in the congo for zambian agricultural products which hasn't been fully taken advantage of and it's even discouraged by the government that cross-border trade is a unprofitable venture but it's uh smuggling rather than trade but if there's no trans southern africa railway system functioning the roads have already at least in zambia the roads have reached breaking point they cannot handle that number of overloaded trucks and of course when the roads break down it affects every other transporter including internal trade cross-border trade and the daily market gardening that feeds the cities so although

the
european victory is
very convincing
they were very focused on regime change
of course regime changing small letters
not
any
change in the system just a change in
the personality
and they will be confronted with the
reality that
the cadres at the market
are active in those
spheres of our lives
because they don't have jobs and it
doesn't matter who the president is they
are going to be challenged
it's very profitable to collect
rent from
bus
passengers and much more difficult to
turn
a one acre gift of land from the
government into a profitable activity
so there's going to be confrontation
between the youth
who have now become used to
surviving
outside the former economy
and
making money from bus stations
from markets and so on
and
the government that
sees itself as
efficient
experienced in running businesses and
i think
as successful as they may be they have
no clue how the informal economy works
most of the the issues that i might
raise were
reported in the
final report of the commission of

inquiry into voting patterns and
political violence of which i was a
member
i don't think the pf paid much attention
to
the issues that were raised there
and
in fact
they paid the
the price because of
not taking that into account
finally let me say
whenever we have regime changing
in zambia there's been a slight opening
up
in the right to assemble and the right
to
debate issues and of course
from lusaka it doesn't seem like that
but in the rural areas now that almost
every district has got
one or more community radio stations
there's been quite robust discussion of
local issues
and so
the election especially for mps and
councillors
was more about local issues
than the national issues that brought
about
a the new
president
so i think for now let me end that and
we can elaborate later for this time
thank you yes thanks thanks thanks oh
and i'd like to hear more later on
on that commission of inquiring which
you served
and and and the extent which uh as you
said uh the
pf has paid a price by ignoring the the
recommendation of the commission of
inquiry
and um so come back to you on that

uh but you have you have touched on the
regional cooperation issue and i hope
that uh
zamchir
will take up that
when he comes in on the lessons region
but now um
laura eva mitti
can you come in now please
if you can reflect on some of the three
themes we're pursuing
one the
explain the outcome
of the elections
two what did you say of the national
situation and thirdly
the is ahead
is
meaty there
meaty
leo is meeting there
no abnormal sinner
there was someone called evil evil
it was evil
meaty you know a different person
and joseph wendell i don't see him at
all is he there winder
near
neo
is mundane
okay i'll go to mcdonald's mcdonald's
pensie
mcdonald's can you come in please
mcdonald
mcdonald here
yes
i'm here
that mcdonald's
i'm here i'm here
okay carry on
hello
thank you
yes uh thank you so much um
i speak from

via's point of view
mcdonald
mcdonald
hello
yes carry on please
thank you
indeed the third term
issue
was big
not only in the pf
but also outside the pf
among the citizens
i think this election
has defined
the the role
of citizens
in stopping constitutional manipulation
by sitting presidents or regimes
using
institutions that they may have captured
or indeed have control over
so the third term issue
uh was eating both
the inside of the thief and also the
outside of the tf
a number of people
a number of senior officials within the
pf
didn't want this person
to go
for a third
election consecutively
and the people themselves felt
food
to have somebody
insisting to go for a third stem or a
third election
when
or alone
after the calendar era they didn't want
a president
who stays in perpetuity
so this
was a big issue

and this
indeed had an impact on this election
both
from outside and within
the other thing was that
people were discontent
with the work of the judiciary
and other institutions of governance the
police
um the ant corruption
uh the electoral commission of zambia
itself
um the drug enforcement commission
and
especially this year
uh the
financial intelligence
center
i think people
felt
that this regime had gone too far
in undermining the authority
and the powers
of these institutions
and they thought it is better to start
afresh
and ensure
that
the police maintain law and order not
because
this person who has broken the law
belongs to this party or that party
so that also
are pushed
or ignited a zero
or ignited the zero within the citizens
to decide to change
uh the regime
the issue of
division within the patriotic front
also
caused
the change that we saw
uh on the on the 16th

of um
of august
a number of people
felt cheated
at the convention
of the thief
the convention of the pf
hello am i there
yes you're still connected
yeah you're connected i hear you yeah
unfortunately power has gone
but over here you cannot talk about
disconnect my picture yes
yes
yeah so um
a number of people felt that the
convention was a sham
and they were not given
the right to choose leaders
and the president
chose
leaders on his own
by subjecting a list
to the today
to the so-called convention delegate
there was nothing that was happening at
the convention so people within
the pf
felt
short changed they felt shut changed at
the convention so that that that faction
that had formed outside the convention
the convention vindicated them that the
man was not total and want to divergent
views
and two wanted to continue
to stay in power even when uh the
zambian the the the party members wanted
to remove certain individuals from the
parks
i think it's the only part that went to
the convention the biggest part that
went to the convention where no barrels
was uh cast

and that annoyed the number of people
it annoyed the number of people
the other thing i think under
factionalism
is of course which dog
mentions they are the the appointment
uh of um
that first before i go to what uh uh dr
talked about is also after the
conversation the president failed
to appoint
uh office holders
within
the pf
it is the first time
that the pf has gone to the to to the to
today to a major election
without
a vice president
without
a chairman for elections
without other
portfolio holders
except
for
the chairman
uh the party chairman the president and
the secretary general the rest of them
were just mcc's
that also had an impact in the campaign
because people
were not motivated
uh to
uh to campaign when they were not
members
and then they came the
the acceptance of those people who used
to insult the the party
into the fire and ranks
of the party and they were even given
uh uh positions of influence within the
paths and this we can talk about the
gbms of this world this is
who is from the same day of defecting uh

is appointed as member of the central committee
that
created or indeed
um made sure that uh this factionalism was getting bigger and bigger and or enlarged
uh then it came to the issue of uh going wherever you are you know trying to go and um and especially that you had people had interest to contest who were also bad and they went to the other side of the coin that is they supported the opposition so that in itself uh really uh uh uh pushed the factionalism aspect of the pf uh even even more prominent in this election
the issue of youth and employment that is a very uh that is actually the biggest cause of the youth turnout the the youth unemployment and the the raise and emergence sustenance of cataratism these caused a lot of problems within the pf and among the people who felt they had youth unemployment was getting out of hand even the educated ones could not find employment the dropout was even worse they were not even considered they became outcasts within their own country because there are no uh there was no industry there were no industries there are no opportunities for unskilled labor that in itself caused the problems in the in the country

so that is uh what uh that what what
would say on the issue of um
the issue of uh
youth and employment
and and catalysis so this catalysm uh
that imaged
sustained the system
it sustained the system because the
money that you are collecting was
actually used for party mostly for party
functions and also was used to help
you know uh
to to to help
um grow or indeed recruit
some people who are calling themselves
commanders and soccer all kinds of
things who were also
parties sympathizers
party partisans who do even go to the
president at any time and so on and so
on they became so big
the issue that i mentioned about the
catalysis so the categorism actually
anointed the people so much
because no one would freely move
on the roads
at the markets at bus stations
uh the ranks even in the in the public
public institutions the cadas were all
over
they could even call
mcdonald's
mcdonald
mcdonald
we'll come back to you mcdonald
let me just go
back let me go back to a ps a director
what they would close
yeah in front of the president
the president had no control
of
individuals including the police
violating people's rights
okay you can talk about the absence of

the public order
the abuse of the covid 19 guidelines
on citizens
that annoys people a lot
people could not assemble
people could not uh freely express
the media was being harassed
when they one day they they they feature
an opposition leader
the media
donald mcDonald mcDonald's
can you wind up yes
so also the role of the social media
was um played a bigger role in this
thing they're preaching about tribalism
and regionalism annoyed a lot of people
so the
the the election itself what had all
these factors that caused about their
way forward we need to liberate
the media
we need to open the civic and political
space
so that people can freely express
associate
move and assemble
we need to review laws
that are inimical to the democratic
growth and consolidation in our country
we also need
to restructure
our institutions especially appointment
modalities if we are to move and above
all we need to find solutions to the
dropout from grade 7 up to 12 those drop
outs we need to first revisit
why the zambian national service was
created
is it to take up this unskilled labor so
we need this unskilled labor to be to to
to have opportunities to do so at the
end
doing that will reduce the capitalism
will also reduce the junk that have

imaged in our society thank you i submit
thanks sir mcdonald we'll come back to
you during discussion time i'd like to
go back before i call on uh pilani
zamcha go back to
to simultaneously
owen
raised and so is mcdonald's the the
specter of unemployment youth
unemployment
which factor
especially the youth
was a a a
very key factor in the election
how will the new government
attend to this problem
the problem as you've seen in
discussions on zimbabwe or south africa
is the elephant in the room the
proverbial elephant in the room how
will
the new government do that
simultaneously
in the program in the policy policy
document what does the process document
say with respect to these matters
because i i don't think that we want to
confine the discussion merely to the to
what owen called regime change
the the kind of
mild regime change
not not the hash all elections about
regime change i think
but i think
this circulation of elites
governments come in and find this that
confronted the same problems
you can expect something innovative from
the new government something new
something out of the ordinary
yeah
yes indeed um
i i in fact wanted to comment on
what owen

referred to
the difficulty of
getting rid of cadalysis
and the fact that
these youths in
markets and bus stations
get actually employed what they do the
collection of levees and so forth is a
form of employment
uh the fact that they uh tax people you
know to all the people on market that's
how they end their income
president michael tried to deal with
that by chasing this from the streets
and it didn't work because the reason
why there was nothing else in his place
so the european d is talking about
forming cooperatives
and that use these young people would
then have
some empowerment funds to do something
for themselves
uh i think that is workable you know if
they if there were some forms of way of
organizing them into economic activities
what the problem has been that they are
not organized and that they are
they they are not actually they're not
respectful of the rule of law whatever
they do is normally against all the
known
norms about business
and this is what is worrying you know
the fact that
you know
these youth discovers harass people they
harass people and you know you can only
survive you can only
those who are at markets have to
actually affiliate
uh to the ruling party to be able to
trade these are the things that can be
dealt with it is possible that these
people can be can be organized and i

think the european is talking about
organizing these people finding the
amount alternative forms of income
generation but it can be done money this
has been used you know the
outcome government
thrown around money
in the name of empowerment but this
money has been thrown has only been
received or benefited but people who are
connected with the ruling party that's
what annoyed most people but i think it
is possible to actually do this in an
organized way
there is a way of doing this uh i'm not
talking about the uh the the kind of
economy that
european d is going to run whether it
will depart from what is there
again i think it's really um i don't
think that it looks very different from
what we have uh there may be a bit of
order a bit of
respect for rules uh
but the thing is that
we may not have it we'll see a
transformation
it's not likely to happen
but what is likely to happen is
that the minds may be better organized
they may be better run and that will
allow them to employ more people because
as it is now they're not properly right
uh and and the government interference i
think is chocking them from actually
performing the way they should uh
manawasa tried to do that and they began
to perform they are performing and the
state was earning much more money uh
through tax just through the tax system
but of course um
the mr michael starter tried to
introduce
uh a tax regime that was actually not

beneficial to the minds and so forth so
so this thing can be talked about but i
think
the way forward is that
uh the european leadership and the
presidency of
the ichiren should listen
to citizens they should involve them
they should be consultative
um i think if they are more consultative
if they involve more people in in in
to bring new ideas on the table they are
likely to perform better than their
previous regime the previous government
or the outgoing government didn't listen
to advice they they were unilateral in
the way they made decisions and that
cost them a lot
i don't think it's possible early on to
begin to work with different
stakeholders and this economy can
actually really improve and and i think
the opportunity is there and
they they have the
the advantage of a a huge electoral
mandate so the earlier they begin to do
this the better all these issues about
whether they know they should continue
and so forth i think they'll be they
will be addressed if they are
constructive and they have to listen uh
to report okay
thanks leo and owen is it possible to
get back on its journey is it possible
to get back
or rather what would it take
to get back at least to the one hours
ahead
yeah
it's uh that's a tough one
the
the foundation
of the economy is a liberalized one it's
a liberalized order

it doesn't sit well with cooperatives it
it even doesn't sit well
with uh
a tax regime that we might call balanced
it
puts faith
in corporate social responsibility
first the companies must make the profit
then they will
support the government in helping look
after the poor
and this clashes with
what happens in the informal sector for
example when a a market gardener arrives
at the market we say a truckload of
tormentors
and surrenders the whole truckload to
these young men at a
at the
market who decide the price
and
do the selling and then hand over money
to
the owner you might think that that's a
very unfair system
but the farmers actually
see it as a a better
less risky arrangement
than trying to sell the hot truck load
yourself
and
perishables will be lost in the process
so unless you work at the market you
can't understand the logic behind these
informal
contracts that they enter into
cooperatives are mentioned as a as a
very good
system of pulling resources and
empowering
people to
acquire
better equipment better
marketing strategies and so on

there was a time when cooperatives in
zambia were thriving
uh just on the uh
in the run-up to the collapse of the of
the one-party regime
and they
when they were disbanded
they lost everything so we were still in
a a reconstructing
phase
and ideologically i think
the the idea of a free market freedom to
to trade
across borders and so on that is more
attractive than the government saying we
organize for you
i think small-scale traders are probably
the best business people
in our economic system
and a little bit more freedom especially
in a crisis uh situation like this one
would be more empowering than the
bureaucrats taking over and saying
this is
what we've given you in the budget and
this is the technology that will provide
you and so on so
we haven't put much thought to it and
that is the worry that
the clash
is bound to come sooner
maybe than later
yeah and thanks owen now let me to move
to our last speaker this is a pillar
some
to digestive divorce
and more
to draw some lessons for the sadiq
region and beyond
not only with respect to elections
election practices
but also with respect to the kind of
challenges
that confronts

any new government
many of which are
unemployment
the youth
bulge
and indeed
just industrialization
these are challenges
i'm sure
thank you very much convina
i had politely asked you to allow me to
share my screen
and
good evening
participants and all the viewers online
i'm trying to get the convener allow me
to share my screen sure you are free
freedom of sharing
yes so don't you need to make me a
co-host so again
no no no don't worry about that you can
share your screen
these professors and their screens
not everybody went to oxford you know so
don't
don't miss me
your screens are always very very
informative
oh it seems it's not uh
it's it's not working at all
for today so let's not waste
much time
let me just try to do without
the screen
yes
so so
it has really been fascinating
to listen to the zambian experts talking
about the current election in zambia
which i actually think that
despite the problems associated with it
it's actually
a proud moment for the young african
democracy

and
on that note i'm just going to talk
about six lessons from zambia for the
continent
then we can always engage and debate
so i think the first
fundamental lesson from zambia is that
elections must not be political theater
you know elections
must not be
spectacular political theater
where they are used to legitimate the
incumbent
and in line with political theater i
think we have seen some elections in
africa
that continue to be characterized
by procedural uncertainty
and outcomes satanic even beyond the
third term
for example this year in 2021 alone
if we look at the late president of chad
he won the 610 with 79 percent of the
votes
in hebot
the incumbent won the fifth term with an
extravagant display
of
97.3 percent
of the votes
you're wearing seven in power since 1986
had another political theater in uganda
and in the republic of congo
the incumbent again won the fifth term
with
88.4 percent
of the votes
so zambia reminds us that
elections on the continent should allow
for procedural certainty
and outcome uncertainty
this means
the rules of the game must be free and
fair

to allow any contestant to win and
enable state power transfer
lesson number two
is that
democrats
needs strong institutions
and not strong men
for what we learned from zambia is that
is when the institutions so went to the
transition
i'm glad that
michael bratton is in the room today um
is the one
who famously coined as when the military
so when the transition
so what enabled smooth transfer of power
in zambia was not just the good will of
president ed gallon
but robust independent institutions that
support democracy
even with donald trump if it was not for
strong institutions the men could not
could still
be in power
so for emphasis
i think the professional conduct of the
zambian military institution
and its non-involvement in civilian
political processes
has been a critical factor
in ensuring peaceful transitions from
one leadership to the other
this is unlike in other polities like
zimbabwe
where there is a symbiotic relationship
between the army and the ruling party
zanu-pf acting political commissioner
patrick chinamasa
just recently
restated that the zimbabwe army has an
inseparable bond
with the ruling party
i quote
it speaks for itself who are the

commanders of the army
who is the cdf
commander defense forces
comrade valerio slander who was he
he was a leading general in zebra
who is the commander of the national
army
comrade zaichimony
who was he
he was a leading commander in zanullah
that culture of defending the
sovereignty of this country will
continue close quote
so the army generals
in zimbabwe also confirm
for example
then army chief of staff
major general martin chidondo summed
this up
when he said
we have signed and agreed to fight and
protect the ruling party's principles of
defending the revolution
if you have other thoughts then you
should remove
that uniform he was addressing
the army so this kind of militarized
politics is also consistent in uganda
and other polities
so a key lesson here
is the need to invest in demilitarizing
the politics
and where this has progressed to
military coups like in zimbabwe and mali
there's need to cure the coup fest
if electoral democracy is to work
beyond holding regular
elections
and there are other institutions that
fought back
authoritarian resilience in zambia this
was the electoral commission of zambia
despite the problems alluded to
by mr japanese the heroic civil

society in its diversity
the heroic independent media in its
diversity including community radio
stations and the commonwealth and
african union observer missions
so institutions of this nature
across sudan and beyond
must be vibrant and independent
if electoral democracy
is to work
the so-called
strong men
have actually failed to deliver
electoral democracy
uh in the region and beyond
if we look at the strong man of
equatorial guinea game ambassador he has
served for 40 years
and retained office with 93.7 percent of
the vote default initial election the
strongman of egypt
he has won a first election with a
dramatic
97.58 of the vote
the strong men of cameroon paul beer in
power for 38 years
88 years old
got a new mandate in a discredited
election in 2018
the strong man of uganda museveni seems
allergic to electoral democracy the
strong men of zimbabwe amazon mungawa
had to walk over dead bodies to state
house
after the army shot civilians in the
streets during the 2018 presidential
elections
he has no penchant for genuine
democratic reforms
the list can be longer
but the point from zambia is that
democrats need
strong institutions and not strong men i
also hope that our friends in the

diplomatic community who work with
strong men can really get this lesson
from zambia
which restricts that democracy needs
strong institutions and not strong men
and a practical take home
is to invest
in reforms of institutions
that will even outlast
the reformers
then lesson number three
the personal element in diplomatic
intervention is key
you know swift diplomatic interventions
using the personal element were
important
in
enabling state power transfer in zambia
behind the scenes
zambia's fourth president rupia boisani
banda
former sierra leone president ernest
baikoroma
and former tanzanian president jakaya
kikete
quickly stepped
in to facilitate a peaceful democratic
transition they were also remotely
supported
by the british and the united nations
so they did not wait for a former sadaq
team to take the lead once there was a
donut once there was a donald trump
signal
from president long and his team
so others who tried to block the
transition behind the scenes
like museveni became isolated
so the lesson here is that
crisis torn countries like swaziland and
zimbabwe do not need to wait
for the formal processes
to kick-start mediation processes
if we look at how moribund sadak is

they must find equity abandon a coroma
etc with the baking of the international
community
then
election rigging as a ceiling
election rigging has a ceiling
this was obviously not a perfectly free
and fair election
it was heavily skewed in favor of the
incumbent as we have heard from previous
speakers campaign restrictions violence
by the patriotic front covers
manipulation of covet 19 regulations
weaponization of the law
abuse of state media
lack of fundamental freedoms of
expression association and assembly
but the lesson is that
voter registration
campaigns and high water turnout
can actually reduce rigging related to
inflation and deflation of numbers
if the outcome is low
autocrats have their attendance to
reverse the elections
if we still remember when donald trump
was pressuring georgia secretary of
state
to recalculate the vote in his favor
when he was saying over the phone i just
want to find eleven thousand seven
hundred and eighty votes
and more lessons around robust part of
water tabulation systems
i was reading in the african arguments
that
the unpd actually invested
5 million u.s dollars in a robust part
of water tubulation
and they had
polling agents across 99 percent of
polling stations also election
monitoring high-tech information systems
and above all an actively citizen

this can help to defend the votes
and reduce as i said
rigging that is related to inflation and
deflation of numbers
then the fifth lesson
from zambia is that
the youth are not clueless about
politics
the status and relationship between
youth politics and elections was stuck
in zambia
the youth registered
came out to vote in large numbers and
defended the votes as neon simultaneous
saying and i think this is a lesson to
africa
where almost 60 percent of the
population is under the age of 25.
if you look at the ibrahim forum report
it says that 60 percent of africans and
especially youth
they think that their governments are
doing a very bad or a fairly bad job
at addressing the needs of young people
if you check in south africa
six out of ten
youth are said to be not formally
employed in mozambique malawi swaziland
and zimbabwe the youth endure precarious
livelihoods so a lesson from zambia is
that youth are critical and have urgents
that can change the game
and the final lesson
lesson number six is that africa
needs transformative policies
you know the incumbent is economic
policies in zambia
detached from the daily quotidian
concerns of the peasantry and working
class
the people the ordinary people were
being told a lot of high modern
statistics
but their pockets were empty their

stomachs were empty
and personally
i have been to many parts of zambia
including kalumbila in
west between 2016 and 2021
and i've seen how big mines
are destroying the ordinary people's
livelihoods with no state protection
the policies favor the elites
massive incentives for mines
you wonder what zambia is getting out of
it
there's patronage there was corruption
in
in society
but this is not isolated as we read that
foreign investors are actually targeting
10 million hectares of land in africa
and most governments actually lack a
win-win-win solution
i have been to mokopane in south africa
she is
in zimbabwe
guru in mozambique
and to quota quota and chicago districts
in malawi
and the outcry from the ordinary people
is the same
so
in the absence of transformative
policies the lesson from zambia
is that
citizens can reclaim
their power
and to me this is good news for young
democrats
in africa
thank you convener
fantastic
theorem
very well done indeed
i don't want to summarize was you have
to summarize the discussion for us very
well

we'll come back to it at the end
what i want to do now is perhaps to
get some
contributions
from our participants in this uh
exercise i see
many familiar faces ano tsunga
we have see
liz mudenda my sister-in-law there and
sister
i see justinam coco
muzulu
love mugadenge
i see bullets in becky
prince
in london
my old brother still in rhineland
valentine
yassin nara
this year you guys
stan from sweden you want to say
something to us
yes
do we raise our hands or we just
start to speak let's come in
just speak who's identify yourself
uh my name is valentine cinema
okay welcome
welcome to dr madaza and the the the
presenters i just i missed some so i
came in we have a power cut in our
neighborhood so i just to
find this very interesting discussion
i find that maybe what we need to do
it's just a comment i have
the events that have happened in zambia
where breath of fresh air for me
personally i'm sure a lot of people in
zimbabwe that we wish we had a similar
structure
um of institutions that are stronger and
maybe a peaceful transfer of of the
votes
that the people would have expressed

i just want to make a contribution that
the
new president hh
if he has the right heart
the right heart because the problem we
can only make contributions from
zimbabwe and i was thinking this morning
what should happen in zambia
and zimbabwe they must set up a forum of
exchange of ideas
because most of the solutions for zambia
are in zimbabwe
i think the the the experiences that we
we have we can share in all aspects and
i would think that uh if the president
could set up
new structures for collaboration or
sharing ideas across sadaq but more
specifically from zimbabwe so let me
just start off with just a precursor
briefly what is zimbabwe zimbabwe is a
place where it's a jurisdiction where
things are not done properly
that's all
things are not done properly and also
it's a jurisdiction that is
characterized by lack
lack
everything in zimbabwe is the usual
shona words
apana athena
ameno
ashi vu midway
it's so basically in in translation it's
it's a state where we don't have it's
not allowed and it doesn't work we don't
know which then comes in to express
itself in long processes things taking
too long to be done and that creates
this severity of of shortages because of
limitation of statutory instruments it's
the heart of the leader the leader has
to change their heart to face the young
people and face the future so if you can

continuously monitor the heart of your
of your president would do well
um i do think that zambians stand the
greatest opportunity we are in a new era
in a new opportunity and right how i
would suggest that uh
the government of zambia takes the
position that by default location-wise
was supposed to go to zambia but we're
willing to to give the ideas that this
goes to zambia so let me give an example
zambia tends to be a distribution hub a
logistics hub if we connect zambia with
the pipeline oil for angola uh and
process zambia can distribute to
zimbabwe malawi mozambique
even to drc and tanzania and fires
uganda
so there has to be a new redefinition of
the starting context of what is zambia
zambia is the potential of what zimbabwe
was supposed to be and the time is right
because zambia is lucky you have a
president we don't have a
you need to have a president and and and
people who think and be able to come up
with innovation i'm glad that the new
president is prioritizing
entrepreneurship and digital revolution
that's what you can tap into young
people we need to create zombies to be
the possibility of things that happen
one area that i particularly
participated in zambia when i was in the
ministry of transport is when i realized
that zambia does not have its own
national airline so we went into fifth
freedom arrangements for everything for
zambia in about three four weeks we have
emirates we had everybody coming in what
i suggest one move one policy today
if the glue gun the new president can
declare zambia
open skies

airlines can come land go anywhere
because you're in a blessed environment
you don't have a national airline to
worry about so very soon people want to
try to access zambia with these new
dynamics that are coming in and if you
can start to uh capitalize on your
airlines let there be at least one
country in our territory that allows
freedom of movement liberalize
open up create the infrastructure if you
take advantage of this kazungura the
fact that you can order something from
south africa and you can go through
botswana and arrive through um
zambia without dealing with zimbabwe
what a blessing you don't have to deal
with this nonsense so you can connect
directly to angola you can make zambia
the next distribution hub for drc for
everything in any way so we encourage
you zambia to move in liberalize make
sure that you'll find an articulate in
your area thank you very much zambia we
wish the best to this new president um
and of course you've got to deal with
your chinese factor which is something
else you got to deal with
thanks the valentine i've seen three
answers there's trunarila tabitha doro
let's have to narila
and blessing mataka
reeler first
tony
i was very struck by what neo said about
the failure of clientelism
in zambia and that's very interesting
that that failed so comprehensively and
the youth rejected it
but my my point is really that
what was different in zimbabw in
zimbabwe and
phil raised that
was that the military were not a factor

so zimbabwe we have a double factor that
has to be dealt with
which is the clientelism of the state
and the coercion
of the state backed by the military and
i'd be interested to see how people
think that we can deal with that
blessing
tabith is to death
if not i'll have blessing
thank you
dr mandaza uh
i don't know if you still remember your
previous
student from
yes um
really enjoyed uh in almost all the
presentations even the recommendations
by the
last speaker
the idea of really build coming up
coming up with strong institutions
in fact
really i've also learnt a lot i wish in
zimbabwe we could
learn
uh from
from the we could benefit from the
recommendations from the speakers
and also
we really need to learn a lot especially
from what happened in um
in zambia that we really need to empower
this youth
and also
the idea of building of strong
institutions thank you
madam thank you chair
thanks sir tabitha thank you blessing
mataka
and meet yourself
okay all right
okay
you know it's it's a very intriguing

discussion

but the the comparison between zambia and zimbabwe is it's for me it's a bit quite off because the politics between the two countries you know they're different

yeah we are talking about strong institutions that is very important and when you look at zambia possibly in zimbabwe the major difference is maybe the fact that the institutions in zambia are not militarized like what you find in

in zimbabwe so even when we talk about reforms i don't think there is something fundamentally wrong maybe with the institutions in this bible but maybe the fact that there are some individuals who are bigger than those institutions

and also that these institutions they are not accountable maybe to the you know to the constitution but will be accountable to individuals that is where the biggest problem is there so when we talk about reforms

maybe

it's not about changing these institutions but maybe removing individuals from this particular institution

then one striking issue for me that came from this zambian election possibly something similar to zlatan is i don't think the issue is about the people voting and you know being able to win an election i think even is about whether that has been happening but the difference which i saw here is uh

the ability to defend the fort people might say you know

you know everything was okay and stuff but there was a lot happening you know

behind the scenes there was a lot of
invisible hands happening behind the
scenes
i'll tell you that this outgoing
government possibly
you know behaved in in a lot of ways
more more like than peer
okay so but the opposition was in a
position to defend
the vote yes of course external players
came in these are the former president
the staff but the opposition itself was
in on the ground and was in a position
to defend the vote from manipulation and
things like that so that is another big
lesson that i think we need to let the
ability to to defend the world not only
in zambia but in all other african
countries that's what i stopped
where you are zambian was melbourne
or both
were embarrassed in zambia
yes batacas are on both sides of the
border
i was going to ask you if you were in
zimbabwe
that what is it that turns up
what is it that that
caused
the mdc in 2018
and in previous elections not to defend
the vote as
as the opposition did in zambia
you want to try and answer that
yeah yeah yeah you know
there are a lot of issues the basic
issues of having you know committed
individuals
from the polling station
the basic aspect of helping strong
individuals in in oppositions who are
able to stand
against the you know the imaginations of
the regime that is very fundamental if

those who were following here there was
you know i think honorable guarant combo
he was on the ground and he was willing
to fight and defend the court such
personalities are lacking in the
opposition in zimbabwe and that is one
fundamental aspect i think that we need
to work on we need people who possibly
put the interests of the nation of their
party ahead before any other any other
interests

thanks mataga thanks blessing uh nigel
yamatumbe nigel

if you can check out some of the teams
yes

yes sure mine is actually
a beautiful question to the
uh a panelist uh insofar as
the

way forward and you know
president-elect

uh plan number one to do with corruption
uh i was a part of an observer mission
uh there in lusaka

and the ordinary talk on the ordinary
men on the streets

part of the you know protest vote as it
were

uh was largely to
deal with the you know scourge and and
you know a high increase of uh bidet
cartels commemorative

uh particularly around our corruption on
whether

um we we are actually going to see
each lemma not using perhaps they
replace the model but if they are going
to be uh some real safeguards uh
insufficient uh

on on on dealing with uh
corruption which
is certainly on the rise and also
insofar as
the entrenchment of the

authoritarianism uh system uh in in
in
in zambia rather if you look at
uh how the the lungus administration had
an appetite to introduce repressive law
the last being
the cyber security law which uh in all
intents and purposes was just targeting
it
criminalizing expression
the you know internet shutdowns are both
converted over
uh millions of
uh some
suppressing uh citizens with wanting to
have a feel from the punishment see uh
some uh
real
you know identification of some of these
perpetrators
are we going to see the vessels
thanks thanks sir nigel this is my dream
my dream can you come in
then yasi nara
madrin
madrid
oh yes um thank you so much um
uh ebo and thank you everyone who has
presented before me and congratulations
to the zambians
i would like to appreciate
what this zambian community did uh the
idea of the buy in
not only by the youth but i've been in
touch um with my friends who are in
zambia i understand families were going
together with their
children as the youths
and the male and female which is a good
thing which we don't see in zimbabwe in
most cases
and also someone spoke about the
defending of the votes that is something
that we really need

and in zimbabwe we see there is a water
apart which we don't see which we didn't
see in zambia

and um

recommendation is what's gonna happen
after um hh comes into power because um
i feel that the electorate is let down
so many times where people are so
excited that there's a change of regime
but with time you find that um a lot of
integrity issues begin to be compromised
and i'm just hoping that we won't see a
repeat of what we are seeing in malawi
and

all that kind of thing thank you

thanks thanks majin

nara

did you end up

nara

yasin nara

yes you have seen gone

you have seen

you have seen

yes

yes

am i clear

that jason

okay i'm here

okay all right

um i just wanted to quickly touch on um

the aspect raised i think two speakers

ago um about this uh

by one of the panelists sorry about the
symbiotic relationship um between the
military here in zimbabwe and our ruling

party um i think that's a critical um

area of difference between um

two nations and i think blizzard

blessing mentioned

individuals i think that in itself is is

not sufficient because as we've seen

over the past you know five to eight

years

we have individuals who stand up and on

their own it's not enough i think
there's need for us to engage our
citizenry more so that they can help to
support
the vote even where we don't agree
their strength in our numbers to say
well listen
this is the vote that was given and we
will support it because this is what is
constitutionally correct
so i think that's a key point it's not
just about powerful individuals but an
empowered citizenry who can assist to
defend their votes collectively thank
you doc
thank you very much
i think now i'll see no more hands i
i'll go back to
zamchi
to
for his last words
but in particular
to to answer to some of the issues he
raised
which the discussion has provoked
in particular the comparison between
zimbabwe
and zambia
it's really the men of the speakers here
have uh
have
reacted to your
to your comparisons that you made you
gave a beautiful
outlay of
the the continental situation
but perhaps in your last words you could
highlight
the comparison between zambia and
zimbabwe
professor zamcha
no uh uh thank you very much uh
chairperson i think uh
uh those have been very useful uh

discussions so perhaps before
we try to talk about the comparative
politics
i really uh
hear people elaborating about
the need to vote and to defend
the vote i think from lesson number four
where i said the lesson from zambia is
that uh
you know elections rigging as a ceiling
i tried to emphasize those those points
and i also think that the issue of
institutions is very important the
moment you have some people who are
bigger than institutions who are not
accountable
that automatically means that you have
weak institutions and you need to reform
those
those institutions so if we look at uh
zimbabwe and zambia i think that uh
it's uh
difficult uh
to compare if we look at the
the democratic culture in these two
countries how they have progressed
uh since uh the end of uh british
colonial ruling in in both countries
so the democratic political culture in
zambia
it's actually an added advantage you
know that uh
zambia has experienced
you know the change in political leaders
over time
numerous times over time there was a
president karuna
then we had chiloba
then after chuluba there was manawasa
then there was banda
i think after
panda
uh there was the michael satter then
after michael sutter

you had guys got stepping in
temporarily after that you had ed galumu
and after ed galoon
you had
you now have
hh the new president
and i think that uh that culture is very
very important and
zimbabwe should also start building on
that
on that culture and make sure that uh
you know leaders come and go leaders
cannot be there
forever
even political parties that's when they
begin to
try and uh you know grow bigger than
institutions
so that's one the issue of uh political
culture
then the second aspect i try to make
reference to it is the the
militarization
of
the state and society in zimbabwe
if you compare with zambia there's quite
a huge vast difference
so i see
the excitement on social media streets
and so forth that
zambia can happen in zimbabwe can it
happen the answer is yes
if the citizen will take charge
but before that
i don't think this change in zambia
should actually result
in progressive forces in zimbabwe
setting aside certain propositions that
they had about curing the military coup
in zimbabwe because most of these things
will work
once you cure the military coup
as long as you still have a military
state

uh it's it's going to be it's going to
be to be difficult
and
yeah having having said that
we can
debate about the native greece what
exactly was done in zambia in terms of
the practicalities
but also the statue of the political
parties is also something that needs to
be considered i think the opposition
in zambia was actually more organized
and
the leadership there
was really
up to it
and
you know opposition political parties in
zimbabwe they still need that to learn a
lot that they still need
to be united and also to be to be
actually
you know much stronger
than what
they are at
at the moment
but
i wouldn't want to
go back into my
presentation but i think i've tried to
give those two six overall lessons which
i think also
uh apply to
uh to choosing obviously but we must
think of a moment
a transitional moment what would trigger
a transitional moment
first and for foremost from this
military
rule is it going to be mediation and
international conference a transition of
authority of some sort zimbabwe should
never lose sight of that
because as i was saying because when the

military uh so went uh
the transition but that shouldn't take
away the citizens
his agents
let me just uh
conclude by saying that uh
uh president hh of zambia
uh combined on the philosophy
of change
and on the philosophy of democratization
a few months ago
we also had the president lazarus chakra
from malawi who combined on the
philosophy of change and on the
philosophy of democratization
and
i just received the news that he is now
the sadder chairperson the incoming so
the chairperson until
august 2022
and
i think my last appeal to president hh
is that
he must carry that uh
philosophy
to the sardar species i know how
difficult it is and how sadaq operates
but i think it's important
to be able to go and add his voice in
this other spaces
so far uh president chakra has been
disappointingly uh quiet given the state
of of of democracy in the region that is
in the intensive care unit
on that note thank you convener
thanks thanks uh professor zamchi
this is a fantastic contribution by you
as usual
we thank you
my move now to uh
my next speaker is uh
spazzinia you stole the shipping sorry
chipenzie
your last words please

if you're still there
mcdonald's i'm still here
i'm here i'm here
yeah just step up a minute or two please
just sum up
thank you so much um i think my last
word is um
for the legion to to learn something uh
from what has happened to zambia and how
to all directions in the covet
and the challenges of that uh and
further we hope that
the new president
will be
a shining example
of how to defend freedoms
rights of citizens in the region
and try to talk to his colleagues
privately and publicly
to denounce the violation of human
rights since he has gone through
uh the same path where he was subjected
oppressed suppressed
uh because of his uh right to associate
right to express and right movement so i
hope that he's going to
be more practical and be able to uh to
stand and defend the rights of citizens
in the region thank you
all
your last words of wisdom
uh thank you
as i said
as i said earlier
i think this transition
is more
similar to 1991 than
to 2011.
there is a sense of a
a new broom
and also a new beginning
however
if the new president is going to lecture
to his colleagues in sadiq uh

komesa au
like president chiluba did
then you come to the same end which is
to be isolated
and and weakened
also
the new broom doesn't sweep
cleaner it
might not even sweep because
uh there is a what we might call
corruption from below
and this involves
the crossing of the the floor
so that
losing parties
somehow and end up being represented in
the new system you know in the new
administration rather
and i remember a story about president
chiloba that
after his first meeting with the
secretary to the cabinet which ended in
the wee hours of the morning
when they left the office there was a
long queue of people waiting
to see the new president
and to be included in the cabinet and
the diplomatic core and so on and so
forth
so this happens
all the time
and even if one enters office
with a good heart
as was mentioned
they really need to be very strong and
to start losing some of their friends
in order
to
stick to their original program
and the
begging for jobs is relentless when
michael santa became president before he
moved to state house he was in his own
house in

rhodes park he is named after the man
and
every sunday people were going to send
ignatius changed where he
worshipped from again queuing up after
the service and
petitioning
there's also the corruption of
the average citizen
who also does their own
tax their own tax evasion
sometimes degenerating into lawlessness
of all kinds like just disrespecting
traffic regulations
driving cars without number plates and
as has already been mentioned the
the cadders the panty carters
who are some of the culprits just render
it impossible for the police to act
so
more than the army i think the police
has
been
destabilized they have lost their
self-confidence
and they are
always looking over their shoulders
should i act
or should i not even when they act they
might receive a telephone call
from
some official
or some officials relative
uh which reverses their activity
institutions like the anti-corruption
commission we can't even talk about
they don't act
so the army is protected from that kind
of
destabilization and
de-professionalization
and talking about the
militaries in the two countries
uh from the little contact i've had with

them training
um in peacekeeping at the staff colleges
they are very similar
they think alike as professionals and
indeed they do train together but the
difference is
the zimbabwean
army or the zimbabwean military
has zapped zanu-pf as its political wing
or
to put it differently
the army
the army
is the military wing of zanu-pf
and none of the political parties have a
military wing although
there has been a move towards
arming their so-called party cada so we
we have been on on dangerous ground and
finally on defending the
defending the vote if the vote is a 50
50 affair as we had in 2015 and 2015 and
2016
it's very difficult to
prevail
because you are evenly matched and what
you have is a dangerous polarization
which is the reason why our commission
of inquiry was set up but when you have
a clean sweep like uh has happened now
it's much easier to
even for the losers to acknowledge that
well we've been given quite a hiding
and we won't be able to
mobilize the support
to prevail
over the
the
the opposition
so if you have a
a 50 50 divide with a very narrow margin
in our first
past the post system
it's the incumbent was an advantage

okay i think our end day
oh and that's fantastic thanks very much
thank you
we moved to our last our first but last
speaker now
and i want to
also acknowledge his role
in organizing this panel
it was largely his work
for which were most most grateful
and
is
so
leo your last words
thank you very much
i would like to um thank
you for
that very
insightful presentation and the points
that were raised which are very very
relevant to the zambian context
let me talk about the defending of the
board
i was one of the monitors and they
worked with the
gears initiative who had
a network
across all constituencies of the country
i think it's important when people have
a perception
that the election may be stolen because
the 2016 election
was not only free and not fair not fair
but also it was clearly it clearly
smelled of manipulation
but the result was even the even the
contestational result he would not
actually reach fruition because the
constitutional court was weaponized so
it was not possible even for those
losers to actually go there so this time
around um the the electorate especially
the young ones
felt that they had to defend the board

and i think the opposition made it a point that where they are absent but last time they took it for granted but there was this content and people worked for them and so forth but they didn't take they didn't make take steps to ensure that they had people on the ground sufficient people on the ground to prevent manipulation so this time around that is what happened and i think uh someone mentioned there was a big investment in ensuring that there was a presence of party agents across the country so all the claims that were made for example by uh by by eddie that the election fair you know they just be dismissed because if it was then if anything it was actually his party which created conditions for unfairness and fairness of the election so people made sure that actually uh that was not going to happen so i think that is really important and i am grateful to that that comment um let me also touch on the point um about the comparison between zambia and zimbabwe we have always been praised as zambia that we have a very good democratic system yes our institutions may be maybe strong but they are politicized do they think that even the corrupt anti-corruption commission cannot function because when we have a situation where ministers named in corruption scandals can hold their jobs they can actually move from their offices to go and appear in court they know there's a

problem when the president can't fire people who are named in corruption scandals then there's a problem so if there's anything that the uh president incoming president can do is to be resolved to be to ensure that if someone is named guinness condo as he was mentioning the other day yesterday that he would let the institutions be professional if there is able to give them a free hand to do their job professional it will be possible to attack uh to to tackle corruption to be possible uh because then the law of the state can take its course of course there are people who are debating whether or not uh the incumbent should be prosecuted and so forth and of course he he kept clear of that but what he mentioned was that he will show that institutions do their job but normally what will happen and i'd like to agree with otherwise is that uh if he appoints his friends if he appoints the people that he has been with all along he will be weakened because he'll be unable to discipline them so if this is a time where some of these people we know something about them so he has to be sure that he actually gets people who are independent who are professional and who he can actually dispense with without any imperfections that is i think the challenge but he also faces a nice challenge which is that you know he has these people who worked with him in the alliance

and and he has to give them jobs so
there will be a problem no this queueing
for jobs is not only european d people
but there are also these so-called
alliance partners they also want to be
given a job in the end it will
dilute

you know what he wants to do because you
find himself with baggage as most of
these people

all want jobs and nothing else and them
are the ones who may not actually have
the uh the vision of european d because
they come from different parties you
know i really don't know how you deal
with it how you do with mutation
and these other people you know because
they'll be competing for positions with
upnd people who have been around in the
european the beginning of time so really
those are the things which we can
leaders those are things which make it
difficult for them to be professional to
follow their

what they really want to do let me stop
there and simply conclude by saying we
hope that uh

incoming president

will actually follow through

uh you know what he used to do when he
was a manager that he will look for
caliber of people who were able to
deliver that you are professional and
this thing called tribalism is not going
to be there no they have considerations
because already it has been shown that
actually it is it's not there because
the people were voting for him are from
across the country and i hope that he
promised that his first cabinet will
reflect zambia i hope he actually
is able to implement that thank you very
much

thanks thanks neo thanks very much for

that summary
more message to the new president
than to
to the then to the to the discussion
here
that note i think uh as i said earlier
in the in the beginning of this program
we have witnessed transitions in zambia
and i remember the mmd one in particular
and i want to say to ourselves those who
intellectuals academicians were being
involved in the state
well one of the first
in our group
at independence
uh one of the most important things is
that we do not as academicians we don't
become sucked into the pathologies of
the state
and i know some of us
in zambia some of our group may end up
in cabinet
as advisors as
functionaries as technocrats
please keep the flag high
the principles
which are so central to
into intellectual life
to academia owen
is to keep our souls
alive
and the principles for which we have
been fighting
as academicians but also as activists
so we bring to bear
on the state
the importance of the reform of the
state
secondly is just to acknowledge
the
very important discussion we have today
and the beautiful summary that uh
branson share has provided us the six
lessons

they need to break
with the past
to procedural certainties
with
outcomes which are uncertain
strong institutions against a strong man
the personal element and this is very
important for us in zimbabwe
the extent to which we can
mobilize regional and international
support towards some kind of
international courses about it i don't
think that it's possible
to the kind of election process that we
have seen in zambia we're just less than
24 months away from elections
and it's difficult to imagine that we
will go through the same process
not to mention that our militarized
political system
we have drawn some lessons
of a negative kind
of how to counter what happened in
zambia so we
if there are elections in 2023
they are likely to be very acrimonious
and one would argue that maybe
she's still talking about some kind of
mediation towards
a kind of some
transition authority
because the elections won't help and
it's too late
we don't have the kind of opposition
movement
is organized as that we saw in zambia
which can defend
his fault
which can set up as we saw
polling agents across the country
every polling station
and polling agents
which can invest in a parallel voting
tabulation system

and we've seen that since 2008
the opposition movement has failed to do
even the revenue in that regard and
yes i agree with uh zamchira
election rigging has a limit
but in a highly militarized situation as
we saw in 2018
even the best
of efforts
with a fantastic turnout in 2018.
in 2013 as well
in 2008
these
efforts were cynically dismissed
by a militarized
yes we have a
youth
but remember
in zimbabwe
it's a disorganized youth
system
unlike zambia which was able to mobilize
its use ours is very fragmented
it is very divided
and above all we have 75 of our
professional and skilled people outside
the country
yes
the major challenge is transformative
policies
these remain the challenge
and indeed as we have heard from
everyone here
is the major challenge facing
the new government in zambia
just how
to answer the
burning questions about which
the election
was fought
and on the base of which
the outgoing government lost
and i'm no doubt that when we meet again
five years hence the same issues should

be raised
we really hope that our
colleagues in zambia
will have learned from
the past learn from also from the
failures in the neighboring countries
and learn to
get
citizens as zamasu said to reclaim
the
the platform
for change they're very serious
challenges ahead of us
and lastly just to
thank our
zambian colleagues
and
and to
to
load the fact that we are reuniting has
surpassed
34 years
since our deception and to meet
persons who have been part and parcel of
the long journey same time himself and
owen's journey
it's been fantastic
thank you and thank you again
uh neo samsung tanya for putting this
together
thank you thank you thank you and and
good night
thank you ciao
thank you
holy birthday
us
you