



ZAMBIA CENTRE FOR INTERPARTY DIALOGUE



Participants pose for a photo during the First National Democracy Stakeholders summit at Government Complex in Lusaka

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY STAKEHOLDERS SUMMIT

**1ST NATIONAL DEMOCRACY STAKEHOLDERS SUMMIT (NDSS)
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
30th – 31st MARCH, 2016**

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FOR: ZAMBIA CENTRE FOR INTERPARTY DIALOGUE**

FOREWORD



On behalf of all the ZCID members and the Board of ZCID, I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank each and every person, institution and organizations that contributed to the successful preparation and implementation of the first National Democracy Stakeholders' Summit that was held from 30th to 31st March 2016 at the New Government Complex in Lusaka, Zambia.

The various resources, financial, human, technical and moral support provided by all of you enabled ZCID to pursue this novel Initiative with great confidence. In particular, ZCID would like to express gratitude to the Friedrich Herbet Stiftung (FES) and the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) for the financial and moral support and the Members of the NDSS Working Group, namely the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL), Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR), Transparency International Zambia (TIZ), Platform for Social Protection (PSP), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) and the Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) for the valuable advisory guidance provided to ZCID.

As ZCID, we strongly believe that continuous dialogue among political actors as well as between political and non-political actors on both governance and development concerns is a vital strategy in sustaining democratic behavior in society. Such partnerships are not only helpful in creating mutual relations among different development actors, but perhaps more importantly, provide a genuine opportunity for multi-sectoral co-operation focused on contributing to the imperative of national building for promotion of national development

ZCID intends to continue playing its humble role of facilitating national dialogue on democracy and nation building on an annual basis with the aim of transforming this event into an event that would be recognized as an Official National Event by the national leadership. For this reason, ZCID readily welcomes all ideas and suggestions from all stakeholders that will contribute to the enrichment of both the process and content of the Initiative.

Once again, we, at ZCID, are looking forward to another exciting Summit in the 2016 and we hope that we will be still working together towards this Event!

Thank you!

Mr. Horrance Chilando
Lusaka, April 2016

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1.0 BACKGROUND

The First National Democracy Stakeholders Summit was held from 30th to 31st March at the New Government Complex in Lusaka, Zambia. The summit was attended by representatives from political parties, civil society, academia and Media Organizations (see Annex I).

1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE SUMMIT

In presenting the background of the Summit, ZCID Executive Director, Horrance Chilando implored stakeholders not to be reactive when solving political problems. He stated that political parties especially play a critical role in solving the question of development as institutions that are involved in competing for power and authority to lead, direct and manage the country's affairs. He also stated that development is one if not the most central national affair.

The Executive Director further revealed that a review of political activity demonstrates that there is an existing gap between the political discourse and development in Zambia. He stated that because of this gap, the theme of the summit aims at highlighting two major observations: first, that it is time to make a connection between the political discourse and development; and second, that making this connection demands the participation of all development stakeholders.

In presenting the summit objectives, the Executive Director said that the objectives of the summit were threefold:

- To facilitate inter-sectoral dialogue on politics and development in Zambia;
- To solicit for creative, innovative and constructive ideas on strengthening the link between politics and development;
- To initiate the transformation of the NDSS into an annual public event

He further stated that the summit shall serve as a platform in which Zambians meet to discuss issues affecting the country.

1.2 EXPECTED OUTCOMES OF THE SUMMIT

The Summit Coordinator, Dr. Charity Musamba presented the anticipated outcomes of the summit. She stated that the anticipated outcomes of the summit were threefold:

- To build general consensus on the links between politics and development in Zambia;

- To find creative and innovative ways and strategies of connecting development and politics; and (iii) to sanction NDSS as a national annual event

She stressed that the anticipated summit outcomes were extremely relevant to politics and development in Zambia in the following ways;

The outcomes will give the democratic dispensation a developmental purpose and meaning.

The outcomes will ensure that poor Zambians benefit from the democratic process, and transform political parties into development-oriented institutions.

The summit outcomes would help in building national unity for the purpose of sustainable development in the country as well as promote collective responsibility in creating development-oriented political discourse.

PART I: INTRODUCTORY SESSION

1.1 OFFICIAL WELCOME REMARKS

The summit was opened at 09.00hrs by Captain Walusiku Walusiku Liambela, the Board Chairperson of the Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue (hereinafter referred to as ZCID). Captain Liambela started her opening address by extending to participants a warm welcome to the First National Democracy Stakeholders Summit on behalf of ZCID and political parties.

In her address, Captain Liambela noted that the theme of the Summit resonated well with ZCID mission on deepening and consolidating democratic governance in Zambia by strengthening institutional and human capacity of political parties as pillars of a vibrant multiparty democracy. He reiterated that the ZCID was born out of the desire for political actors to co-exist and help in nation-building. To this end she recognised the role that political parties play in enhancing democratic governance.

Captain Liambela commended the Heads of political parties for making a commitment to end politically-motivated violence at a meeting held on 29th March 2016. She extended commendation to political parties that sent representatives to the First National Democracy Stakeholders Summit to start a programme on development with the mandate of curving a niche on economic dimensions of political competition cognisant of the economic and development challenges propagated largely by economic interests.

She expressed hope that the Summit will be an opportunity for greater collaboration between ZCID, political parties, other CSOs and the academia in efforts aimed at addressing political problems in Zambia. Noting the plural and dynamic nature of politics

in Zambia, Captain Liambela emphasised the need for a multiplicity of actors to adequately address development challenges. Specifically, she said that political actors need to complement their strengths and competencies with other CSOs and went on to elaborate some of the distinctive competencies of civil society and the private sector as stakeholders in the search for the politics of development.

Captain Liambela however recognised the emerging culture of intolerance among political actors. She cautioned stakeholders and encouraged them to refrain from activities that work towards undermining democracy. She emphasized, that political parties should put efforts at advancing economic goals, and warned them against involvement in illicit practices that have the effect of undermining development. To the media, she reminded them of the dangers of perceived insecurity, which has mostly been perpetrated by media and encouraged them to focus on responsible reporting that effectively mitigates politically-motivated violence in the country.

She commended ZCID for bringing together participants from CSO, media and the academia for a formal engagement. Captain Liambela noted that comprehensive dialogue on political problems require a multiplicity of approaches and actors and that such organizations have a key role to play in promoting development-oriented political discourse. She stated that civil society is key in nation-building especially at grass root level, with the private sector as an agent of alleviating poverty.

Captain Liambela encouraged participants to appreciate that ZCID has opened up the opportunity for involvement in political dialogue and requested them to view it as an opportunity for lobbying and advocating for implementation of policies that will be meaningful to the people at the grassroots level. She also reminded the Summit of the importance of consultations especially for purposes of building on the new found relationship and to desist from the “them against us” mentality by taking initiative to dialogue with political actors on a regular basis.

She lauded ZCID for organising the Summit based on the theme putting development at the centre of politics. She thanked the Executive Director for efforts made in establishing the programme that have further promoted the democracy and development agendas. She thanked cooperating partners, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (hereinafter referred to as NIMD) for the development and subsequent adoption of a formal mechanism to involve political actors in the search for development oriented political discourse. She termed this as a strategic move that will ensure ownership and commitment by the stakeholders. She also thanked the sponsors, the Frederick Ebert Foundation and the Government of the Republic of Zambia for the support that made this undertaking a reality. Captain Liambela ended her remarks by wishing the participants fruitful

deliberations and expressed hope that the Summit will provide practical and efficient ways in which ZCID and stakeholders can be involved in putting development at the centre of politics.

2.2 REMARKS BY COOPERATING PARTNERS

Dr. Augustine Magolowondo, a representative from NIMD informed the participants that the history of NIMD in Zambia is not complete without mentioning ZCID. He started his address by extending gratitude to the Representatives from the Central Government, Members of Parliaments (MPs) present and summit participants for taking time out of their busy schedule to attend such an equally very important summit. He thanked ZCID for agreeing to host the summit and praised the country as having lived up to its democratic tenets by successfully managing the 2015 elections. He congratulated the president, the government and the people of Zambia for promulgating a new constitution that ushered in a new political dispensation terming it a great milestone in the democratic history of the nation. He further praised political parties in Zambia for playing an active role in the enhancement of democracy an experience that the rest of the region needs to learn from.

Dr. Magolowondo explained that NIMD is ready to work together with ZCID on similar events in the future. He went on to show how civil society and private sector became an important component of the NIMD and explained that the complexity of development challenges in Zambia and called for a wide range of stakeholders and approaches to address them. He started that the summit is taking place at a prime time when the country will be holding elections on August 11, 2016.

He ended his remarks by appreciating the role of political parties and other stakeholders in promoting democratic governance, recognising their efforts in positive awareness on war economies, and their ability to influence policy makers to adopt new laws and expressed the desire that their efforts will also result into legislations that would deter politically-motivated violence and promote democracy and development in Zambia.

2.0 PART II: PRESENTATIONS AND PLENARY

2.1 PRESENTATION 1: MULTIPARTISM AND NATION-BUILDING IN ZAMBIA

Mr. Rueben Lifuka, the former Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) president presented the status of Multipartism and Nation-Building in Zambia referring to the benefits, challenges and prospects for the future. He took the delegates through the post

1991 democratisation wave highlighting key constitutional changes and decisions on specific issues during early 1990s that included the need to re-introduce multiparty democracy because of the lack of development under the previous one-party participatory democracy.

He informed the delegates that multipartism is embedded in the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia (Cap 1 of the Laws of Zambia, 2016) and various other pieces of legislation. However, Mr Lifuka stressed the need to understand that multipartism is not synonymous with democracy or democratic government. He stated that while multiparty democracy has been the hallmark of the post 1990 democratisation wave around the world, it just a component of democracy as a political system.

Mr Lifuka informed the delegates that there were many development and political challenges which made Zambians to demand for the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in 1991. He cited some of those challenges as limited freedoms and limited feeling of national identity, poor living standards, and abuse of human rights, weak judiciary and unresponsive government, among others.

He stated that in 1991 stakeholders were sure that multiparty democracy was necessary for the furtherance of liberal democracy in Zambia. He emphasised that liberal democracy as a political system has many attributes such as substantial individual freedoms, increased public participation, genuine and equal competition for political power, legal equality of all citizens under a rule of law, an independent judiciary, institutional checks and balances by the legislature, real pluralism in sources of information, civil-military relations.

He therefore argued that the return to multiparty democracy was going to increase pluralism and promote democracy in Zambia. While referring to the need for the return to plural politics, Mr Lifuka highlighted some of the expectations of multiparty democracy. He stated that multiparty democracy was going to lead to economic and political liberalisation, enhance basic civil and political liberties of Zambians.

When presenting some of the achievements of plural politics, the former TIZ president stated that liberal democracy has led to an increase in the number of political parties and that 21 political parties have participated in six presidential elections since 1991. He also stated that there has been an increase in the number of media houses, both electronic and print. He also stated that there has been an increase in levels of political freedoms as well as increase in the number of CSOs. He also mentioned that liberal democracy has led to increased accountability such as through regular audits of government agencies by the Auditor General's Office.

However, Mr Lifuka was sceptical about whether multipartism has facilitated nation-building. He argued that multipartism has led to more political polarisation, fragmentation, weak institutional capacity in some political parties. He also stated that the high cost of politics under the multiparty system, has by and large, not facilitated nation-building in Zambia. He cited the existence of the Public Order Act (Cap 116 of the Laws of Zambia), hate speech among politicians, abuse of human rights and abuse of the public media by the parties that form government.

When referring to prospects for the future of multiparty democracy, Mr Lifuka stated that multiparty politics should just be about political parties competing for political power, but about addressing people's development needs in society. However, in order to achieve this, Mr Lifuka stressed that there is need to guarantee more political space to political stakeholders. He stated that consolidating multiparty democracy is likely to be a very difficult task because poverty and illiteracy levels are still high.

2.2 PLENARY 1: GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The delegates expressed appreciation for the information about multipartism and nation-building in Zambia as presented by Mr Lifuka. After some clarifications, questions and answers the delegates to the summit noted the following:

That there is need to link political competition among political parties to development. Delegates expressed concern that politicians are the real contributors to the problem of the lack of development discourse when campaigning for political office.

That since poverty levels have remained high, it would be prudent to revisit the political system so that it is realigned with the development needs of the country.

The delegates stated that in the current political system, service has been misconstrued to mean service to oneself, stressing that political leadership at any level should be about serving the people.

That the multiparty system has not facilitated a common national identity among Zambians. The delegates expressed concern that many Zambians are not rooted in their cultural upbringing and that it is the role of political leaders and political parties to define Zambia's national identity when campaigning for political office.

That politically-motivated violence is a great concern especially in the pre-elections period where violence is noted way before the Election Day.

That development is an important factor in nation-building and NDSS and ZCID should integrate this within its programme so as to contribute to free, peaceful and fair elections. The need to involve stakeholders in observer was identified for them to share their experience and contribute to peaceful elections.

Delegates called on stakeholders to invest in youth and women involvement in political decision-making if development is to be realised.

2.3 PLENARY II: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The plenary session of the NDSS summit was chaired by Fr Leonard Chiti, the Executive Director of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (hereinafter referred to as JCTR). During this session, the delegates attempted to address the key questions of the summit based on the following broad areas

- a) The Constitution and Constitutionalism;
- b) The electoral process and electoral violence; and
- c) Women and youth participation in the political process.

With regard to the Constitution and Constitutionalism, the delegates expressed concern that the rule of law cannot be possible in a society where access to the public media is limited to certain political parties and only government functionaries and governing parties enjoy free access to the public media.

The delegates also expressed discontent over the Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia (Cap 1 of the Laws of Zambia 2016), which requires a Grade 12 Certificate for one to aspire for political office. The delegates argued that the constitution should not promote divisions among Zambians stating that every Zambian should be free to aspire for political office irrespective of academic qualifications. The delegates welcomed the move to take the article to the Constitutional Court for interpretation.

The delegates also expressed disappointment that most progressive clauses in the draft constitution were left out, such as Proportional Representation (hereinafter referred to as the PR system), Provincial Assemblies. The Delegates stated that the Provincial Assemblies would have helped in devolution of government functions. They added that it was going to be progressive for the Parliament to adopt the whole draft constitution and not just piece-meal amendments and that only the Bill of Rights should have been taken to the National Referendum.

Regarding the matter of electoral violence, the delegates urged the Electoral Commission of Zambia hereinafter referred to as ECZ) to help in educating political parties on the

dangers of electoral violence. The delegates stated that in the past, ECZ has failed to combat electoral violence. The delegates also said that media bias in favour of the political party that forms government contributes to increased electoral violence.

They also urged ECZ to partner with other electoral stakeholders such as the Zambia Police Service and political parties in order to prosecute perpetrators of electoral violence. To end electoral violence, the delegates proposed the repealing of the Electoral Act No 18 of 2006 and the Electoral Code of Conduct in order to address some problems of public media bias in favour of the political parties that form government during election campaigns.

The delegates also stated that it is wrong for political parties to use public resources during electoral campaigns. They argued that the use of public resources, such as motor vehicles and other government capabilities usually disadvantages other political parties that may not be connected to the regime. The delegates further stated that it is such maneuvers which cause other political parties to engage in other unconventional means to fund their electoral campaigns.

With regard to the question of women and youth participation, the delegates stressed that it is important to increase women and youth participation in the political process. They stated that, increasing women participation requires educating women and girls in society so that the quality of political discourse among women can also be improved. The delegates also stated that political parties have a very special role to play by adopting women and youths to stand on their party tickets during elections. However, delegates cautioned youths and women not to just cry for positions but compete like everyone else.

The delegates also stated that it will be more difficult for women and youths to participate in the political process because more political barriers have been erected, such as a Grade 12 Certificate requirement in the amended Constitution. The delegates argued that the Grade 12 Certificate requirement will affect women participation because the levels of education among women and girls are very low in Zambia. The delegates also stated that the percentage of women seats during elections should have been stated in the amended Constitution in order to increase women representation.



Participants during the NDSS summit

3.0 PRESENTATION 2: MANAGING POLITICAL PARTIES FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

The question of managing political parties for development was presented by Dr. Alex Mwamba Ng'oma, a political science lecturer in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Zambia. Dr. Ng'oma stated that it is important to focus on political party management in order to realign their functions towards development discourse.

Dr. Ng'oma stated that in order to manage political parties for development, it is important to understand the terms development, political parties and democracy. He defined development as a process characterised by remarkable transformation in the environment, such as increase in the number of schools, hospitals and technological innovations and the improvement in the quality of life among the general citizenry.

He also stated that, the term “development” is often defined either as a process of improvement with respect to a given set of values, or as a comparative state of being with

respect to such values. However, Dr Ng'oma stated that when the citizens of a given country say they want development, they are actually very categorical.

They mean that they want to see a remarkable transformation of their environment, so that their natural surroundings assume a modern outlook, not only in the urban areas but country-wide;

They want to see many well-equipped, well-staffed and easily accessible hospitals and clinics everywhere in the country, so that they are able to get proper medical attention as, and when they need it, and are thus able to live long and happy lives;

They want to see many well-equipped, well-staffed and easily accessible schools, colleges and universities, so that they can be educated and, thereby, be able to develop their potential to the fullest;

They want to live in a booming and stable economy, one which is driven by technology and innovation, one which creates sufficient well-paying jobs for all who need them, one which has sufficient housing units for all the citizens, one in which people are able to eat three meals a day, one in which all the citizens are connected to the national electricity grid, one which has a reliable road network, one which is not import-dependent and one which is held in high esteem in the family of nations, and so on. Dr. Ng'oma further stated that a country that has more of the things mentioned is said to be more developed than another country which has less of them.

Secondly, Dr. Ng'oma stated that Zambia's political system is democracy. He stated that the term democracy has many different meanings and applications, especially when analyzed in the lecture theatres of colleges and universities. In this presentation, Dr. Ng'oma used it its liberal sense, to refer to a political system, or a form of government, which satisfies the following three criteria as a minimum:

Meaningful and extensive competition for political power, (among individuals and political parties, at regular intervals, and excluding the use of force and violence)

A highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and the making of policies, (through regular, free and fair elections, such that no major adult social group is excluded); and,

A high level of respect for civil and political liberties, (such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations), and so on.

Thirdly, Dr Ng'oma defined the term political party broadly to refer to a registered organization of adult citizens – both male and female - who share common beliefs and ideas about how political power should be acquired, how it should be retained, how it should be consolidated, and, above all, how it should be used to control the State and its governing machinery. He stated that the first and foremost aim of a political party is to prevail over its competitors, in order to get into power, or to stay in it (if it is the party-in-government).

With regard to the role or functions of political parties, Dr. Ng'oma stated that in liberal democracies such as Zambia, political parties perform, or are expected to perform, four interrelated roles or functions as follows:

Interest articulation. He stated that political parties are intended to serve as platforms on which like-minded people come together and consolidate their thoughts and ideas about how the affairs of their country should be organized and run. He also stated that political parties also constitute a voice through which people, especially in the opposition, can engage the government and demand that their position on national issues be considered as well. He argued that the actions coming from political parties actually serve as the fuel that keeps both the parties and the political system running smoothly.

Interest Aggregation. Dr. Ng'oma stressed that political parties are intended to serve as platforms on which to reconcile the conflicting views and interests of their members. He stated that should political parties forge peace, unity, and stability among their members. He also stated that through the same process, political parties ensure that the views and interests of their members from far and near are considered when it comes to policy-making. Dr. Ng'oma stated that political parties can be regarded as common denominators or simply safety valves that simplify and stabilize the political processes in a given country.

Political Socialization. Dr. Ng'oma stated that political parties are intended to serve as platforms for educating and instructing their members. He stated that political parties develop alternative sets of policies and programs and sell them to members of the general public. He also stated that political parties use the media, mass rallies and other forms of mass mobilization to inform and energize the public.

Political Recruitment: He mentioned that political parties serve as platforms for participation in public affairs. As such, Dr Ng'oma stressed that political parties should always keep their doors open and recruit members on an ongoing basis. He also mentioned that political parties do not only grow in strength but also increase their chances of winning the next election.

With regard to the assessment of how political parties in Zambia have performed their roles in promoting democracy, Dr. Ng'oma stated that political parties have been characterised by lack of intraparty democracy. He stated that most of our political parties are unstable, and can thus not contribute meaningfully to development because they lack intra-party democracy. He stated that intra-party democracy refers to democracy within the party.

Dr Ng'oma stated that there must be extensive political competition for all positions in the party. He wondered why the party presidency appear to be reserved positions in some of our political parties. He also wondered why people are expelled from the party, or harassed by sponsored cadres when they express interest in the presidency of the party. He stated that this type of political behavior is undemocratic and must, thus, be stopped. He also stated that parties must take a leaf from what is happening in the United States of America, which is one of the mature democracies of the world in which anyone who wants to become the party's presidential candidate is free to step forward and offer his or her candidature. He mentioned that no cartels are formed to either support some candidates or to block others.

He also stressed that it is, thus, necessary that political parties find ways of inculcating democratic values and democratic behavior in their members. He also stated that political parties should often hold training workshops to teach their members the tenets of democracy. Dr. Ng'oma further stated that political parties should also consider sponsoring, especially their young men and women to colleges and universities, to obtain certificates, diplomas, Bachelors' Degrees, Masters' Degrees, and PhDs. They should look for scholarships for them as well.

Dr. Ng'oma also mentioned lack of respect for party constitutions. He stated that some political parties in Zambia have a serious problem adhering to the specifications in their constitutions. He said some political parties fail to hold meetings as scheduled; they fail to hold conventions as stipulated; and they fail to hold elections as scheduled. And when it suits them, the leaders have a tendency to manipulate party rules and regulations. He stated that such political parties cannot contribute meaningfully to development.

He also bemoaned the politics of insults. Dr. Ng'oma stated that politics is about how to organize national issues. Members of the ruling party and their opposition counterparts must never lose sight of this undeniable truth. He stated that political parties must never resort to name-calling, character assassination, and so own. He stressed that when the government of the day appears to falter in doing what it is expected to do, those in the opposition must prove that they are alternative governments. He said that political parties

can prove this by proposing solutions to the country's challenges. (the economy, the currency, inflation, unemployment, corruption, etc.).

With regard to political violence, Dr. Ng'oma stated that in a democracy, violence is reserved only for the men and women in uniform, in their engagement with the enemies of the people, and under the direction of their Commander in Chief. He expressed concern that political violence is being tolerated and encouraged by our political parties. He wondered what party leaders mean when they say that our stronghold is a "no go area for Party A or Party B.

Dr. Ng'oma also bemoaned intolerance for dissenting views arguing that democracy is not a spectator sport. As such, He stated that party leaders must understand the fact that their members joined them so that they could have a platform on which to participate in national affairs. He also stated that leaders must learn to allow their members to be free to express themselves one way or another. There are way too many expulsions in our parties arising from the expression of dissenting or unpopular views.

He also mentioned ill-formed party structures arguing that some of political parties in Zambia do not have a national outlook. He stated that some political parties do not have structures country-wide. He said that because of this political parties fail to disseminate their messages and instructions country-wide. He mentioned that political parties should take a leaf from the Catholic Church which has branches in every district. It uses its structure to communicate messages of goodwill. Workshops on Party Mobilization can equip members with skills.

With regard to women and youth participation, Dr. Ng'oma stated that affirmative action must be taken to support minorities: Women and the youth must be given more space for participation. He also stated that adoptions must be gender-sensitive; the youth must be groomed for their future roles.

He also mentioned the lack of ideological anchorage stating that most political parties are very similar in their ideologies. Dr. Ng'oma stated that this is why their members find it easy to gravitate from one political party to another. If the parties are ideologically distinct, if they can teach their ideologies to their members, it will be difficult for them to move from party to party.

Dr. Ng'oma mentioned weak financial bases of political parties. He said that this makes it difficult for political parties to participate meaningfully in the politics of our country generally. He said that to avoid a situation where only the parties with money win the elections, government funding of all the major political parties is desirable.

3.1 PLENARY: QUESTIONS, COMMENTS AND RESPONSES

After deliberations on plenary, three concerns arose from the general discussions; includes the following:

- Clarifications on issues of lack of Intraparty Democracy. The delegates agreed that there must be extensive political competition for all positions in the party.
- Clarifications on the lack of respect for party constitutions. Delegates agreed that political parties have a serious problem adhering to the specifications in their constitutions.
- Clarifications on politics of insults. Delegates stated that there is need to end political insults and hate speech among politicians.
- Clarifications on political violence. Delegates stated that violence should only be a reserve for the men and women in uniform, in their engagement with the enemies of the people, and under the direction of their Commander in Chief.

Delegates stated that party leaders must understand the fact that their members joined them so that they could have a platform on which to participate in national affairs.

With regard to Ill-formed Party Structures, delegates argued that all political parties must work hard to improve their party structures. Delegates also promised to increase political space for women and the youth.

Delegates stressed that most of political parties are very similar in their ideologies and thus no need to continue forming similar political parties.

With regard to weak financial base, delegates welcomed the idea of state sponsoring political parties that have representatives in the National Assembly as required by the amended constitution.



Participants during plenary on day 2

4.0 PRESENTATION 3: STRENGTHENING THE RULE OF LAW AND CONSTITUTIONALISM IN ZAMBIA

The presentation on strengthening the rule of law and constitutionalism in Zambia was done by Linda Kasonde, from the Law Association of Zambia (hereinafter referred to as LAZ). Ms Kasonde stated that the Constitution is a very important document in any country, which creates political institutions and sets limits on the organs of government.

She further stated that without a good constitution there can never be justice, peace or order in the country. Ms Kasonde stated that the Constitution is very important because it defines individual liberties and freedoms. She also stated that peace and order in the country can only be guaranteed with a good constitution.

Ms Kasonde started by outlining some principles of constitutionalism. She stated that under constitutionalism, state power should be exercised under a rule of law, use of political power by the laws agreed upon by the people, predictability in the conduct of state officials, and other auxiliary workers in the public service.

She stated that LAZ deplores state unwillingness to adhere to court orders, for example, the state was unwilling to adhere to a court order regarding President Rupiah Banda's passport. Ms Kasonde stated that it is such unwillingness to adhere to court orders which leads to disorder in society if the people charged with maintaining law and order are not willing to follow procedures.

Ms Kasonde further stated that LAZ deplores partisanship of law enforcement agencies, such as the Zambia Police, the Drug Enforcement Commission (hereinafter referred to as DEC), Anti-Corruption Commission (hereinafter referred to as ACC). She argued that law enforcement agencies must act professionally when dealing with anyone in society including opposition and governing political parties. She stated that the partisanship of law which leads to disorder.

She also stated that LAZ abhors unwillingness to punish perpetrators of politically-motivated violence. She stated the unwillingness to punish perpetrators of politically-motivated violence means that there is a breakdown in law and order in the country. Ms Kasonde said that there is need to punish those who engage in politically-motivated violence irrespective of the political party they belong to, adding that such measures would help reduce the occurrence of politically-motivated violence.

LAZ does not like harassment of journalists. She stated that the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia (Cap 1 of the Laws of Zambia 2016) sets the perimeters in which the people including journalists should be governed. She stated that journalists like any other professional should be respected. She argued that journalists play a very critical role in information dissemination. She stated that there can never be constitutionalism and democracy if journalists are targeted or harassed by political party cadres.

She added that LAZ promotes checks and balances as well as separation of power. Ms Kasonde said that checks and balances among the judiciary, the legislature and the executive were necessary. She argued that it is enhanced separation of powers which makes good governance possible. She stated that without effective separation of powers and checks and balances among the three organs of government, development cannot be realized.

4.1 PLENARY: QUESTIONS, DISCUSSIONS AND RESPONSES

Delegates appreciated the presentation and indicated that they will draw lessons from challenges and lessons learnt in strengthening the rule of law and constitutionalism in Zambia.

The delegates stated that breakdown in the rule of law leads to chaos in a country. They stated that there is need for rulers to ensure that everyone follows the rule law. They cited the seemingly biased approach when enforcing the PAO by the law enforcement agencies.

With regard to the issue of politically-motivated violence, the delegates argued that there is need to address political violence before it gets out of hand. They stated that the governing party must take responsibility by making sure that its officials do not interfere in law enforcement. They also stated that opposition political parties must also be responsible enough not send their supporters to engage in politically-motivated violence.

The delegates also stated that checks and balances must be promoted by all well-meaning citizens. They said that political party and other stakeholders should get involved in promoting judicial independence and accountability. They stated that CSOs must take a leaf from the happenings in other parts of the world where CSOs have taken governments to task over encroachments by some organs of government into others work space.

5.0 PRESENTATION 4: STRENGTHENING CITIZEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: EMPOWERING CIVIL SPACES

The presentation on strengthening citizen political participation was presented by Mr Patrick Nshindano, the Executive Director of the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (hereinafter referred to as CSPR).

With regard to the question of civic participation, Mr Nshindano stated that behaviour change, attitudes and beliefs determine people's need to actively participate in the political process. He stated that civic responsibility should be inculcated in citizens so that people participate fully in the political process.

He added that civic responsibility should be about addressing society's problems, showing respect for the rule of law, recognizing the difference between tradition and law, engaging in active political processes, recognizing the difference between right and responsibility.

Mr Nshindano also stated that civic responsibility involves embracing participatory democracy, questioning government, determining ways to alter public policies, exhibiting stewardship, recognizing the value of human dignity and developing a voice and make oneself heard by the government and those holding public office.

He also stated that civic responsibility is about valuing democracy. He stated that people must understand that democracy is about regular free and fair elections, respect for the rule of law and a fledging civil society.

Mr Nshindano defined civic participation as a condition in which every citizen engage in the public debate on issues affecting home. He stated that empowering civil spaces entails that civil society is magnified, there is an independent media, equal access to the media and political parties are formed without hindrance.

He also stated that civil society occupies a very important place in a democratic process. The civil society occupies the space between the state and the population. Mr Nshindano argued that where there is a weak civil society there is weak government to help in public service delivery. He also stated that civil society facilitate intergroup discussions and dialogue.

On promoting civil spaces, Mr Nshindano said that it requires leveraging existing capacity, establishing a legal and regulatory framework as a way of legitimizing the activities of civil society. He also stated that promoting civil spaces requires fostering ownership of national CSOs by promoting necessary support to boost activity, promoting inclusiveness and accountability of CSOs through regulatory oversight mechanisms.

With regard to an independent media, Mr Nshindano stated that an independent media serves the public by informing them on many sectors. He stated that without a functioning media, the people cannot effectively participate in the political process. He stated that a plural media should reflect the diversity of society and pride on credibility and accuracy. He also stated there is need to create media monitoring mechanisms by ensuring that media outlets are responsible.

Mr Nshindano argued that there need to encourage journalism training which promotes truthfulness, impartiality and public service. He stated that it is through such measures that the journalism profession will be respected in society and by the governing elites.

With regard to inclusiveness and participatory political parties, Mr Nshindano stated that political parties are essential for stable government. He also stated that political parties ensure political competition, stimulate progress debate. However, Mr Nshindano argued

that political parties must emphasise on issue-based politics devoid of name calling and insults. He also mentioned that political parties must pay attention to minority ethnic groups, women and youths as well as other marginalized groups in society.

5.1 PLENARY: QUESTIONS, DISCUSSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

Delegates enquired as to how they can be involved in programmes that promote inclusiveness of political parties.

The delegates further stated that an inclusive political process must carry everyone including the ethnic minorities and the persons with disabilities. The delegates argued that, although political parties in Zambia are not allowed to form political parties on ethnic grounds, minority ethnic groups and other minorities, such as freedom fighters should not be left out of the political process.

The delegates also stated that traditional policies should be included in the definition of civil spaces. They stated that traditional structures play a critical role in the political setup in Zambia. The delegates stated that it is therefore important to include these institutions in the definition and discourse of civil spaces.

Further, the delegates stated that political parties play a critical role in promoting women and youth participation. They stated that without political parties the position of youths and women in the political process cannot be realized.

6.0 PRESENTATION 5: YOUTH POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT AND POLITICAL PARTY MANAGEMENT

The presentation on youth political empowerment and political party management was presented by Mr Andrew Ntewewe, the president of the Young African Leaders Initiative (hereinafter referred to as YALI). He stated that youths occupy over 60 per cent of Zambia's population. He also mentioned that 50 per cent of Zambia's population is below the age of 15 years of age.

However, Mr Ntewewe argued that despite youths occupying the bulk of the Zambian population, young people have not taken up leadership positions in society. He stated that it is important for the older generation to give space for young people so that they too can share the responsibility of governing the country.

Mr Ntewewe further stated that YALI bemoaned the practice of using youths as instruments of political violence by political parties. He therefore urged political parties to

desist from using young people as tools of political violence. He said that political violence cannot be ended if political parties do not take responsibility by engaging youths in more positions of responsibility in political parties.

The YALI president wondered why there is lack of representation of youths in the National Assembly of Zambia. He stated that political parties must promote democracy through regular elections in which youths should have positions reserved for them. He wondered why political parties have not done so well in this respect.

Mr Ntewewe stated that Youth Wings for every political party registered in Zambia must inform their respective political parties on policies and strategies for bringing the youths in. He stated that young people can be utilized as ambassadors of change to sell the messages to the masses.

He also added that young people must play a very important role as think-tanks for political parties and help guide policies of the party. He stated that political parties must understand that elections have become more and more scientific, and that there is need to engage young people in the analysis and planning.

With regard to the incentives Mr Ntewewe stated that political parties must provide spaces for youths during elections. He charged that political parties must address the components of young women during elections.

On strategies, Mr Ntewewe stated that political parties must give leverage to youth wings. He charged that youth wings must be given free role to manage their youth wings in political parties. He argued that youths should be responsible whenever they are given responsibility to manage the youth wings in respective political parties.

6.1 PLENARY: QUESTIONS, DISCUSSIONS AND RESPONSES

The Delegates noted the following out of the presentation and their own experiences;

The public media in Zambia is not as neutral. The motivation is profit so the party that pays most seems to have more influence than the rest.

In addition, the delegates charged that in some situations there is an evident divide between the private media and the public where the public media sells the government agenda, and the private is subjected to market forces thus publishes based on what the market demands.

There was also concern over the level of freedom that the media enjoys in Zambia and that in some extreme situations, the state cracks down on the media in order to suppress a given agenda most times related to political reforms.

The delegates charged that political parties must engage the youths and women in order to have meaningful participation.

PANEL DISCUSSION

The delegates discussed many issues, that were raised in the subsequent sessions of the summit. The panel was led by representatives from the Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD), Operation Young Vote (OYV). Political parties were represented by youths from the Green Party, the People's Party and the Third Revolution Movement.

Stakeholders from civil society organisations stated that young people have had the zeal and will to participate in the political process. They also stated that young people should not only be relegated to youth wings. They argued that youths should also be given positions in the main structures of political parties.

They also stated that young people can be used in political mobilisation programmes. The participants also stated that political parties must provide incentives to young people to participate in the political process.

Stakeholders from civil society also stated that there is need to institutionalise youth participation in the political process. They stated that youths should be given chance to contest during elections, adding that such a move would help increase youth participation in key decision-making areas of the country.

In addition, stakeholders from political parties stated that political parties should provide spaces for young people in their political party structures. They stated that political parties must mentor young people and not use them as tools of political violence.

During plenary, delegates bemoaned the lack of effective youth participation in the summit from the major political parties, especially those that have representative in the National Assembly of Zambia.

Some delegates implored ZCID to lobby ECZ to reduce participation fees for youths who intend to contest in the August 11, 2016 elections. They argued that youths are vulnerable

and many of them are not in gainful employment and cannot therefore manage to raise the huge sums money required for them to take part in the elections.

7.0 PRESENT: SUMMIT OUTCOMES

The summit outcomes were presented by the Summit Coordinator, Dr Charity Musamba. After deliberations and review of outcomes, the delegates

1. **Resolved** that political parties must pursue politics of development;
2. **Agreed** to have genuine commitment to gender equality and youth participation;
3. **Resolved** to promote development-oriented multiparty democracy;
4. **Agreed** establish development-oriented political parties;
5. **Resolved** to adhere to the rule of law and constitutionalism;
6. **Agreed** to empower civil spaces for political development;
7. **Resolved** work on leveling the political playing field in the electoral process;
8. **Resolved** to turn the NDSS into a yearly event.

8.0 OFFICIAL CLOSURE OF THE SUMMIT

After adoption of the report and summit outcomes, the Summit was officially closed. In her closing remarks, Captain Liambela thanked the rest of the members for taking part in the first even NDSS. Captain Liambela also thanked the cooperating partners, NIMD and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) and the government of the Republic of Zambia.

The ZCID Executive Director Mr Chilando also thanked all political parties and everyone who was involved. In his remarks he called thanked members for supporting the ZCID cause. He requested them to consider the NDSS as a new beginning for democracy and development in Zambia. He promised to be consulting members on a regular basis and collaborating closely with the stakeholders and co-operating partners so as to develop a closer working relationship.

Finally, in her final remarks the Summit Coordinator, Dr Musamba thanked delegates for their patience and full participation that made the whole Summit a success. She asked them

to fully commit to implementing the summit outcomes as agreed upon by the stakeholders during the Summit.



Mama Chilufya Kankasa –a freedom fighter and Participant of the NDSS