THE ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY (AFORD)

AFORD

MANIFESTO 1998

Building Malawi with a Human Face

The Rt. Hon. Chakufwa Tom Chihana

THE PRESIDENT OF AFORD

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You will recall that the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) is the political party in Malawi that spearheaded the introduction of multi-party democracy in Malawi after three decades of one-party authoritarian rule.

This was achieved in 1993 through a national referendum; and it culminated into the holding of the multi-party general elections in 1994, which the United Democratic Front (UDF) won.

The UDF was thus given the mandate by the Malawi nation to govern the country for a period of five years from 1994 to 1999.

You will all appreciate to know that, the Malawi nation is going to the polls in 1999 to choose a new government that will govern Malawi for the next five years.

The 1999 general elections will be a challenging task for the Malawi electrorates.

It is thus important for Malawians and the international community to note that:

a) The UDF leaders took the reign of government without formulating any vision for the country, and without any true commitment to the country's development.

Instead they went into government so that the Malawians could take them to their own promised land of self-enrichment, within the seas of immense poverty and at the expense of the ordinary poor people.

b) The UDF government still uses the top-down approach to the country's social and economic development without involving and empowering the ordinary people in the development process, and the rich become the beneficiaries of development endeavours.

c) Under the UDF government, Malawi is being governed in an "Animal Farm" style where egregious forms of corruption, nepotism and favouritism exist, mostly among the governing elite and their lackeys.

While other countries are genuinely and seriously rooting out these tendencies, the UDF government is sustaining and condoning them, and harbouring and pampering the culprits.

d) Under the UDF government, lawlessness in Malawi has increased tremendously.

Crime rates are high, and armed robbery is increasing by the day.

Because of lack of security in the country, Malawians live like prisoners in their country or homes.

Social security among the aged infirm and the disabled has deteriorated tremendously. The UDF government does not seem to care much about the welfare of the people in the country.

e) Under the UDF government, poverty in Malawi has not only increased, but that it has been intentionally aggravated and sustained.

The gap between the majority poor and the few rich on income and wealth distribution has rapidly widened, and economic empowerment of the ordinary people has been neglected.
No political democracy can thus survive and flourish where the majority of the people remain in poverty, deprived of their basic needs, and live without tangible prospects for a better life.

f) Under the UDF government, the level of unemployment in the country for all categories of the labour force is surging at a high rate as the UDF government is wasting the country's resources by indulging and wasting our money in non-productive and unnecessary ventures, such as buying Members of Parliament and political opportunists.

g) Under the UDF government the country's infrastructure services have been destroyed unbelievably. When other countries in the SADC region are busy improving their economies by rehabilitating, upgrading and constructing new social and economic infrastructure services, the UDF government is busy destroying them.

Malawi's economy cannot thrive or grow in the absence of adequate, reliable and sustainable social and economic infrastructure services.

No foreign investors can be attracted to invest their capital in Malawi where most of her social and economic infrastructure services are literally non-existent as they have been destroyed beyond recognition within five years since 1994.

h) Under the UDF government, the prices of agriculture inputs (e.g. fertilisers) have been put at unbelievably unaffordable levels, and this has negatively affected food production among the ordinary smallholders in the villages.

i) Under the UDF government, the standard and quality of education and health services have gone down unbelievably, to the point where things in these sectors are in a total mess.

j) Under the UDF government, the money from the donor community meant for socio-economic development projects in the country, earmarked to address the appalling poverty among the ordinary Malawians, is being channelled in the pockets of UDF leaders and their sycophants.

k) Under the UDF government, cronyism and lack of transparency in most government operations and in the management of public finances feature high, and has been entrenched in the government system.

The government treasury functions like a "Mobile clinic", with public money carried in leaders pockets.

If the UDF party continues to govern Malawi after the 1999 general elections, Malawi shall cease to exist as a modem country, instead the country shall revert to the precolonial era, and become a Banana Republic and a laughing stock in the world community of nations.

The Bakili Muluzi team's patronage and blatant self-enrichment has triggered a pervasive cynicism about the UDF government.

Malawians need to know how that the time has come for real and genuine change in our country.
The change that will really emancipate Malawians from the political, social and economic bondage and servitude, to a truly liberated people in the true sense of the word.

This can only be achieved of AFORD, the party which is the genesis of true multi-party democracy in Malawi, is voted into government in the 1999 general elections.

AFORD is the only party in Malawi that has the welfare of the people at heart.

It is the party that has respects for human rights, the rule of Law, democratic good governance, the invaluable role of civil servants, and multi-party democracy.

The party that believes in genuine market led economic development based on people's economic empowerment.

AFORD will thus establish a multi-year economic development process linked to a multi-year budgetary framework, as this is the only way that our economy could be pragmatically managed.

The party that detests corruption, power abuse, victimisation, nepotism and favouritism.

This Manifesto spells out how AFORD, will address the problems that Malawians and our country face.

The policies and strategies that AFORD will follow in addressing the country's problems, are based on the noble Founding Principles of the Party.

Give AFORD a deserving chance to govern Malawi in the true spirit of nationhood, and you will see the difference

NTHAWI!! YAKWANA.
NYENGO!! YAKWANA.
AKABALILO! KAFWENE
THE TIME!! HAS COME.

Rt. Hon. Chakufwa Tom Chihana

THE PARTY PRESIDENT

THE MISSION AND VISION OF AFORD

The Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) which was founded in September 1992, still reaffirms its commitment of continuing tirelessly to campaign for human rights, human dignity, democracy and the rule or law in Malawi.

This commitment is aimed at creating a people-caring society in Malawi which could redress the appalling and immense poverty in the country, and free the people from hunger, disease, want, ignorance, suppression, fear and deprivation.

This would lead to the eventual transformation of Malawi from the land of miseries and despair, to the land of happiness, hope and prosperity, where all Malawians regardless of their
gender, colour, race and ethnic or tribal origin, shall be treated equal, and shall have equal access and opportunity to the country's resources, wealth and development benefits.

The Malawi where all her citizens shall be proud to call themselves "MALAWIANS".

In pursuit of the above mission and/or vision, AFORD will strive to ensure that:

- Malawi is subjected to good governance, and that the country's Constitution is redrafted so that checks and balances are incorporated; and that the impartial Constitutional Court is established in the land.

- A transparent, decentralised and participatory approach to the country's social and economic planning and development is institutionalised, in order to promote sustainable development for the benefit of all.

- A culture of tolerance for divergent points of view, and freedom of expression, choice, speech and assembly are created.

- An understanding and respect for the principle that government at all levels shall be subservient to the will of the people is upheld.

- The people are educated in matters pertaining to civil liberties and respect for the electoral process.

- Co-operation and friendships with all SADC member states and other responsible governments, the international community and other organisations are fostered and promoted.

These constitute part of the centrepiece of what AFORD will seek to achieve, and the focal point on which its attention will be continuously focused throughout its existence and involvement in Malawi political scene.

The realisation of people's aspirations and expectations as enunciated in this Manifesto will thus be assured.

CHAPTER 1

CURRENT SITUATION IN MALAWI

1.1. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

For both historical and emotional reasons, the occasion of the 1994 general elections in Malawi was not only one of the most important events in the country's history, but it also laid the foundation for the country's future political, social and economic dispensation.

When multi-party democracy was actually put into practice after the 1994 general elections spearheaded by AFORD, all Malawians expected that the United Democratic Front (UDF) which had won the elections, would not only build on the foundations laid by the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) government, but also improve and bring in new political culture and socio-economic development endeavours into the country.
It could be recalled that Malawi got her independence from the British colonial rule in 1964.

The Malawi Congress Party (the only popular African movement then), took over the reign of government as it won all the Lower House Parliamentary seats, and about +- 90% of the Upper House seats.

The Federal Party (a mostly white only party) won +- 10% of the Upper House seats, while other smaller parties won no seats in both Houses of Parliament.

The multi-party democratic system that existed in Malawi then, was short lived as all other political parties except the Malawi Congress Party died a natural death.

The country then embraced a one-party system of government from 1966, and the MCP continued to be the sole political party up to 1993 when a multi-party system of government was once again introduced in the country through a national referendum.

It could further be recalled that during the 1966-1994, the MCP government introduced a uni-visionary strategy to the country's development.

This uni-visionary strategy focused only on the emancipation of the Malawi society by concentrating on the social and economic development front, to the deliberate neglect of the political front.

Politically therefore, the Malawi society remained totally undeveloped, as the Malawians could not exercise their political rights and freedom of association, and were further denied civil liberties and the rule of law.

In 1994 Malawi went to the polls under a multi-party political dispensation with the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), the UDF and the MCP being the three main political parties.

During the 1994 national general elections, (which were conducted in a peaceful atmosphere), the UDF came to power, and the MCP and AFORD became the only opposition parties in Parliament.

Although the multi-party democracy has had an inroad on the political front in the country, but the purpose for which it was achieved has not been demonstrated by the UDF government.

Much needs to be desired on the political front.

Civil liberty is still being curtailed by the UDF government, the rule of law is far from being achieved, the country's constitution is being violated and the press and the national radio is being monopolised by the government.

The opposition parties have no access to the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, which is mostly being used to broadcast government and public Party propaganda.

The electoral system is being abused by the UDF government.
Public funds are being used to undermine democracy in the county as the UDF government uses it to buy political leaders from other political parties, and for paying thugs to physically attack leaders of other political Parties.

1.1 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

On the social and economic front, the period under the rule of the MCP government witnessed both success stories and shortcomings.

The MCP government had a vision which guided it to try and emancipate the Malawi society from ignorance, disease, hunger and poverty.

This was carried out under the theme of "Building the Nation".

The MCP government tried to address ignorance, disease, hunger and poverty by:

1.1.1 Revitalising the agriculture sector (the mainstay of the Malawi economy) in all sub-sectors, including both commercial and subsistence farming.

The government also assisted the ordinary farmers with technical expertise and provided them with firm implements and inputs at affordable prices.

Malawi became self-sustaining in food, and food security was guaranteed.

1.1.2 Construction and modernisation of educational facilities in most parts of the country in all sectors from Primary school level right through to the University level.

The quality and standard of education in Malawi was envied by many countries, and was comparable to the British standard.

Training colleges in various sectors were also constructed and the old ones were rehabilitated and upgraded.

1.1.3 Construction and modernisation of health facilities in most parts of the country.

Hospitals and clinics were also built and the old ones were rehabilitated and upgraded.

1.1.4 Economic infrastructure services (roads, telecommunications, water supply, electricity supply, railways, houses, etc) were constructed and the old ones were rehabilitated.

All these infrastructure services acted as a support base for the country's social and economic development, and for attracting foreign investors.

Although not all parts of the country were provided with some of these social and economic infrastructure services, but the MCP government's attack on this front was a step in the right direction.

The former government's vision acted as a destination point for the country's social and economic development; and the philosophy of the former head of state was simple; "improve or build on what you have found, do not destroy them".
Most of the development activities carried out in the period 1966-1994 were conducted in a disciplined manner with a highly motivated and efficient civil service.

Although there were some elements of corruption in the public service, but once spotted or identified, it was rooted out immediately.

One can see that the MCP government at least tried to develop Malawi socio-economically, and instilled discipline in the country.

It is a pity though that since the UDF government took over the reign of the country in 1994, Malawi is degenerating fast socio-economically.

Instead of building the country starting from the already laid foundations of the social and economic infrastructure, and maintaining the existing ones and constructing new ones in the areas where they did not exist, the UDF government went into destroying them.

Crime, corruption and a growing culture of indolence, indiscipline, apathy and frustration among public employees and lack of productivity in all sectors of the economy have become the order of the day under the UDF government.

The strategic resources of the country are also being transferred rapidly into foreign hands denying the nationals of such opportunities.

All these problems that the country faces now will not be addressed in the absence of dedication, honesty, patriotism, political will, commitment, vision and direction from the current governing UDF party.

The so-called Poverty Alleviation Programme initiated by the UDF government has become a show piece term on paper, and MASAF is but a tokenistic programme with little macro impact.

Almost all social and economic infrastructure services in the country are in a deteriorating state and others have collapsed completely.

A good number of the then tarmac roads (e.g. the Mzuzu-Karonga northern corridor, the Balaka-Liwonde road, the Zomba-Blantyre road, and all roads in the main cities), have been destroyed beyond recognition within a period of five years since 1994.

Other services (such as telecommunications, health, education, postal services, water, electricity, security, etc) are totally in a mess.

The cost of living has become impossible for most Malawians.

CHAPTER 2

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND THE RULE OF LAW

Any democratic country which lacks good governance, the rule of law and civil liberties can hardly excel and prosper socially, politically and economically.
Based on its founding principles, AFORD re-affirms its belief that the ethos of good governance, the rule of law and civil liberties are pre-requisites for any country's sustainable development in all sectors of the economy.

When voted to power, the AFORD government shall strive to promote the following ideals:

2.1 That the state President shall hold office for not more than two consecutive elective terms of five years each, as stipulated in the country's Constitution.

2.2 That any person holding a high public office shall (as stated in the Constitution) be required to declare his/her financial and other assets, to ensure that there is no conflict between the private interest and public duties of such person.

2.3 That the Government in all its forms shall be accountable to the people in its operations.

2.4 That the people at all spatial levels of society shall be free to govern themselves through the structures composed of democratically elected representatives.

2.5 That (with the current crime wave and lawlessness) it shall be the fundamental duty of government to protect all people and to respect and act in accordance with the law and the Constitution of the land.

2.6 That the Central Government shall govern the country through the two tiers of governments (namely the Regional Development Councils and the District Councils/Assemblies); which shall be composed of democratically elected persons, and shall work closely with Regional and District government officials.

2.7 That all the affairs of Government shall be conducted in a transparent and accountable manner.

2.8 That all the Districts in Malawi shall have a single system of Local Government, where the Town Councils shall cease to exist, as this will be the only way that integrated development of Districts can be achieved and administrative costs reduced.

The Unitary District Councils/Assemblies shall be headed by popularly elected Mayors/Mayoresses.

2.9 That a Constitutional Court shall be established with mandate to judge and impeach any high public officer for breaches of the Constitution of the land.

2.10 That there shall be total adherence and observance of the principles enunciated in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as set out in the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights.

2.11 That the rights to demonstrate against any policies of or measures taken by the State shall be respected at all times.

2.12 That all persons shall be treated equal and with dignity irrespective of their sex, religion, race, tribe, political affiliation and marital status.
2.13 That all persons shall at all times be free to organise themselves in order to advance and protect their group interests.

2.14 That the government funding of political parties that are represented in Parliament shall continue, to sustain multi-party democracy.

2.15 That the people of Malawi have the right to civic education to sensitise them of their democratic rights and understanding the country's constitution, and hence the need to induce such education throughout the country.

CHAPTER 3

HUMAN RIGHTS

AFORD believes that the rule of law and civil liberties are a cornerstone of democracy and the ingredients associated with the security of a person, his/her family and that of his/her property.

They also enshrine the right of all people in Malawi and affirm the democratic values of personal security, human dignity, equality and freedom as stated here under.

3.1 FREEDOM AND PERSONAL SECURITY

Taking its founding principles as a backdrop, AFORD has neither condoned nor been party to the want on political violence going on in the country.

AFORD is of the belief that everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected.

AFORD is therefore totally opposed to any form of violence which is threatening both the security of people and their property, and the social and economic stability of Malawi in general.

The AFORD Government shall therefore enact legislations which shall ensure that:

3.1.1 The rule of law is respected by every person in Malawi regardless of that person's standing in the country.

3.1.2 All the reactionary formations and crime syndicates operating in the country are immediately disbanded, and have their members who will be found to have been involved in carrying out violence and crime prosecuted.

3.1.3 Effective steps to restore law and order, security and normality to the lives of all people residing in Malawi are taken.

Such steps shall include a coherent strategy to deal with armed robbery, vehicle hijacking, political violence, and any thuggery behaviour.

3.1.4 An immediate ban on the private ownership of guns is carried out (other than those guns owned by the security forces and commercial farmers); and that all those found in illegal possession of guns shall be guilty of a criminal offence and liable to imprisonment.
3.1.5 Everyone will have the right to freedom, and that no person shall therefore be subjected to arrest, searches and seizures; and be deprived of privacy, freedom of expression academic freedom arbitrarily, except under due process of the law and only for possible cause shown.

3.1.6 Every individual in Malawi shall not only be equal before the law and to enjoy equal protection, but shall also guaranteed a right of access to the courts and to counsel of one’s choice.

3.1.7 All laws passed by Parliament shall be consistent with the Constitution of be void.

3.1.8 The courts shall continuously be the final arbiters of the legality of all laws and of all acts of Parliament.

3.1.9 The Constitution of the land is respected by everyone regardless of his/her status in the country.

3.1.10 All persons shall have the right to trial by a jury or their peers in all serious matters.

3.1.11 No one will be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour.

3.1.12 The state does not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds including ethnic or tribal origin, sex, marital status, pregnancy, age, belief, religion, disability, language and birth.

3.2 FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND OF ASSOCIATION

AFORD reiterates the acknowledgement of the important role that the religious groups play in the moral, social, economic and spiritual life of the Malawi society.

It also accepts the fact that Malawi was founded on the religious norms, the foundations and beliefs which have contributed tremendously to the social stability in the country.

AFORD also recognises the spiritual needs of members of the Malawi society.

To ensure the continued sustainability of the role and functions of the religious fraternity in the country, the AFORD Government shall:

3.2.1 Respect and adhere to fundamental principle of freedom of worship.

3.2.2 Allow all religious groups to have access to the national radio regardless of their political beliefs.

3.2.3 Respect all religious traditions and allow them to function (without government interference) within the ethics and norms of civilised religious beliefs from the fundamentalistic persuasions or ideals.

3.2.4 Ensure that religion is treated as a matter of private concern, but with leverage to perform its vital role in the public sphere, especially of being the conscience of society.
3.2.5 Encourage religious organisations to play a meaningful role in the provision and management of schools, hospitals, clinics, community services, and in any other areas seen to be feasible to them, but operating within the government policies.

3.2.6 Morally and administratively, encourage and support chaplaincy work in special institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons.

3.2.7 Formulate new methods of registering religious organisations in close consultation with religious groups.

3.2.8 Review undue taxation of stipends of religious leaders and property imported into the country for religious use.

3.2.9 Encourage the creation of a religious forum which shall advise the government on matters relating to state and religion.

3.2.10 Everyone residing in Malawi has the right to freedom of worship, conscience, thought, opinion and of association.

3.2.11 Everyone has the right peacefully and unarmed to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petition.

3.2.12 Never allow any form of religion to be imposed on Malawians and interfere with the people's religious beliefs, normal life and freedom of worship.

3.2.13 Every citizen is free to make political choices which includes the right to form and join any political parties, participate in the activities of, or recruit members for a political party without coercion or bribery, and to campaign (without any intimidation or causing any bodily harm to political opponents) for a political party of his/her choice or for any cause.

3.2.14 Every citizen has the right to free, fair and regular elections for any legislative body established in terms of the Constitution.

CHAPTER 4

DEMOCRATISATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

4.1 MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

AFORD believes that any government operating in a multi-party democratic country must adhere to the principles of multi-party democracy and of co-operative governance.

AFORD's understanding of the Malawi government is that it is constituted as national and local spheres of government, which constitutionally are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated, and it has to operate as a multi-party system.

On multi-party democratic principles, AFORD believes that all Malawians and the political formations should have access to power and the right to exercise their power. This requires a population and institutions that are empowered through expanded rights, meaningful information, access to media and an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy.
AFORD is also aware that this is not what is happening in the country under the UDF government.

The local government authorities or structures are not in place and the multi-partyism is being repressed and the media is monopolised by government. When voted into government AFORD will be guided by the multi-party democratic principles and institute good governance and endeavour to ensure that its government.

4.1.1 Operates and/or conducts its activities within the confines and parameters of the Constitution of the country, and becomes loyal to it, the country and its people.

4.1.2 Respects the constitutional functional status, existence and powers of the local government institutions, and secure the well-being of the people of the country.

4.1.3 Does not assume any powers or functions except those conferred on it in terms of the Constitution.

4.1.4 Preserves the peace, national unity and the indivisibility of the country, and provide effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government of the Republic as a whole.

4.1.5 Exercises its powers and perform its functions in a manner that does not interfere with the rule of law and functioning of the judicial system of the country.

4.2 LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

AFORD is aware that in Malawi, the legislative authority of the national sphere of government is vested in Parliament, and of the local sphere of government is vested the local municipal/district councils, as set out in the Constitution of the country.

AFORD also knows that the national Parliament is elected to represent the people of Malawi and to ensure government by the people for the people under the Constitution.

The elected Members of Parliament are there as representatives of their constituencies and not as their "own” representatives representing own interests.

AFORD further knows that the national Parliament provides a national forum for public consideration of issues, by passing legislation in accordance with, and within the parameters of the Constitution as it is amended by it from time to time, and by scrutinising and overseeing executive action.

AFORD is also aware that the Speaker of Parliament is the facilitator of Parliament proceedings in a non-partisan manner, and not a participant in Parliamentary discussions.

The Speaker's role is to ensure that Members of Parliament observe the rules governing the Parliamentary proceedings and that legislations are passed in accordance with the Constitution.

AFORD is saddened by the unconstitutional way in which Members of Parliament cross floors in Parliament, by the way the national Parliament is being abused and manipulated by
the UDF government, and by the partisan way in which the Speaker of Parliament facilitates the Parliamentary proceedings.

The AFORD government will ensure that:

4.2.1 The national Parliament assumes its rightful role and powers as the legislative authority of the land within the confines of the Constitution.

4.2.2 Members of Parliament perform their functions in Parliament as the representatives of the electorates in their respective constituencies, whether elected on party tickets or as independents.

Any Parliamentarians wishing to cross floor or to defy their independent statuses in Parliament, will have to resign their seats and have their Constituencies declared vacant.

4.2.3 Legislation is enacted that would automatically impeach or remove the Speaker of Parliament from his/her position as Speaker of the Constitutional Court found him/her guilty of facilitating Parliamentary proceedings against the Constitution and in a partisan manner.

4.2.4 Legislation is enacted that would establish a Constitutional Court to judge and decide on all constitutional related matters, and the constitutionality of any Bills or Acts passed by Parliament, and any actions and decisions taken by the executive of government.

4.3 THE SENATE

AFORD is aware that the Constitution of Malawi makes provision for the establishment of the Senate in the country.

AFORD has noted with dismay that the UDF government has not endeavoured to call for the national elections for Senators who could manage the functions of the Senate.

AFORD will ensure that the Senate is put in place and starts functioning soon after its elections to government, by calling for the national elections for Senators.

4.4 ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

AFORD knows that the judicial authority of any democratic country is vested in the courts of law, and that these courts are supposed to function as independent and subject only to the Constitution and the law which they must apply impartially and without fear, favour or prejudice.

It is also the understanding of AFORD that no person (whatever his/her position in the society) or organ of government may interfere with the functioning of the courts.

The role of government organs through legislative and other measures, is mainly to assist and protect the courts, to ensure that they remain independent, impartial, dignified, accessible and effective.

An order or decision issued by a court of law binds all persons to whom, and organ of government to which it applies.
AFORD has observed with sadness that many organs of government including the Parliament do not abide by the courts decisions or rulings.

AFORD has further observed the continuous interference by the influential UDF government officials and public figures, in the smooth functioning of the courts, and this has in many instances negated the efficient of the courts in administering law and justice in the country.

The AFORD government will:

4.4.1 Promulgate laws that will give special inherent powers to the courts of law to protect and regulate their own process, and to develop the common law, taking cognisance of the interests of justice.

4.4.2 Promulgate laws to make it a serious crime for any person or authority to interfere with the smooth and impartial functioning of the courts of law.

4.4.3 Introduce legislation that will give additional powers to the courts of law when deciding a constitutional matter to declare that any law or conduct that is inconsistent with the Constitution is invalid to the extent of its inconsistency.

4.4.4 Introduce laws to remove all powers to prosecute for crime from the police whose functions shall be restricted to the prevention and investigation of crime, be protection of persons and property, and the general maintenance of civil peace, law and order.

4.4.5 Establish laws or the creation of District Attorneys who in their powers and must prosecute for crime committed within their Districts, shall be completely independent and subject to no other authority or person other than that of the Deputy and Director of Public Prosecutions and ultimately, the Attorney General.

4.4.6 Introduce legislation for the establishment of the position of Deputy Regional Directors of Public Prosecutions with prosecuting authority for criminal cases originating in the respective Regions.

4.4.7 Promulgate laws to establish state institutions that would support constitutional democracy.

These state institutions would include: the Human Rights Commission; the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religion and Linguistic Communities; the Commission for Gender Equality the Public Protector; etc.

4.5 THE EXECUTIVE

AFORD is aware that the Executive authority of the Republic of Malawi is vested in the State President as stipulated in the Constitution.

His/her role is to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution as the supreme law of the country, and promote the unity of the nation and which advances and consolidates the country.

The State President is thus not above the law, in fact is subjected to it and performs the actions, and have powers conferred and entrusted by the Constitution and legislation.
AFORD is of the conviction that the State President is to be assisted by the Deputy State President in discharging his/her duties and functions.

A Deputy State President can automatically deputise in the absence of the State President, and this is not the case with a Vice President.

The AFORD government will ensure that all the above matters pertaining to the office of the State Presidency are adhered to all the time by the State President.

The AFORD government will also pass the legislation upgrading the position of the Vice President to that of the Deputy State President.

4.6 SECURITY SERVICES

AFORD believes that the national security must reflect the resolve of Malawians, individuals and as a nation, to live as equals, to live in peace and harmony, to be free from fear and want and to seek a better life.

This entails that a Malawian citizen is precluded from engaging in any armed conflict nationally and internationally, except as provided for in terms of the Constitution or Legislation.

AFORD further believes that national security must not only be pursued in compliance with law (national and international), but also be subjected to be of Parliament and the State President.

The State Security services in the country are divided into three, viz: the Army or Defence Forces, the Police Force and the Intelligence Services.

Other organisations have established security services in the country in terms of national legislation mostly to protect property.

4.6.1 THE ARMY / DEFENCE FORCE

AFORD understands that the primary role of the Army is to defend and protect the country, its territorial integrity and its project from internal and external aggressions, in accordance with the Constitution rund the principles of international law regulating the use of force.

AFORD also the tremendous and excellent non-partisan work that the Malawi Army has continuously perfomed in maintaining the social and political stability in the country.

The AFORD government will ensure that:

4.6.1.1 The Army remains a purely professional, disciplined and apolitical institution performing its role and functions in an impartial and non-partisan manner, and that it upholds the democratic Constitution, and must be bound by clear codes of conduct.

4.6.1.2 The State President as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, remains the person to command the employment or deployment of the Army.
4.6.1.3 The size, character and doctrines of the Army are revisited so that they are appropriate to and in tune with the new multi-party democratic country that is entangled in massive problems of poverty and is to be engaged in genuine social and economic reconstruction.

4.6.1.4 The rights, professionalism and dignity of soldiers are clearly defined and protected.

4.6.2 THE POLICE FORCE

AFORD recognises the important role that the Police plays in the maintenance of public law and order, investigating, preventing and combating crime, protecting persons and property, upholding and enforcing the law in the country according to the Constitution and Legislation.

AFORD is also aware of the current mushrooming and increase in the crime rate associated with armed robbery, car hijacking and rape, which are threatening the security and the stability of the country.

In order that the public law and order is maintained and sustained in the country, the AFORD government will ensure that:

4.6.2.1 The Police performs its functions in accordance with the Constitution and Legislation, and that no member of the Police may obey a manifestly illegal order from anybody which is against the Constitution and the Law.

4.6.2.2 The Police or its members do not perform any duties that prejudice a political party or movement interest that is legitimate in terms of the Constitution, or in a partisan manner any interest of a political party.

4.6.2.3 The Parliamentary Committee on Police oversee the functions of the Police in a manner determined by Parliament, in order to ensure that the principles of transparency and accountability are observed.

4.6.2.4 The Community and/or Village Policing structures are established throughout the country.

Their responsibility will be to protect the people and property, and prevent and combat crime in the various communities and/or villages.

4.6.2.5 Legislation is enacted that would prevent and protect police from being used as tools by politicians and to safeguard their image and function as law enforcement agents.

4.6.2.6 The current appalling living conditions of the Police are improved, through the provision of better modern housing, and improving their working conditions and conditions of service, in order to enhance their efficiency, moral and performance.

4.6.2.7 The current training programmes for the Police are upgraded so that they are aligned to the international standards and best Police practices.

The Police training courses teach the Police to understand that they are accountable to the public through Parliament.
4.6.3 INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

AFORD re-affirms its belief that the role of the Intelligence Service of the State (whether in the Army or the Police), is not to be used to terrorise, torture or brutalise the people, or to deter Malawians and any resident of the country from enjoying their basic human rights and freedom as provided in both the country's Constitution and the UN International Declaration of Human Rights.

The AFORD government will thus ensure that:

4.6.3.1 All the State intelligence formations become accountable to Parliament, and respect the rights of all Malawians to engage in lawful political activities.

4.6.3.2 The Parliament regulates the powers, objects and functions of the State Intelligence Services, and ensure that they conduct their duties non-violently.

4.6.3.3 The activities of all intelligence gathering formations of the State are non-partisan and that they are regulated by adequate legal provisions in accordance with the Bill of Rights as enshrined in the Constitution.

4.6.4 THE PRISONS

AFORD believes that Prisons should not be taken as death places or places for brutalising criminals or those who have been convicted for violating the law of the country.

When in power, the AFORD government will ensure that:

4.6.4.1 Prisoners enjoy human rights and that they are fully protected by the Constitution.

4.6.4.2 The prison service plays its part, not simply in restraining convicted persons, but in rehabilitating and training them.

4.6.4.3 Prisons are not allowed to take any person except on the order of a court of competent jurisdiction.

4.6.4.4 Laws are promulgated that will make prisons independent of the police, as this would safeguard the integrity of both the police and the prison service.

4.6.4.5 The Law dealing with children in custody or in prison is reformed.

This will include the ending of the practice whereby the children and juvenile prisoners are accommodated in the same cells with adults.

4.6.4.6 Pregnant women and mothers with small children in prison are held in conditions which are appropriate for their specific physical and psychological requirements.

4.6.4.7 The general public have the right to be informed about prison conditions, and this will be done by reforming the Prison Act, and appointment of the prison ombuds by the State President/Parliament.
4.6.4.8 Disciplinary codes within prisons are changed, and all forms of punishment which infringe basic human rights such as solitary confinement and dietary punishment, will have to end.

4.7 THE PUBLIC SERVICE

AFORD recognises the fact that the Civil Service is the nerve centre of any government. AFORD also believes that the Civil Service must be governed by the multi-party democratic values and principles enshrined in the Constitution.

Such values and principles should promote transparency and accountability; the ethos of professional ethics; efficient, economic and effective use of the country's resources; development oriented; and the provision of public service in an impartial, fair and equitable manner without bias.

AFORD further believes that the Civil Service needs to internalise the concept of "serving the general public", needs to respond to the people's needs timely, and needs to encourage their full participation in policy - and decision-making in various spheres of government and the macro economy.

In pursuit of these beliefs, the AFORD government will:

4.7.1 Ensure that policies are formulated that would make the civil service be composed in such a way that it is capable of and committed to the implementation of government policies, and the delivery of basic goods and services to the people of the country.

4.7.2 Make sure that the Public Service Commission is responsible for matters relating to appointments, promotion, efficiency and effectiveness in public institutions; establishing and monitoring a Code of Conduct for Public Service; and that it is transparent, impartial, independent and exercise its powers and functions without fear, favour or prejudice, and be accountable to and be regulated by the legislation or Parliament.

4.7.3 Make sure that no person or organ of government interferes with the functioning of the Public Service Commission.

4.7.4 Ensure that the public service personnel procedures relating to recruitment, transfers, promotions and dismissals comply with the values and principles set out in the Constitution on the Code of Conduct for Public Service.

4.7.5 Ensure that the Civil Service is functionally decentralised and have more professional personnel in the regional and district offices where the majority of development needs and people are found.

4.7.6 Ensure that no public employee is favoured or prejudiced only because the person supports a particular political party or cause.

4.7.7 Conduct a review of public service regulations and training programmes to ensure proper career development, job satisfaction, professionalism in delivering service and enhancement of performance.
4.7.8 Ensure that a sound labour relations philosophy, policy and practice is established in the public service so as to build a motivated and committed cadre of public servants who have a clear vision of their future, and curtail corruption, mismanagement and laziness amongst them, and their unnecessary victimisation by politicians.

4.8 PARASTATAL INSTITUTIONS

AFORD recognises the tremendous role that parastatals play in the implementation of government and/or public sector sectoral programmes/projects on their own behalf, and on behalf of government ministries or departments.

AFORD has also noted that most of these parastatals have inefficiently and ineffectively performed their functions due to unnecessary thoroughly interference from government officials and political leaders.

The AFORD government will ensure that:

4.8.1 Parastatals are re-structured and run in a transparent and efficient way, and in a manner that reinforces and supports government development policies and programmes; and that they be accountable to Parliament and subjected to public scrutiny.

4.8.2 The civil society is adequately represented on the Boards of parastatals, and that the members of such Boards are the mandated representatives of appropriate civil institutions and not arbitrarily appointed individuals.

4.8.3 The parastatals are independent of government ministries and/or departments in the sense that they are not directly part of any government ministry/departments apart from co-ordination and policy purposes.

4.8.4 The rationalisation of the activities of the parastatals and other government institutions takes place in order to reduce the unnecessary observed duplication of services, and promote efficiency and effectiveness in public goods and services delivery.

4.8.5 All parastatals operate on a full cost accounting system and have a public consciousness attitude.

4.8.6 There is a genuine approach to the privatisation of certain parastatals, and that on privatisation of public institution will be carried out for the sake of it, and with any hidden agenda in favour of political elites of the ruling party and their sycophants.

4.8.7 The review of the conditions of service for employees of the parastatals takes place, so as to institute uniform employment conditions for both local and personnel.

4.9 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

AFORD is aware not only of the critical importance of the local government in implementing government-sponsored development programmes in the towns and districts, but also as the level of representative democracy closest to the grassroots.

AFORD is also saddened by the fact that since 1994 to date (throughout the reign of the UDF government), there have been no local government councils in the country.
A national democratic government without corresponding local democratic governments is incomplete, or is equivalent to an autocratic government.

AFORD is further aware that for many years, local government councils in the country have functioned as consumption agents without any decision-making powers, rather than as fully fledged local development arms of government with full decision-making powers on local matters.

This has continuously made the system of local government in the country ineffective in meeting the basic development needs, aspirations and priorities of the local communities.

AFORD is of the conviction that the national social and economic development performance is inextricably linked to the social and economic development performance of the towns, the districts and the regions.

Believing in the right of people to govern themselves and to control their own affairs, the AFORD government will:

4.9.1 Promulgate a more comprehensive Local Government Act that would create a three tier system of local government, and give full decision-making powers to local councils in matters concerning local social and economic planning and development.

This could make them become full local social and economic development organs of both the government and the local communities and building blocks for the country's economic growth, rather than being perpetually seen as economic and fiscal burdens of the government.

4.9.2 Introduce a single system of local government council in each district, and abolish the dual system where districts are dichotomised in the form of rural and urban with District Councils and Town Councils respectively.

The development and management of a district under one authority/council is more cost-effective and will have more development impact on the local economy in totality than having two councils with own policies, priorities and personnel.

4.9.3 Establish Local Development Councils in each Parliamentary Constituency or Traditional Chief, which will be subordinate to the District Councils, and act as organisational links between the District Councils and the rural communities.

They would constitute as instruments through which the rural communities might participate actively in measures to improve their own living conditions (by indentifying local needs, priorities and projects) and gain in responsibility and competence to manage their own affairs.

4.9.4 Ensure that District Councils have powers to prepare and implement integrated district development programmes and budgets (which will be the integration of all Local Development Councils projects and inter-local areas projects).

This will be a community-driven participatory process.

4.9.5 Establish a Regional Development Council (RDC) for each region as part of the true democratic decentralisation of the country in the development arena.
The role of the RDC inter alia, will be to prepare and oversee the implementation of the regional development programme and budget (integration of all district development programmes and budgets and inter-district projects).

This will empower the communities in the regions to determine their own economic development and deter the beggary syndrome in the country by looking at the Ministers and the President for projects.

4.9.6 Institute Legislation that will stop the central government from interfering with and upsurping the powers of the lower tiers of government and promote co-operative form of government in the country.

CHAPTER 5

BUILDING THE MALAWI ECONOMY

AFORD knows that the Malawi economy is dominated by the agriculture sector, which has for many years been the single main contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP).

Other economic sectors which also contribute to the country's GDP are manufacturing, construction, utilities, transport and communication, tourism, forestry and social services.

AFORD has also observed that since the UDF government started governing the country, the performances of almost all of these sectors have gone down tremendously.

The most badly hit sectors have been the manufacturing, construction, tourism and small-scale agriculture sub-sector.

Reliable information has it that Malawi's economic performance in 1997 showed a black picture.

The real GDP growth rate went down from 9.5% in 1996 to 6.3% in 1997.

Projections further reveal that this downward trend in the performance of the Malawi economy will continue, and that the real GDP growth rate at the end of 1998 will be around 5.0%.

The country's total external debt has also increased sharply from MK 35.4 billion recorded in 1996.

Numerous factors contribute to this gloomy picture, but the most prominent ones are the high rate of corruption among the governing political elite, the uncommitted leadership to the country's development, and the UDF government's failure to promote investments in the productive sectors of the economy.

AFORD has continuously noticed that most of the country's badly needed scarce foreign exchange resources are being utilised for the active goods or commodities whose contributions to the economic growth are almost negligible.
AFORD believes that foreign exchange is of vital importance to any country's economic development, and using it extensively for importing second-hand commodities such as scrap or derelict vehicles and agriculture produce (e.g. eggs, chicken, tomatoes, potatoes, etc) which are readily produced in the country is an unforgivable misuse of this important resource.

AFORD is aware that the Malawi economy is currently no longer on its productive footing, and that all economic productive sectors are at a stand still.

Commercial Banks in the country are dry of forex.

The political elite in the ruling party have used their exclusive political powers to promote their own interests and enrich themselves economically.

The majority of the Malawians have been disempowered economically.

AFORD has observed with sadness that the resultant of all this has been mass unemployment in all categories of the labour force, high prices of essential basic goods and services and a surging level of poverty especially among the majority urban and rural households.

Malawi now has one of the world's most unequal patterns of distribution of income and wealth.

AFORD knows that the Malawi economy is currently not only in a deep-seated crisis, but also in a total mess.

It has been intentionally distorted by thorough government and market failures as it lacks any form of control and direction.

The deliberate trends of starving the country of forex and/or foreign exchange is further strangling our economy.

Malawi has no national integrated development programme, and the current leadership lacks strategic thinking - them is mostly haphazardness, adhocracy, carefree and self-enrichment.

The economic infrastructure services that are a support base for the economic development of any economy have deteriorated badly.

This economic malaise in which Malawi finds itself in under the UDF government is not only engulfing our country into all sorts of criminal activities, but is also unnecessarily placing the Malawians into the position of despair and hopelessness.

AFORD detests this economic situation, and when in power, the AFORD government shall venture to do the following:

5.1 ECONOMIC LIBERALISATION

As a matter of priority, the AFORD government shall endeavour to ensure that:

5.1.1 The Malawi economy is truly liberalised by instituting policies that would reduce domination of the economy by the public sector, and a few individuals.
5.1.2 The Malawians are given an opportunity to participate fully in most economic sectors of the economy, through the creation of specific funds where they could source capital for buying shares in the privatised public institutions or for investing in any economic ventures of their choice.

5.1.3 The role and functions of DEMATT, SEDOM and Women's Development Fund are revisited, to ensure that they genuinely serve the interests of the local people and assist to empower them economically.

5.1.4 The process of privatisation is semi-privatised, so as to remove government dominance of the process.

This will entail that a special Committee with the full participation of various stakeholders will have to be established to manage the privatisation process, and not the current Commission which is dominated by civil servants and/or hand-picked persons.

5.1.5 The privatisation of the activities currently being rendered by the public sector will be conducted in a fair and transparent manner; and that the privatisation of such activities will not be done for the sake of privatisation.

5.1.6 Anti-trust policies will also be formulated to ensure the full participation of medium-and small-scale entrepreneurs and enterprises rather than mainly foreign and large investors.

5.2 ECONOMIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

AFORD notes that the most important thing that needs to be remembered is that, the foundation of any democratic government is democracy in all aspects at the grassroots level.

The fundamental economic development policy of AFORD is democratic decentralisation aimed at creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy.

AFORD is thus convinced that neither the commandist central planning system nor an unfettered free market system can provide adequate solutions to the economic problems confronting Malawi.

The AFORD government will therefore institute a macro-economic development policy that will:

5.2.1 Lead to the formulation of an integrated multi-sectoral national development programme and budget that would be an integration of the local district and regional development programmes and budget.

This development programme will ensure social and economic sectoral linkages and co-ordinated development that will unleash all the resources of the country and take the ordinary people as the focal point of such development that will unleash all the resources of the country and take the ordinary people as the focal point of such development interventions.

5.2.2 Decentralise the social and economic development planning and projects implementation.
This will entail giving opportunities to communities at various spatial levels (local, districts and regional) to identify own projects, and then prepare and implement own development programmes and budgets.

5.2.3 Take into consideration the economic development policy's effects/impacts upon the geographic distribution of economic activities, the skewed distribution of population and the role of small towns, district and rural growth centres in the country's social and economic development.

5.2.4 Ensure that the government structures at various spatial levels provide enabling and supportive professional service during the process of formulating and implementing the various spatial development programmes and budgets.

5.2.5 Ensure active involvement of all sectors of civil society, NGOs, private sector and labour in the country's social and economic development process.

It is AFORD's belief that this macro-economic development policy will:

- Democratise the economy and empower the ordinary people by encouraging broader participation in decision-making about the economy in both the private and public sectors.

- Assist to address the spatial economic imbalances and uneven development within and between districts and regions in the country.

- Assist to reduce and eventually eradicate the appalling rampant poverty and create productive employment opportunities.

- Contribute to the development of a prosperous and balanced regional economy in Southern Africa based on the principles of equity and mutual benefit.

- Ensure the provision of social and economic infrastructure services that meet the priority needs of the people, and transfer various social and economic development related skills to the communities.

5.3 EMPLOYMENT CREATION

It has been mentioned in chapter one that since the UDF government came to power, the unemployment rate in the country has increased to a dangerous level.

This unemployment problem is for all categories of the labour force.

AFORD believes that this unemployment problem is precisely due to both the structure of the economy and to the government' unco-ordinated and non-visionary development policies.

The UDF government has so far not encouraged and promoted both public and private sectors investments into productive ventures.

AFORD has observed that these ventures have not led to any new employment creation.
They have instead created temporary disguised-employment where people are underemployed.

The public sector which has bloated employment is under pressure from the World Bank and the Monetary Fund to cut down the number of employees.

The smallholders agriculture sub-sector which has had a proportionally high employment quotient in the economy, has not fared well in employment since the UDF government came to power, due to mainly the high prices of fertilisers.

But because of lack of development vision, the UDF government does not know what to do with the public employees and who will have to be retrenched.

Statistics reveal that approximately 50% of the Malawi population is economically active, and its growth rate is around 3% per annum.

With the stagnation in the creation of new jobs, and the envisaged reduction in the number of employees in many sectors of the economy, the population of the unemployed people is likely to treble by the year 2000.

This unemployment explosion is likely to create a breeding ground for socio-political instability in the country.

AFORD is aware of the ramifications to the country of this magnitude of unemployment.

To avert its anticipated negative impact on the socio-political stability of the country, the AFORD government will endeavour to ensure that:

5.3.1 Investments in the country (by both the public and private sectors) are directed to ventures in productive sectors of the economy, especially in manufacturing industries and small-and medium-scale enterprises.

5.3.2 The legislations on the reduction in the importation of unnecessary commodities which impact negatively on the performance of the local import-substitution industries are enacted.

5.3.3 Incentives are created that would encourage investors to use labour-intensive technology in various public sector and private sector development projects at various spatial levels of the economy.

The main target will be at the local and district levels, so as to make rural-urban migration unattractive.

5.3.4 The establishment of a human resources re-skilling programme is done.

This programme will be designed to train people who are within the labour force to upgrade and gain new technical skills, so that they could have access to various employment opportunities in both the local and macro economies.
5.3.5 The smallholders agriculture sub-sector is revitalised and put back into its original productive footing, by providing affordable agriculture inputs (e.g. fertilisers), and promoting the marketing of its products.

This will improve the income-generating of rural households, and subsequently, their standard of living.

5.3.6 The programmes on voluntary population reduction are promoted and institutionalised in the country.

5.3.7 The Primary and Secondary schools curricula are revised so that they incorporate courses or subjects that could prepare school leavers to acquire skills that would make them easily employable into various sectors of the economy.

5.3.8 The rehabilitation of the old MYP training bases in the rural areas is carried out, so that they could be turned into Rural Polytechnic Colleges, where the rural people could be trained in various rural-based development related skills.

Graduates from these Rural Polytechnic Colleges could move into self-employment development ventures or could be easily absorbed and employed into the agriculture sector or any other sectors of the rural and/or macro-economy.

5.3.9 The early childhood Educare programme is introduced in both Primary and Secondary Schools in the country as an integral part of the future educational system. Educare programme will teach students the child care subjects and the negative impact of early child bearing on their lives and on the Malawi society as a whole.

This programme will be aimed at reducing early childhood among the young people in the country which if not checked, has the potential of increasing the number of unemployed people.

CHAPTER 6

ECONOMIC (PRODUCTION) SECTORS

6.1 AGRICULTURE SECTOR

AFORD is aware that agriculture is not only the single main contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP), but also the mainstay of the majority of the Malawian population; and that a vibrant and expanded agricultural sector translates into a vibrant and expanded Malawi economy.

Agriculture also has a relatively high employment creation quotient in the country compared to other sectors.

AFORD also knows that the agriculture sector, specifically the smallholders sub-sector (which feeds the Malawi population), has been completely neglected by the UDF government.

The whole sector is currently characterised, inter alia, by inefficiency, absence of appropriate visionary sector policies and strategies, continuous exploitation of the small farmers and tenants of commercial farmers, ineffective and insufficient support services to small farmers,
inequitable access to production resources and high value crops, unnecessarily high 
unaffordable prices of inputs (such as fertilisers, seeds, pesticides), unorganised farmers, 
protection of big farmers, absence of food security policy, rampant corruption and shortage of 
food supply.

AFORD further knows that the current poor performance of the sector is mostly by default 
than by design, and that the potentially of the sector to contribute significantly to the country’s 
GDP is tremendous, if it was properly managed.

To re-correct the current saddening situation and put back the agriculture sector into its
original position as the powerhouse of the country's economic development, the AFORD 
government will:

6.1.1 Formulate policies that will lead the diversification of the production activities of the 
agriculture sector in all sub-sectors (e.g. livestock production, 
wildlife farming, poultry farming), rather than relying mainly on tobacco farming to the 
expense of food crop.

6.1.2 Encourage the establishment of farmers unions or co-operatives that will advance the 
interests of all farmers and participate fully in agriculture policy formulation, produce 
marketing strategies and promotion, provision of support services to farmers, purchasing and 
providing farm inputs to farmers, and be involved in and all other decisions relating to 
agriculture development.

6.1.3 Ensure that the country is self-sufficient in food by encouraging people to grow more 
food crops, by formulating appropriate food security policies and strategies and by the 
introduction of the irrigation farming technology in most parts of the country, as a mechanism 
counteracting the negative impact of drought on the sector.

6.1.4 Ensure that policies are formulated that will improve the living and working conditions 
of farm workers and tenants and guarantee full rights and protect them from exploitation, and 
give them farming skills training opportunities, so that they could become self-employed 
small-scale commercial farmers.

6.1.5 Establish an Agricultural Development Bank as a joint venture between government and 
the private sector, that will give financial support (e.g. for farm inputs, buildings, equipment, 
labour cost, etc) to all categories of the farming community at concessionary affordable terms.

Farmers could buy shares in the Bank and participate in managing it by having their 
representatives in the Board of Directors.

6.1.6 Ensure that support services such as extension services, training, appropriate research, 
infrastructure and marketing facilities are efficiently provided to small farmers throughout the 
country.

6.1.7 Genuinely liberalise the marketing of agricultural produce by empowering farmers as 
individuals or through their organised unions or co-operatives to market their own produce at 
markets of their choice whether local or international, within the parameters of the country's 
food security policies.
6.1.8 Promulgate energy supply policies that will support agriculture production by providing electricity supply in the rural areas of the country where agriculture activities take place.

6.1.9 Ensure that the present system of agricultural regulatory mechanisms, Agriculture Control Boards, and corporations are reviewed, so as to maximise benefits to farmer and protect their interests and those of the consumers.

6.2 TOURISM SECTOR

AFORD recognises the fact that Malawi (which was internationally termed the "Warm Heart of Africa") has, under the UDF government, lost its international tourism market share due to lack of vision, commitment and policy direction of the sector's development.

Malawi has excellent sceneries in its mountains, valleys, lakes, beaches and game reserves, which are part of our national patrimony.

AFORD also recognises that Malawians are a warm, friendly and hospitable people, which is an asset for tourist attraction.

AFORD further recognises that tourism is potentially a major source of employment creation (directly and through linkage effects) and of foreign exchange.

AFORD is also aware of the current shortcomings of the tourist marketing strategies, and that tourism in the country has all along been geared essentially to the overseas and South African markets.

AFORD is further aware of the poor conditions and the non existent of vital tourist infrastructure services and facilities in the country, and of the current high rates of armed robbery and crime which are a potential hindrous to the viability of the tourism sector in the country.

The AFORD government will:

6.2.1 Formulate a comprehensive and integrated tourism development policy and strategies, that will not only revitalise and promote the sector and attract local and foreign investors, but also form an integral part of the national development policy.

6.2.2 Encourage the local and foreign companies to develop the tourist market in Malawi by integrating it with the marketing efforts and strategies of the Southern African Regional Tourism Council (SARTOC).

This would ensure a co-ordinated and mutually-beneficial tourist activities within the SADC region, thereby offering some world's natural and recreational tourist attractions.

6.2.3 Ensure that a joint venture between the public sector and private sector is established for the development of tourist facilities along Lake Malawi from the north to the south.

Such tourist development facilities will be compatible with the ecological integrity of the lake or marine environment, or within the country's environmental management policy.
6.2.4 Provide the necessary manpower and financial resources to the Tourism Development Corporation to enable it effectively and efficiently support the sector in market development and research, and in supporting tourist services providers in marketing their products.

6.2.5 Intensify the marketing of the country's new image of the political culture, unique culture of the Malawi people and the historical heritage which have the potential of attracting tourists into the country.

6.2.6 Ensure full community involvement in tourism projects in their areas through the Local, District and Regional council; and that the communities become partners in such ventures and are given access to finance, management skills, upgrading the tourist services production skills and technology and training in language proficiency.

This will require the improvement of the tourist training places and facilities.

6.2.7 Ensure that full and transparent environmental impact assessments are conducted for all major tourism projects, so as to guarantee the preservation and protection of the country's rich and diverse cultures and natural resources.

6.3 MINING SECTOR

AFORD is aware that Malawi's mining sector is the least developed not only in the country, but also in the SADC region; and that this is more by default and the low priority accorded to the sector by government.

Default in the sense that political criterion and self-centredness by influential people become the major determinants in the development of the sector.

AFORD is also aware that currently only a few shallow mining activities of coal production, limestone for the production of cement, dolomite, aggregate stone and small amount of semi-precious stones exist in the country.

AFORD is further aware that some deposits of titanium, uranium, gasium, monazite sands, gemstones, and bauxite arc available in the country, but no initiatives for the commercial development of these minerals have so far taken place.

AFORD is convinced that a genuine and rational development of the mining sector can contribute tremendously to the diversification of the macro economy, increase employment opportunities, expand the tax base, contribute to foreign exchange earnings and savings, widen other economic opportunities through multiplier effects, and enhance prospects for further industrialization in the country as minerals are a vital input for numerous mineral-based industries.

In order to activate the mining sector, the AFORD government will:

6.3.1 Formulate a comprehensive mining sector policy and development strategies that will not only incorporate environmental safeguards, but also guide the exploration, exploitation and transformation of the sector and the mined-processing industries in the country, so as to increase the level of the sector's benefication to the macro economy.
6.3.2 Develop appropriate incentives that would attract both domestic and foreign investment in all categories (small-scale, medium-scale and large-scale) of the mining sector and mineral-based or mineral processing industries.

6.3.3 Revamp the institutional and technical capacities of the Mining Investment and Development Corporation (MIDCOR), so that it can effectively promote and market the development of the mining in the country through the joint partnership of the public sector and the private sector.

More use of mineral expertise from the SADC region could be used in the exploration and exploitation of minerals in the country.

6.3.4 Institute mining safety, health and compensation policies for mineworkers and those killed or injured in the mining activities, as generally mining is a dangerous activity which requires special attention, to conform to international standards and measures.

6.4 FISHERIES SECTOR

AFORD recognises that Malawi is well endowed with a wide variety of fresh water fish species both for human consumption and atheistical value.

Some of the fish is exported to various SADC countries.

AFORD is also aware that about 70% of the total animal-based protein consumption in the country comes from fish.

AFORD is further aware that the infrastructure capacity (storage facilities, transport, harvesting and processing technology) to support the fishing sector, is inadequate and poorly developed.

AFORD knows that although the fisheries sector currently employs (formal and informal) around 250000 people country wide, the sector has the potential to employ more than double this figure.

To increase the performance of the fisheries sector in the country, the AFORD government will:

6.4.1 Formulate a comprehensive fisheries development and management policies that will improve the exploitation, management and sustainability of the fish resources, and safeguard against over-exploitation and mismanagement.

6.4.2 Encourage the full participation by local fishermen and their leaders in stock conservation and rational utilisation.

6.4.3 Encourage the development of appropriate fisheries technologies such as fish farming, harvesting, processing, storage and transportation, which would increase the production of fish and sell them to communities at affordable prices.

6.4.4 Ensure that the fishing inputs and implements are made readily available to small-scale local fishermen and at affordable prices.
6.4.5 Develop educational and scientific interest in the fishery resources, so that the sector can contribute significantly to the country's gross domestic product (GDP).

Promote scientific research in fresh and inland water fisheries, to achieve a proper balance between exploitation and conservation, and where feasible, introduce high yielding fish varieties.

6.5 LAND

AFORD knows that land is the most basic need and important resource for every Malawian, and it belongs to the present and future generations.

The productive potential of land needs to be effectively harnessed for the benefit of the entire nation, as it is the foundation and backdrop of our country's social and economic development.

AFORD also recognises that the land in Malawi has been seriously damaged as a result of mismanagement and inappropriate policies.

AFORD further recognises that land is a finite resource and its availability for human purpose is fast declining owing to the rapid increased in population.

AFORD is also aware that the local communities have not been the beneficiaries of their land which has been taken away from them and turned into development projects areas.

AFORD also knows that the country has no comprehensive land policy that could guide the optimal and efficient utilisation and development of land.

The AFORD government will:

6.5.1 Formulate a comprehensive land policy for the country that will encompass both urban and rural land, and land tenure systems.

6.5.2 Ensure that all Malawian citizens (irrespective of colour, gender, belief and creed) have access to ownership and occupation of land for shelter, food and other necessities for family comfort and security.

Land lords and tradional leaders will be required under the new land policy to respect the human right of people living on the land, the need for use and protection of land as a productive asset for the country.

6.5.3 Address the needs of the homeless in urban areas and the landless in rural arras (whose populations are increasing rapidly), by instituting strategies that will make land available to these homeless and landless communities through government and acquisition, redistribution and land reform programmes.

6.5.4 Ensure that there is no discrimination in matters relating to the acquisition and inheritance of land and property on it.
6.5.5 Promote the development of an equitable system of land tenure to avoid commercialisation of customary land without just compensation to the owners of that land, and their prior knowledge and consent.

6.5.6 Ensure that the land the rural/urban communities own is used as their equity contribution to any economic development projects that will be located in their areas or on their land, as means way of their economic participation and empowerment, then enable them to receive yearly dividends.

6.5.7 Recognise and protect the diversity of land tenure forms in Malawi including public land, customary land, leasehold land and freehold land; and ensure that this diverse form of land tenure does not prejudice the ability of people to have access to credit facilities for productive and development purposes.

6.5.8 Conduct a national land valuation exercise in order to determine the value of land the country and individual households or families hold, so that it acts as an input when assessing the country's and families' wealth, for any economic activities, and the opportunity costs of land.

6.5.9 Ensure that tenants on the estate commercial farms are adequately protected by law through better land tenancy agreements.

6.5.10 Encourage the application of appropriate land-use designs and technologies that will reduce land degradation and preserve its natural resources.

6.5.11 Ensure that no land is held for speculation purposes, especially the urban land.

6.5.12 Promote appropriate land-use zoning and planning systems in urban areas that do not discriminate against anyone from developing or residing in any part of the urban areas.

6.5.13 Conduct a land-use and ownership audit, especially in the urban centres and in the commercial agriculture farms, which will act as an input in the formulation of a land policy.

6.6 NATIONAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

It has been recognised by AFORD that one of the nation's greatest assets is the environment in which the Malawi citizens live.

AFORD thus believes that all Malawians, present and future, have the right to a decent quality of life through sustainable use of natural resources.

AFORD also knows that poverty and environmental degradation are closely linked, and that sound management of the country's natural resources can contribute significantly to sustainable social and economic development and growth.

The AFORD government will:

6.6.1 Formulate an integrated environmental management policy and strategies that will not only protect and preserve the country's natural resources, but also make people aware of the importance of conserving the natural resources.
6.6.2 Ensure that all development endeavours or ventures and decisions taken in all sectors of the economy incorporate environmental consequences and safeguards.

6.6.3 Strive to preserve all natural resources and promote greater bio-diversity, microbes, plants and animals, and continuously monitor key natural reserves, water resources and rivers to timely detect any changes in the levels of pollution and its impact on the environment.

6.6.4 Ensure that there is no wanton and unwarranted cutting down of trees/vegetation, and promote reforestation programmes with the full participation of the local communities, in order to arrest desertification, land degradation and soil erosion.

6.6.5 Introduce a course on environmental matters in both primary and secondary schools in the country.

6.6.6 Encourage scientific research and technological innovation, and the development of substitutes for natural resources in all aspects.

6.6.7 Institute measures and systems that will manage solid waste with emphasis on preventing pollution and reduce waste through direct controls, and increase the capacity of Malawians and government to monitor and prevent the dumping of toxic wastes.

6.6.8 Encourage environmental education programmes to rekindle the Malawians' love for the land, to increase environmental consciousness among the youth, to co-ordinate environmental education with education policy at all levels and to empower communities to act on environmental issues surrounding them.

6.7 INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AID FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR

AFORD is aware of the fact the manufacturing industries (import-substitution and export-oriented agro-industries as dominant) have together been ranked second to agriculture in their contribution to the GDP.

AFORD is further aware that the manufacturing sector in Malawi had previously enjoyed protectionist policy and that these policies were removed when the country adopted the economic and foreign trade liberalisation policies which in reality have existed only on paper, as the economy and trade are still thoroughly distorted by government interventions.

These interventions are however mostly in favour of a few conglomerates and ruling party political elites and their lackeys.

Most Malawian-owned enterprises are not the beneficiaries of liberalisation policies.

AFORD is further aware that the performance of these manufacturing industries have declined tremendously since the UDF government came to power.

The channelling of capital investments into non-productive ventures, and the intensified importation of finished goods (having higher comparative competitive quality and price advantages to similar domestically produced goods), have contributed heavily to this poor performance.
The country currently faces deteriorating terms of foreign trade.

AFORD is also aware that although the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) policy and its export incentive was enacted, no spatial areas have so far been identified, designed and developed for the EPZ activities.

AFORD knows that the domestic commercial and trading activities are largely dominated by the Asian traders who have competitive advantages and easy access to credit facilities.

It is also the realisation of AFORD that foreign exchange plays a major role in sustaining the country's commercial and/or trading sector and in the growth of the economy, and that Malawi at present has a foreign exchange problem which has mostly been caused by the abuse of forex by the state machinery and certain importers.

AFORD further knows that the prices of most basic essential goods are being set arbitrary (unmarched with their costs) without any due regard to the affordability levels of the majority of people in the country.

To redress and recorrect the above issues, the AFORD government will:

6.7.1 Formulate and enact industrialisation policies, strategies and incentives that would substantially revitalise the manufacturing industries by promoting and increasing capital investment in productive employment creating ventures that promote inter-sectoral linkages in the macro economy.

6.7.2 Encourage and enhance the technology capacity of the domestic manufacturing industries that have strong internal social and economic linkages to other sectors of the economy, to ensure that Malawi emerges as a significant exporter of agro-industrial finished and/or intermediate goods to other SADC countries and to the world at large.

6.7.3 Formulate and enact a broad range of policy instruments that will include a closer scrutiny of the pricing policies of both intermediate industrial inputs and of finished basic essential goods and services, e.g. sugar, cement, etc.

This will also include anti-trust policies.

6.7.4 Formulate and enact investment promotion policies and incentives for both domestic and foreign investors that will:

- create easy accessibility of capital funds to the emerging and small Malawian entrepreneurs;
- reduce tax burdens; establish operative EPZs; reduce the level of foreign debt service ratio;
- promote the diversification of the economy; use the scarce foreign exchange for productive ventures;
- simplify the registration and approval procedures of both domestic and foreign investments; and allow the market forces to determine the prices of manufactured goods and labour wages.

6.7.5 Strive to curtail the current monopolistic tendencies where a few individuals mostly political elites and their sycophants have access to distribute and wholesale the most pressing, basic essential commodities.
6.7.6 Ensure that the indigenous Malawians are accorded equal opportunities and access to credit facilities, so that they could participate fully in various economic ventures including the trading and commercial activities.

6.7.8 Enact legislations that promote and strengthen trade between Malawi and other SADC countries.

6.7.9 Immediately identify and designate areas in different parts or three regions of the country that will act as EPZs where manufacturing companies which want to process and produce goods for export could locate.

In addition to the EPZs, areas for Free Trading Zones will also be designated in each of the three regions of the country.

6.7.9 Intensify the marketing of Malawi goods to other countries in the SADC region and the world so as to expand the market share of the country's goods or commodities.

6.7.10 Ensure that the policy that has designated certain rural district centres as trading and business areas for only the indigenous Malawi entrepreneurs is upheld and reinforced.

6.8 SMALL-SCALE ENTERPRISES (SSE) SECTOR

AFORD knows that the majority of the indigenous Malawians are engaged in small-scale manufacturing and commercial or trading businesses.

These businesses are either formal or informal, and provide a significant proportion of employment opportunities to the country's labour force.

Their operations are scattered throughout the country in both rural and urban areas.

Their growth rate by far outpaces that of the big formal sector.

AFORD also knows that this sector plays a direct positive role in the economic structural reforms in the country, as its activities are directed at addressing and meeting the basic needs of the majority poor Malawians.

AFORD is also aware that the SSE sector is not a marginal sector, and any policy concerned with growth and equity cannot avoid the issue of how to increase employment, and raise the productivity of the SSE sector.

Most of the people in Malawi who are among the most affected by the country's economic structural adjustment programmes and government cutbacks are the people engaged in the SSE sector.

This sector also has a positive effect on the country's balance of payments as it uses less imports, and creates domestic economic multiplier effects.

AFORD further knows that there is no comprehensive policy in the country governing the operations of this sector.
The sector currently operates in an unfriendly manufacturing and commercial environments, and that the government's macro policies are not supportive of the activities of the SSE sector.

The financial sector does not provide sufficient credit to the SSE sector.

The sector's role in the development of entrepreneurial skills among the small and emerging business persons has been impressive.

AFORD also knows that the functions of DEMATT, SEDOM, Women's Development Fund and Indefund have been totally distorted and misdirected by political interference.

When voted to power the AFORD government will:

6.8.1 Formulate policies that will make the SSE sector form an integral part of the national economy and economic development policy, thereby making the sector become dynamic, so that its activities can provide a decent living for both the sector's employees and entrepreneurs.

6.8.2 Formulate policies that will enable the small-scale enterprises have easy access to credit facilities, develop marketing strategies and create markets for the SSE goods and services (especially curios and basket chairs), establish training programmes for the small-scale entrepreneurs to enable them to upgrade and/or develop business skills, and acquire new technology.

6.8.3 Restructure the activities of both the Malawi Development Corporation and other similar parastatals so that they reform their lending criteria and increase their lending to the SSE sector, especially in the productive and manufacturing endeavours; and end corruption, regionalism, favouritism and nepotism in their lending programmes, and ensure equitable spatial distribution of their investments based on economic rationality.

6.8.4 Impress upon the local governments to review their zoning and business licensing regulations and unnecessary red tapes, to end discrimination against small-scale enterprises and hasten the process.

6.8.5 Formulate policies that will allow the public sector institutions to give opportunities to SSE to tender for their various works, activities and supply of goods and services.

CHAPTER 7

ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES

Being a landlocked country, Malawi needs well functioning and sustainable economic infrastructure services which are the support base for the development of the economy in a sustainable manner.

The AFORD government will ensure that these economic infrastructure services are in such conditions that they could contribute the fullest to the country's economic development, and that appropriate policies and strategies for their sustainability are formulated in the respective sectors.

7.1 ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT SECTOR
AFORD recognises with sadness the current poor conditions of the whole country's road network, and the poor road transport system in the country.

This sadness is mainly due to the fact that the road network had deteriorated to this pathetic condition within the past five years.

Most of country's road corridors carrying the road freight between Malawi and other SADC countries (especially the northern road corridor), have become almost impassable.

Urban road network in all main cities of the country is in the worse conditions.

AFORD also notes with shock the badly damaged rural roads which are responsible for the movement of not only a large number of people, but also agricultural produce.

AFORD is aware that the fast deterioration of all the road network in the country is mostly due to lack of maintenance.

AFORD is also concerned about the current high rate of road accidents in the country which are partly due to the poor condition of the roads and the passengers vehicles.

To redress the sector's problems, the AFORD government will:

7.1.1 As a matter of priority, institute a comprehensive roads rehabilitation and maintenance programme for the whole road network in the country, especially in rural areas.

This would remove the critical "bottlenecks" in the road network infrastructure, so that the full capacity of the existing road network can be realised, taking cognisance of the public transport needs.

7.1.2 Revitalise the instinct or defunct Districts Roads Improvement Maintenance Programme (DRIMP so that the rehabilitation and maintenance of rural districts roads continues as before, and to be managed by the Regional Development Councils (RDCs) and the District Councils.

7.1.3 Extend the tarmac road construction of the main M1 to Chitipa and Nsanje, and the Jenda - Pherembe - Rumphi road via Edingeni and Lake KaZuni.

7.1.4 Develop to bitumen standard all road network in the district centres throughout the country.

7.1.5 Formulate a comprehensive road development policy and strategies which could not only be an integral part of the country's national economic development policy, but also an integral part of the SADC regional road development policy and strategies.

7.1.6 Review the whole existing systems of awarding contracts for roads construction, rehabilitation and maintenance.

7.1.7 Encourage the development of new technology and research for roads and bridges designs, construction and maintenance, so that both labour-intensity and capital-intensity methods are fully catered for, without sacrificing the durability and quality of such roads.
7.1.8 Revamp the Police Traffic Department to ensure sufficient and effective enforcement of the use of roadworth vehicles (especially public transport) on the roads of Malawi, and that the drivers have valid and appropriate licenses.

7.1.9 Ensure that all passenger public transport and minibus industries are properly regulated and controlled, and that the existing road safety regulations are revisited and reformulated.

7.1.10 Promote co-ordinated, safe and affordable public transport as a commercial and a social service.

7.1.11 Encourage the local authorities to venture into the public passenger transport business, as a means of raising funds for their councils.

7.1.12 Ensure that every part of the country where roads are in good conditions, are serviced by frequent public passenger transport.

7.1.13 Ensure that the road transport between Malawi and her neighbours or other SADC countries conform with the SADC and international transport conventions, regulations and treaties; and that such transport systems are harmonised.

7.1.14 Ensure that rural areas of the country have more frequent, co-ordinated, efficient and accountable public transport and improved facilities at an affordable cost.

7.2 RAILWAY AND MARINE SERVICES SECTORS

The current inadequate performance and contribution of the railway and marine sectors to the country's economic development (despite their tremendous potential to contribute to the Gross Domestic Product), is well known to AFORD.

The party also knows that the country has only two railway lines which are used for the transportation of the country's exports and imports and domestic goods within the country.

The central and northern regions do not have railway lines that adjoin Malawi with the northern and north-west SADC countries, to supplement the road transportation system.

AFORD is also aware that the marine services in Lake Malawi and its ports are not well developed.

The currently handle mainly domestic goods and public passenger transportation services.

To place both the railway and marine services in their full operational state, the AFORD government will:

7.2.1 Rationalise the internal railway system through restructuring, to improve its operational efficiency.

7.2.2 Explore future railway sector development in the country, specifically targeted at integrating it with the railway network of other SADC countries, so as to ensure efficient and economical functioning of the sector.
7.2.3 Promote private sector investment into the marine transport network, and eventually privatise the existing lake transport services.

7.2.4 Extend the lake transport services so that the ships dock at the Tanzanian ports of Itungi, Manda and Mbamba Bay, so as to maximise the public passenger and cargo usage of the ships.

7.3 ENERGY AND ELECTRIFICATION SECTOR

AFORD is aware that Malawi is heavily dependent on wood-fuel, charcoal and crop residual for energy and this accounts for approximately 90% of the total energy use. The use of alternative sources of energy (petroleum fuels, ethanol, electricity and coal), account for the remaining 10 percent.

This high dependence on the traditional sources of energy has resulted in deforestation and environmental degradation.

AFORD recognises that the lack of electricity in most parts of the country, especially the rural areas where 90% of the population live, is the major problem in the energy sector in the country.

AFORD thus believes that it is essential to exploit the efficient use of both the traditional and other alternatives sources of energy. To achieve this, the AFORD government will:

7.3.1 Formulate a comprehensive energy policy that will integrate the supply-side and demand-side of energy and address the needs for electricity in the rural areas of the country, and form an integral part of the national economic development policy.

7.3.2 Ensure that energy development programmes emphasise improved management of natural woodlands, social forestry and commercial woodlands, and that community participation, energy efficiency and conservation will be the cornerstone of the energy policies.

7.3.3 Reduce barriers to entry in the oil or liquid fuel industry, by encouraging competition, thereby ensuring a stable, high-quality supply, stable investment and low input to the economy and consumers.

7.3.4 Review the existing pricing structure for petroleum products in the country to ensure that appropriate prices are set for such products for the benefit of all.

7.3.5 Encourage research and technological innovation in the development of new sources of energy (e.g. solar and wind energy), and the efficient use of energy; and look into the possibility of integrating our electricity supply to those of other SADC countries, especially by supplementing our supply with the Cahora Bassa grid in Mozambique.

7.3.6 Ensure that an accelerated and sustainable rural electrification programme is initiated that will provide access to electricity to the rural population, thereby stimulating sustainable social and economic development in rural Malawi.
7.3.7 Ensure that schools and clinics located within reach of both grid and non-grid power sources are provided with electricity, so as to improve the quality of education and medical services in the country.

7.3.8 Create a national Electrification Fund underwritten by a government guarantee, that will raise bulk finance from lenders and investors for the electrification of most parts of the country which have no access to electricity supply.

7.3.9 Review the existing ESCOM user-charges and connection costs and regulations, especially for domestic and small-scale businesses, to ensure that electricity becomes easily accessible to the majority of the Malawians.

7.3.10 Regulate the use of traditional sources of energy to enable producers and managers (both public and private) to charge and retain fees for harvesting trees, so that the community should look upon trees as a resource belonging to them and acting as a source of income.

7.3.11 Conduct a feasibility study that will look at the possibility of liberalising electricity generation, distribution and transmission.

7.3.12 Establish a national Energy Policy Council that will manage the Electrification Fund, formulate energy policies and bring together stakeholders such as government, civil society, labour, business and consumers.

It will also regulate electricity in the country to enforce public policy, ensure long-term viability, assure environmental sustainability, and act as an ombuds in the event of conflicts between consumers, government and electricity suppliers.

7.4 POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATION SECTOR

The Posts and Telecommunications sector is an information infrastructure that plays a crucial role in Malawi's health, education, agricultural, informal sector, policing, security and safety programmes.

It is therefore an indispensable backbone for the development of all other social and economic sectors.

AFORD however knows that the Posts and Telecommunications services in the country are not only in inadequate supply, but also in a deteriorating state due to inadequate maintenance.

AFORD is also aware that the existing Posts and Telecommunications parastatal is restricted by meagre finance at its disposal from engaging in substantial development.

AFORD further knows that the cellular network is only operative in three main cities and within short distance from city centres, and that its ownership is suspect.

To put the sector into its right footing in its contribution to the country's development, the AFORD government will:

7.4.1 Revamp the existing technical and institutional capacity of the Telecommunications parastatal so that it performs its functions efficiently and effectively. Malawi has an abundant supply of natural water resources. AFORD however notes that itopite the water bcing in
abundant supply in the country, very little developments have occurred to exploit its full potential, so that it is made available in a sustainable manner to all Malawians.

7.4.2 Develop a modern and integrated telecommunications and information technology system in the country that is capable of enhancing, cheapening and facilitating education, health care, business information, public administration and rural development.

7.4.3 Develop a SADC and PTA co-operative programme for telecommunications by integrating the country's telecommunications with those of other SADC and PTA countries, especially Mozambique through her Nacala backbone telecommunications network.

7.4.4 Improve the provision of telecommunications facilities to rural communities.

7.4.5 Expand the cellular network services to other urban areas in the country, and revisit the current unnecessarily high prohibitive prices of the cellular phones.

The current ownership of the cellular network will also be reviewed.

7.5 AIR TRANSPORT SECTOR

AFORD notes with disappointment that Air Malawi is continuously not operating in a self-sustained manner financially.

AFORD also knows that the airline has inadequate number of aircrafts to enable it operate profitably.

AFORD is also aware of the fact that a small airline restricted to a few domestic and regional routes is neither in the best interest of the country nor will it serve the interests of the travelling public (especially international tourists) and the cargo handlers.

The AFORD government will:

7.5.1 Formulate a comprehensive air transport policy which will be an integral part of not only the country's integrated transport sector and transportation system policy, but also of the national economic development policy and strategies.

7.5.2 Engage the private sector so that a joint venture and ownership of Air Malawi could be concluded at the shortest time possible, and enable the airline operate on a purely commercial basis, and facilitate easy domestic air transport for tourists.

7.5.3 Initiate co-operation with the neighbouring countries with a view of forming a joint Regional Airline to meet the increasing regional and international air travel demands.

WATER AND SANITATION SECTOR

7.6 Malawi has an abundant supply of natural water resources.

AFORD however notes that despite the water being in abundant supply in the country, very little developments have occurred to exploit its full potential, so that it is made available in a sustainable manner to all Malawians.
AFORD is aware that currently approximately 75% of the population in the country has no access to safe potable water.

AFORD is also aware that about 95% of the population has no access to waterborne sanitation, an indication of high chances of underground water pollution due to the intensive use of pit-latrines.

AFORD also knows that grassroots communities in Malawi have had little say in the provision of water and decision-making in water delivery and the water authorities have reflected a clear paternalistic approach.

AFORD also recognises the economic value of water and the environment.

To maximise the water resource potential to contribute to the country's social and economic development, the AFORD government will:

7.6.1 Formulate a comprehensive and integrated water and sanitation policy that will facilitate multi-purpose use of water resources (such as for hydropower, agriculture irrigation, industrial and domestic use), and ensure that all Malawians have the right access to clean water.

This policy will also aim to achieve an economically, environmentally and politically sustainable approach to the management of the country's water resources and the collection, treatment and disposal of waste.

7.6.2 Increase the provision of clean and safe water, and improve the maintenance of existing water schemes in rural areas and throughout the country.

7.6.3 Conserve and protect important water catchments, and mitigate water environmental degradation and pollution.

7.6.4 Improve water supply and sanitation in the urban areas by consolidating existing water and extending the sewage facilities and other waterborne sanitation facilities.

7.6.5 Ensure that decisions on water provision and management are transparent and involve the communities at all levels, and that communities are empowered through training in water management, and ensure that such management is integrated into the overall water development planning.

7.6.6 Encourage the provision of appropriate and well ventilated pit-latrines in rural areas, which will ensure minimal pollution to the underground water.

7.6.7 Institute appropriate and affordable water pricing structure, so that clean potable water becomes accessible to all Malawians in sufficient quantities for health and hygiene requirements.

7.6.8 Encourage the formation of decentralised water facilities maintenance structures throughout the country, to ensure the longevity and sustainability of such facilities.
7.6.9 Work with the rural communities (especially those areas which are prone to drought), for the construction of shallow water reservoirs for water supply use for various purposes during dry and/or drought seasons.

CHAPTER 8

MACRO-ECONOMIC POLICIES

The macro-economic policies for any economy are characterised by two main sets of policy instruments, and these are fiscal policy and monetary policy.

These policies will be elaborated in details below.

Any macro-economic policies, in generic terms, should aim to address the country's social and economic problems on the basis of its strengths, and some of the strategies to follow would be:

- Establishing an economic environment conducive to economic growth.

- Formulating trade and industrial policies designed to stimulate and foster a greater outward orientation, so as to sustain high employment and participation levels in the economy.

- Instituting financial or fiscal and monetary discipline, and reprioritise public sector activities, and facilitate the establishment of fair and equitable pricing policies.

- Modernising economic infrastructure services and human resources development programmes to meet the challenges of economic production and growth.

- Reforming the labour market in order to facilitate effective and equitable collective bargaining for living wages based on productivity, and the restructuring of employment pattern.

8.1 FISCAL POLICY

AFORD feels that the growth of the Malawi economy and the social and economic sustainability of the country, partly depends on the application of appropriate fiscal policy instruments by the government.

Fiscal policy is thus concerned with the way the government or public sector sources and spends public sector finances and the impact on the performance of the economy.

AFORD knows that the current poor performance of the various fiscal related activities in the country is directly linked to the inappropriate and ineffective fiscal policy instruments of the UDF government.

AFORD is aware that the current fiscal distress and the accompanying crisis of confidence in the UDF government by donor countries and institutions has its roots in the failure of the government to sustain an appropriate balance between macro-economic stability, internal consistency, equity, efficiency, legitimacy, sustainability, transparency and the political judgements.
AFORD is also aware that while the macro-economic considerations are supposed to be taken as first priority in public policy, but the current endemic deficit or inflationary treads in the country are a direct outcomes of government policy failures.

Excessive government deficit results in higher inflation, higher real interest rates, balance of payments problems and lower economic growth; and ultimately, undermines all the country's development programmes (public and private sectors).

AFORD recognises that the budget deficit in any country is affected by the effectiveness of the tax system, which in turn is sensitive to public perceptions about fairness and quality of taxation and expenditure.

Political legitimacy, acceptability and confidence also affect economic confidence and behaviour.

The efficiency of public services determines, in the long-run, their contribution to economic growth and development prospects.

AFORD believes that fiscal policy-making is about reconciling conflicting purposes of the government and of the society, and this involves difficult political and economic decisions.

AFORD further believes that a fiscal programme cannot substitute for political decision-making, but can serve to make explicit the conflicts and options that government faces in fiscal policy-making, and to improve the information on which decision-making rests.

The AFORD government will thus carry out the undermentioned measures:-

8.1.1 GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

AFORD knows that the current public sector or government expenditure as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) far exceeds the internationally acceptable figure of 7% and below.

Although Malawi's deficit has not been larger than those of other developing countries, but the past four years ratios of government consumption to GDP, have had bad stories to the Malawi economy, as they have all along been showing increasing trends.

This seems to have been a deliberate action of the UDF government in defiance of numerous IMF advices to cut expenditure.

Apart from salaries and wages, much of other public sector/government expenditure or spending is on non-productive ventures, and due to inefficiency and rampant corruption in the public service.

To reduce the unwarranted huge public sector spending, the AFORD government will:

8.1.1.1 Conduct thorough and comprehensive investigations on the nature and magnitude of public sector spending, so that the unnecessary and non-productive expenditure areas could be eliminated immediately, and then redirect government spending and investment into priority and productive areas which have direct impact on poverty reduction and social and economic development.
8.1.1.2 Rationalise certain public sector activities or functions especially at the regional and district levels, so as to remove the unnecessary duplication of functions and save some of the costs.

8.1.1.3 Formulate an appropriate public or government sector borrowing strategy that will consciously avoid taking on debt for development projects that do not only generate short-term cash-flows, but that which could easily be developed by the private sector.

8.1.1.4 Introduce a zero-based transparent budgeting system in government as a means of aligning government recurrent and capital expenditures whereby government ministries, departments and parastatals will motivate their activities and programmes, and on this basis, determine their budgetary requirements.

The traditional incremental budgeting approach will be stopped.

8.1.1.5 Privatise certain functions currently under government or public sector responsibility, which can easily and efficiently be carried out by the private sector and the communities or the non-governmental organisations.

8.1.1.6 Promote efficiency and equity in the provision of public goods and services through the introduction of personnel performance criteria and systems, so that public sector employees are renumerated and awarded based on their performance.

8.1.1.7 Introduce a transparent multi-year budgeting process based on the ongoing government or public sector programmes, which will involve all levels of government. The representatives of the civil society will be invited to make recommendations on spending shifts, inefficiency, waste and corruption.

8.1.1.8 Eliminate poor financial management in public sector institutions and all forms of corrupt tendencies such as nepotism, favouritism, regionalism and ethnicity, and also reconstitute the Anti-Corruption Bureau, so that it performs its functions efficiently effectively and in an impartial manner.

8.1.1.9 Introduce fiscal decentralisation measures whereby the Regional Development Councils together with the regional government offices could be empowered to compile and implement their own multi-year capital and recurrent budgets for their respective development programmes.

This will aim at improving public service delivery, relocating some government employees from Capital Hill to the regions and districts, encourage adaptation of services to local needs and tightening the accountability of public sector to the electorate.

8.1.1.10 Ensure that the number of cabinet ministers and their deputies is appropriate to and is in line with the affordability level of the government fiscus and the size of the Malawi economy.

8.1.1.11 Reduce government spending and deficit which have reached disturbingly high levels since the UDF government came to power, and ensure the maintenance of fiscal discipline at all levels of government.
8.1.2 TAXATION POLICY

AFORD realises that one of the main sources of government revenue is taxation, which is leveled on various commodities and services in the macro economy.

To ensure that appropriate and efficient taxation systems operate in the country so as to raise funds for government for various development programmes, the AFORD government will:

8.1.2.1 Formulate comprehensive appropriate and transparent taxation policies and strategies that will replace the existing inappropriate ones which are fragmented and are susceptible to abuse.

The new policies and strategies will also minimise the disruptive effects of taxation on supply, demand and allocation of resources, broaden the tax base, improve tax collection, administration and compliance, and promptly deal with corruption in all departments that collect revenue.

8.1.2.2 Review the existing companies and individuals taxation strategies and tax incentives, so as to ensure fair ways of raising revenue but without frightening domestic and foreign investors.

Incentives that comply with the government's development programmes, industrial investment, human resources development, employment creation, and social polices, will be subjected to cost-benefit analysis, and an explicit government decision will then have to be taken on each.

8.1.2.3 Revamp as a matter of urgency, the technical and institutional capacity of the government departments of Income Tax and Customs and Excise.

8.1.2.4 Levy a systematic and flat rate of value added tax (VAT) on certain goods and services.

8.1.3 PUBLIC EXTERNAL DEBT

Malawi's gross domestic product (GDP) at market prices was recorded at around MK (Kwacha) 22,5 billion in 1995 and MK (Kwacha) 33.03 billion in 1996.

The country's merchandise exports as a percentage of the GDP was around 19,8% in 1996, down from 28,5% and 25% in 1995 and 1994 respectively.

The merchandise imports were around 16,0% in both 1996 and 1995.

The country's external debt stood at MK (Kwacha) 35,4 billion in 1996, an increase from MK (Kwacha) 33.0 billion in 1995.

As a percentage of the country's GDP, the total external debt was around 100.8% in 1996.

AFORD is aware that some of this indebtedness is partly due to the development loans that the country took in the past three decades which the country has just started paying back, and partly due to financial mismanagement within the public sector.
The drop in the prices of the country's export commodities and the declining value of the Malawi currency vis-a-vis the currencies of the country's main trading partners, have also contributed to the current high level of the foreign debt.

AFORD recognises the negative impact the external debt position has had on the country's overall economic development.

Many factors have contributed to this sad situation, and AFORD believes that a multi-dimensional approach would be required to address this problem.

The AFORD government will:

8.1.3.1 Lobby the international community, especially the donor countries and financial institutions to see if certain external debts could be written off as a gesture of goodwill to the democratic Malawi.

8.1.3.2 Ensure that the new public sector debts are procured on concessional terms and channelled to priority productive investment which contribute directly or indirectly to the country's social and economic development.

None of the new debts shall be used to recapitalise the old debts.

The new debt investment will be based on economic rationality rather than on political expediency.

8.1.3.3 Review the current system of government borrowing from the Reserve Bank and Commercial banks, to finance unnecessary and uneconomical public sector expenditure.

8.2 MONETARY POLICY

The monetary policy of any economy is concerned with how the money supply is regulated, and how the international finance operates and its impact on the national economy.

The purpose of a monetary policy is to ensure that the supply and demand for money in the country leads to the growth of the macro-economy in all sectors for the benefit of all in the country.

The monetary growth in any economy is associated with inflation, interest rates, price of goods and services, salaries and wages, employment and balance of payments.

The country's monetary policy and performance is regulated by the Reserve Bank of Malawi acting as a government agent.

The monetary policy and fiscal policy are normally closely linked through the government's budget identity.

AFORD is aware that alternative complementary fiscal packages assembled by the public sector or government, may have different implications both for the adjustment process of monetary growth, and for the nature of the ultimate national economic equilibrium.
To ensure that the monetary policy facilitates and supports the social and economic development of the national economy, the AFORD government will institute measures and/or actions as depicted under each monetary instrument.

8.2.1 INFLATION AND MONETARY SUPPLY

AFORD has observed for some years that Malawi's inflation rate, especially the consumer price inflation (CPI), has been one of the most unstable in the SADC region. The inflation rate was recorded at an average rate of 83.3% in 1995 and 37.6% in 1996.

Although this was a significant decrease in inflation within a course of one year, AFORD's street investigations however reveal that there was no major decrease in the CPI in the major basic commodities during the same period.

AFORD has also observed a perpetual decline in the value of the Kwacha in relation to the currencies of Malawi's main trading partners (eg. USA and UK).

This decline in the Kwacha has had an impact on the prices of goods and services and on inflation levels in the country; mostly resulting in the increases of both the prices of goods and services, and in the CPI levels and/or general inflation.

On money supply (M2), AFORD is aware that Malawi had good developments in the money supply in 1996, growing by 40%, although less than the 44% recorded in 1995.

The devaluation of the Kwacha which implicitly removed it from being a floating currency, has had an impact on money supply.

AFORD is also aware that a fairly high liquidity position in the money market was maintained in 1996 due mainly to an increase in Treasury Bills holdings by the Reserve bank of Malawi on behalf of the government.

AFORD also knows that money supply has a direct link to inflation.

An increase in money supply means that the economy will have more money in circulation chasing a few goods and services, and the resultant will be an increase in inflation, and vice versa, of course, with a time lag transition or traverse.

AFORD further knows that the money supply in the country dies seem to lack appropriate management and control mechanisms, and that decisions in the money supply are more based on political motivations than on economic rationality.

To ensure that inflation and money supply in the country are properly managed and controlled, the AFORD government will:

8.2.1.1 Formulate appropriate strategies of controlling the growth in money supply (M2) in the country.

8.2.1.2 Identify and create inflation targets benchmarks in the macro economy as a means of managing and controlling money supply, rather than being guided by the unpredictable money supply and interest rates.
This measure is in line with international practice where many countries now use costs indexing methods of controlling inflation.

The inflation targets will be benchmarks against which the Parliament and electorate will evaluate the performance of the Reserve Bank, and will create more transparency in the money supply determination, as opposed to the existing non-transparent one.

8.2.1.3 Establish a Monetary Policy Board (MPB) based on a delphi technique membership, which will be empowered to set and monitor inflation targets and bring in fresh diverse inputs to monetary policy.

The MBP will work closely with the Reserve Bank as enshrined in its constitution.

8.2.1.4 Use appropriate financial policy instruments (such as independent tracking intelligence of the actual source price of imported and local goods), to moderate the unnecessary inflation association with them.

8.2.1.5 Encourage realtine wages and salaries increase to the growth in the productivity of the economic sector of the economy in general.

8.2.1.6 Introduce measure that will curtail deliberate hoarding of goods and services, and the monopolistic supply and distribution of goods and services (especially essential basic ones) in the country.

8.2.2 RESERVE BANK OF MALAWI

AFORD knows that Malawi's monetary policy and performance are regulated by the Reserve Bank of Malawi (RBM) in close liaison with the Ministry of Finance to which it is responsible.

The setting of the lending interest rates, control of money supply and exchange rates through the revaluation of the Kwacha, are responsibilities of the Reserve Bank.

AFORD is also aware that the Reserve Bank has the responsibility of printing money on behalf of government to increase revenue called seigniorage (expressed as a share of GDP), in order to finance government budget deficits.

AFORD has noticed that since the UDF government came to power, money in Malawi has been printed twice.

AFORD realises that this action has been an inflationary monetary policy, meant to realise higher seigniorage rate has largely been due to high seigniorage - the unnecessary printing of money under political motivation - an indication of the country's poor monetary policy.

To ensure that the Reserve Bank functions in accordance with its constitution and as a true regulator and guidance of the country's monetary policy, the AFORD government will:

8.2.2.1 Ensure that the Reserve Bank is insulated from political and partisan interference, and that is accountable to Parliament and the broader goals of the country's social and economic development policies and strategies.
8.2.2.2 Monitor the performance of the Reserve Bank through the Monetary Policy Board, to ensure that it pragmatically continues to maintain the value of the Kwacha, controls money supply and the exchange rates, keeps inflation low and ensures the safety and soundness of the financial system at all times.

8.2.2.3 Make sure that whenever the Reserve Bank prints additionally money, the seigniorages does not exceed 2% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP), as such an action will not lead to high inflation in the economy.

The Parliament will have to be informed of the total value or the total amount of the new money printed.

Any seigniorage of more than 2% of GDP would be risky, because the economy would eventually have high inflation and put the macro-economic situation in unequilibrium position.

8.2.3 EXCHANGE RATE POLICY

AFORD has been observing unbelievable the continuous devaluation of the Malawi Kwacha or the exchange rate in the country in the past five years.

AFORD is also aware that the Kwacha has been floated, implying that it is no longer pegged to any currency.

The Malawi economy is thus operating with flexible exchange rates, which devalue from time to time or have a crawlat the management of the flexing peg.

AFORD has noted that the management of the flexible exchange rate has not been easy for the economy, as different exchange rate regimes call for different methods os assessing exchange rate policy.

AFORD knows that Malawi, with non-convertible currency, has thus been relying on the parallel market premium as an indicator for her exchange rate policy.

AFORD also knows that the devaluation of the exchange rates in the country has been largely influenced by the UDF governments's desire to contain its budget deficits and huge expenditures in domestic currency terms.

This has been an artificial way of increasing revenue to meet expenditure, as devaluation increases the domestic purchasing power of external grants which have been one of the important sources of government revenue.

It has also helped to increase the trade tax revenue on imports, as the imports become more expensive in domestic currency terms.

To ensure that the Malawi economy functions in a realistic manner, the AFORD government will:

8.2.3.1 Review the existing policy and strategies of having a flexible exchange rate and the intruments being used to manage it, so that realistic exchange rates are advanced and kept.
These could in turn make the economy gain in foreign exchange and external trade competitiveness.

8.2.3.2 Try and bring the macro-economic stability in the country by focusing on establishing or maintaining realistic exchange rates, through the pursuit of strong fiscal discipline, low government budget deficits and inflation rates, and increasing public sector savings.

8.2.3.3 Ensure that the devaluation of the exchange rate is not conducted in a haphazard manner in order to benefit certain influential individuals at the expense of the macro-economy and the Malawi citizens.

8.2.3.4 Encourage the Reserve bank to review its lending policy and discount rate, so that the credit facilities for lending and borrowing in the country are appropriately managed for the benefit of the macro-economy; and further ensure that the interest rates are market-determined rather than government induced.

8.2.4 FOREIGN EXCHANGE (FOREX)

AFORD recognises the importance of foreign exchange (forex) to the country's social and economic development.

AFORD further recognises the preciousness and the scarcity of forex in Malawi, and without it, the Malawi economy could be declared literally dead.

A dead Malawi economy means a dead Malawi nation.

AFORD also knows that Malawi's balance of payments position has been in red for a number of years.

It was recorded at -US$ (USDollar) 115,8 million (-MK (Kwacha) 1,76 billion) in 1996, an increase from -US$ (USDollar) 31,5 million (-MK (Kwacha) 478,8 million) in 1995.

The capital account of balance of payments (balance on long-term capital) was around MK (Kwacha) 4,1 billion in 1996, up from MK (Kwacha) 2,57 billion in 1995.

AFORD is also aware that Malawi's monthly import bill or demand for forex was around MK (KWacha) 1,0 billion (around MK (Kwacha) 12,0 billion per annum) in 1997, while the previous years it was around MK (Kwacha) 600 million per month (MK (Kwacha) 7,3 billion per annum).

AFORD is further aware that the main sources of the country's foreign exchange or forex are the merchandise exports and foreign loans and grants.

The foreign loans and grants have normally averaged MK (Kwacha) 2,0 billion per annum.

AFORD has also observed with disbelief the way foreign exchange or forex is being abused or misused in the country.

The forex is being used for the importation of commodities like tomatoes, potatoes, chicken, eggs and fresh maize.
To correct the existing situation, the AFORD government will:

8.2.4.1 Review the existing policies and strategies of managing and controlling foreign exchange or forex.

8.2.4.2 Formulate tough measures to curtail the unnecessary importation of commodities such as eggs, tomatoes, potatoes, chicken and fresh maize, which are readily available in the country.

8.2.4.3 Rekindle the country's original capabilities of increasing the production of exportable commodities so as to increase Malawi's foreign exchange reserves or the balance of payments.

8.2.4.4 Increase the country's overall gross investment in productive ventures, by refocusing the Malwi economy into following outward-oriented development strategies, and thereby improve the terms of trade.

8.2.5 BANKING AND FINANCE SECTOR

AFORD realises that there is a direct relationship between the level of development of the economy and that of the financial sector.

AFORD also knows that Malawi's financial sector is divided into two categories - the formal financial sector and the informal financial sector.

8.2.5.1 FORMAL FINANCIAL SECTOR

AFORD is aware that the formal financial sector offers a narrow range of financial services and are characterised by rigid, strict and unrealistic high eligibility requirements or collateral arrangements, which do not conform to the Malawi situation where the majority are poor.

This sector caters mainly for the financial needs of middle- and high-income groups and medium to large enterprises.

AFORD is also aware that the Malawi Stock Exchange is still in its infant stage of development to play any significant role in the country's social and economic development.

AFORD also knows that Malawi's formal financial sector is very thin as it is dominated by only two less developed commercial banks whose operations are below the international banking sophistication standards, and they mostly operate in urban areas.

The development banks are also not well developed and they mostly rely on foreign capital more than on domestic capital mobilisation to finance their operations.

To promote the further development of the formal financial sector, the AFORD government will:

a) Encourage the establishment of specialised financial institutions), that would cater for these needs which are not at present adequately served by the formal financial sector.

b) Work for the removal of excessive control of the banks by the Reserve Bank of Malawi.
c) Promulgate new banking laws which will protect the confidentiality of banker - customer relationships.

d) Encourage the establishment of a private or a public - private sector joint venture rural finance company.

e) Formulate enabling strategies that will encourage the forging of links between the formal and informal financial sectors.

The new firms will be licensed to deliver commercial bank credit, building finance and farm credits.

f) Encourage the establishment of other firms in the formal financial sector to compete with existing financial institutions by removing all barriers to entry.

g) Gradually remove financial repression, demantle partisanly directed credit programmes, and introduce better and appropriate modern banking, and financing systems and procedures that could address the needs of most Malawians.

h) Ensure that the government does not unnecessarily interfere in the functioning of the banks, and that banks should expand their clientele base, and the financing of medium - to long-term investments.

i) Formulate appropriate strategies for approaching poor performing commercial banks, such as downsizing them and other facilitative actions.

j) Encourage the banks to strengthen their personnel by revamping their current skills or by recruiting persons of higher education qualifications (eg. economists and financial specialists), and to improve their technical facilities to cater for additional financial instruments.

k) Encourage the setting up of Unit Trust financial instruments in the banking sector, in order to expand the investment opportunities available to the small investors while drawing into the capital market funds for the growth of the industrial and other economic sector.

8.2.5.2 INFORMAL FINANCIAL SECTOR

AFORD knows that the existing formal financial sector in Malawi is ill-equipped and lacks information and infrastructure to undertake the broad expansion of retail operations needed to serve small saver or low-income persons and small-scale enterprises.

The formal financial institutions believe that to expand branch networks to cater for these segments is more costly than the benefits derived.

AFORD is aware that the low-income persons and small-scale enterprises are catered for by the informal financial sector carried out by moneylenders, relatives, friends, co-operative savings associations, credit associations, etc.

This sector is mainly centred around the concepts of commitment, trust and gentleman's agreements.
AFORD is also aware that the informal financial sector has internationally been seen as the sector that plays a direct role in the economic structural reform of many developing countries, as its activities are directed at addressing the basic needs of the poor.

AFORD also knows that this sector is so inadequate to meet the financial needs of both the low-income persons and small-scale enterprise, who form the bulk of the Malawi population and business in Malawi respectively.

To address the aforesaid problems and strengthen the activities of the informal financial sector, the AFORD government will:

a) Formally recognise and encourage informal financial sector activities in the country.

b) Formulate appropriate policies that will encourage the formal financial sector to lend at concessionary rates to the persons and small-scale enterprises which function within the informal financial sector.

c) Ensure that the government does not raise tax on or start regulating this sector.

d) Encourage the formal financial sector to forge links with informal financial sector.

e) Encourage the participants in the informal financial sector to deposit and also invest their money in the formal financial sector institutions.

CHAPTER 9

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES

9.1 EDUCATION AND TRAINING SECTOR

AFORD is aware that the education and training systems which were put in good footing during the past three decades, have been placed in a total mess by the UDF government.

Although the introduction of free primary education was seen as an improvement to the old system, but its management has rendered the whole primary education system worthless, as the primary schools have literally no learning materials, and are managed by unqualified teachers.

They are among the most starved of resourcees in Africa.

The education quality indicators have gone down.

AFORD has also been shocked by the poor results of the 1997 Secondary School Leaving Certificate, where only +35% of the candidates who sat for the examinations passed, and the majority of them with poor grades.

AFORD has also been saddened by the unwarranted several closure of the University for no genuine reasons during the UDF rule.

The Mzuzu Teachers Training College has been closed for more than two years and the so-called Mzuzu University has not been fully opened in its place.
The abuse of the education and training system in the country is a clear indication of lack of appreciation for the value of education in any economy by the UDF government.

AFORD knows that a country composed of mostly illiterates is summarily a dead country politically, socially and economically.

Given the valuable impact of education on any country, teh AFORD government will:

9.1.1 Revisit the current education and training policies and strategies in the country, so as to ensure that the people of Malawi acquire and develop the knowledge and skills necessary for occupational tasks, and for other social, culture, intellectual and political roles that are part and parcel of a vibrant democratic society.

9.1.2 Ensure that the education system is based on an integrated decentralised strategy, and on the principles of democracy, non-regionalism, equal opportunity, non-sexism and equity; and that the communities, parents and teachers must be fully involved in its management at various spatial levels.

9.1.3 Introduce mechanism for co-ordinating the provision of multi-purpose community centres where creche and adult literacy classes will be conducted.

9.1.4 Increase access to conventional Secondary schools by establishing double stream day schools of modest structures to serve identified clusters of primary schools (double shifts to be considered for such schools).

9.1.5 Ensure that early childhood educare becomes an integral part of a future education and training system in the country.

9.1.6 Improve the quality of education offered by the Malawi College of Distance Edecation (MCDE) in the Distance Education Centres.

9.1.7 Design an integeated adult basic education and training programmes so that they become equivalent to exit level in the formal school system, with the emphasis on literacy and numeracy skills; this could be done in partnership with the employers, labour and NGOs.

9.1.8 Encourage the private sector to open up own universities in teh country to augment governement efforts.

9.1.9 Establish a broadly-based representative committee to be responsible for the selection of students to secondary schools and the University, and the drawing up of the selection criteria. Such a Committee will be responsible to Parliament.

9.1.10 Review the incentive structures for teachers and encourage the formation of professional associations that would enhance their welfare, professional excellence and status in society.

9.1.11 Explore new strategies that would enhance the education of girls and other disadvantaged groups such as the disabled persons, street children and out of schoold youth.
9.1.12 Provide for a career counselling to prepare school leavers for a more productive life in society.

9.1.13 Promote the establishment of more technical schools as a base for industrial skills acquisitions.

9.1.14 Ensure the independence of universities and technical colleges.

9.1.15 Adopt the CODESRIA Kampala Declaration on intellectual freedom and social responsibility.

9.1.16 Ensure that politicians or any other persons do not interfere in examinations and any other educational matters.

9.2 ART AND CULTURE

AFORD is aware that art and culture permeate all aspects of society and are integral parts of social and economic life in any country.

Art and culture thus embrace custom, belief, tradition, religion, language, literature, crafts, music, dance, science and technology upon which future developments are based.

AFORD is also aware that for many years, the true culture and creativity of the Malawian society have been neglected, distorted, suppressed and stifled.

The consequences of "static cultures" and "static artistic expression" are still present and still too painful in the society.

The AFORD government will promote a better understanding of culture as a source of inspiration for attaining a happy and harmonious social and political order.

To this end, the AFORD government will:

9.2.1 Formulate comprehensive policies and strategies that will affirm and promote the rich and diverse expression of Malawian culture, and by guaranteeing the right of people to practice their belief, and enjoying freedom of expression and creativity without unwarranted interference.

9.2.2 Promote the development of a unifying national culture representing the aspiration of all Malawians, not by imposition, but through educating the people in principles of non-regionalism, non-tribalism, non-sexism, etc.

9.2.3 Conserve, promote, develop and revitalise the country's cultural heritage, museum and antiquities so that they are accessible to all communities in the country.

9.2.4 Ensure that arts education is firmly incorporated in the national educational curricula and in non-formal educational structures.

9.2.5 Ensure that culture is firmly entrenched as a fundamental component of development in such national priority areas as health, housing, tourism, etc.
9.2.6 Encourage and facilitate cultural exchange between the people of Malawi and the rest of the world, thereby promoting local development programmes and international understanding.

9.2.7 Empower the culture institution to encourage the development of a healthy, vibrant and diverse local Malawian film and audio-visual industry, reflecting the realities of all the people of Malawi.

9.3 SPORT AND RECREATION

AFORD is aware that sports and recreation contribute to the development of a healthy society. Participation in sports is thus a right of every Malawian and not a privilege for the few.

AFORD feels that the development of sport and recreational facilities should not only be an integral part of all community development programmes, but should also be accessible and affordable for all Malawians, including those in rural areas, the young, disabled and the elderly.

Noting the importance of sport and recreation to the Malawian society, the AFORD government will:

9.3.1 Facilitate the mobilisation of resources in both the public and private sectors for the development of sport and recreational facilities throughout the country.

9.3.2 Pay more attention at the provision of sports facilities in schools, so that it becomes an integral part of educational and youth development programmes.

9.3.3 Provide appropriate security and incentives for national sportsmen and sportswomen.

9.3.4 Encourage community participation in decision-making pertaining to the provision and management of sports and recreational facilities in their areas.

9.4 YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

AFORD is aware and disturbed that the majority of our youth in Malawi are unemployed.

This is especially disturbing when even the educated youth remain unemployed.

AFORD is also aware that there are no national youth training and service programmes that would give young people structured work experience and build their capacities for their easy absorption into jobs in various sectors of the economy.

Given this saddening high unemployment rate among our youth, the AFORD government will:

9.4.1 Formulate policies and strategies that will not only focus on economic growth to improve labour absorption, but also on education and training programmes that will make the youth become accessible to employment opportunities in various sectors of the economy.

9.4.2 Establish a national youth service programme that will better educate, develop, train and empower the youth, and enable them to participate fully in the country's socio-economic
development; and further build a spirit of national unity among the youth, as well as sense of service towards the community and the nation.

9.4.3 Create a national institution that will co-ordinate the youth service programme (in areas such as educare, literacy, programmes, civic education, projects planning, hygiene, environmental awareness and protection, etc), in close consultation with other sectors.

9.4.4 Ensure that all public and private sectors institutions represent youth interests, and make their needs paramount in their programmes, by allocating resources to organisations involved in youth work or development programmes.

9.4.5 Continue to support the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, and its Plan of Action.

9.4.6 Promote the protection of the lives of the youth from all forms of child abuse, so that they can develop their human potential and make them aware of their needs, rights and opportunities.

9.4.7 Encourage the youth to establish their own independent organisations to assert their rights and to enable them fully participate in national activities.

9.4.8 Ensure that the voting age is lowered to 16 years so that the youth can effectively participate in the selection of their future leaders.

9.4.9 Rehabilitate street and juvenile delinquents, and work for the legal protection of orphans and children of divorced parents, and provide them with orphanage services.

9.5 MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY DISABLED PERSONS

AFORD knows that about ten percent of the Malawian population comprises of disabled persons of various age groups.

AFORD recognises the fact that the disabled persons are partially integrated into the nation’s socio-economic development agenda, despite their potential ability to play a meaningful role in the country’s development in various sectors.

To ensure that this anomaly is redressed, the AFORD government will:

9.5.1 Formulate policies and strategies that will ensure that disabled persons are not discriminated against, and that they have equal rights and opportunities to basic needs and services with the rest of the Malawian population.

9.5.2 Encourage all disabled persons to form their own independent organisations with public sector assistance, to assert their rights in order to actively participate in national development.

9.5.3 Improve and expand training facilities for disabled persons, and where feasible integrate their schooling premises with those of normal schools in the same locality.

9.5.4 Encourage disabled persons to participate (if possible) in politics and business ventures.

9.5.5 Support and promote NGO's participation in activities for the disabled.
9.5.6 Seek to improve community care, rehabilitation and education for all disabled persons, particularly the mentally disabled, and support their families and caregivers.

9.6 WOMEN

AFORD recognises the fact that women are the mothers of our nation and play crucial role in the socio-economic development of the country.

AFORD is also aware that the Malawian women have for a long time been exploited and oppressed by men and the country's various institutions, such that they have never enjoyed their birth human rights.

AFORD is thus committed to the full emancipation of women through the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, and their exploitation, oppression and marginalisation as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women.

To redress the past dehumanised status of the Malawian women, and enable them to meaningfully participate in all aspects of national activities and life, the AFORD government will:

9.6.1 Promote and support women to form their own organisation for the purpose of empowering themselves and asserting their rights as equal and free citizens of the country and their communities, and for enhancing their participation in national and community activities.

9.6.2 Encourage women to participate and take active parts in politics and business ventures.

9.6.3 Promote and support civic education designed to sensitize the public on women's rights.

9.6.4 Ensure that women are not discriminated against in all matters relating to acquisition, ownership and inheritance of all property and land, including public, private and customary land.

9.6.5 Ensure that women are not discriminated against in the recruitment and procurement of employment and credit facilities for various economic ventures.

9.7 HEALTH SERVICE SECTOR

AFORD notes with sadness that the mental, physical and social health of Malawians has been severely damaged by the UDF government's uncommitted approach to improving the health sector.

The little, but appreciative work or effort that the MCP government did to improve the health sector, has been literally destroyed during the UDF reign.

AFORD is also aware that the doctor/patient and nurse/patient ratios have worsened, life expectancy has declined to around 44 years; the child mortality rate is around 233.8 per 1000 births - the highest in SADC region; the HIV virus and AIDS have soared, and by the year
2000, about 2 million Malawians will be HIV positive; the government budgetary allocation to the health sector has further decreased.

The country's hospitals and clinics have virtually no medicines, most hospital equipments/facilities are not functioning, hospitals beds and linen are inadequate and worn out, and hospital buildings are dilapidating fast.

The whole health sector in Malawi is currently in a mess, inefficiently managed, and corruption in the health sector is also rampant.

AFORD believes that a health population will translate into building a health economy.

The AFORD government will therefore:

9.7.1 Transform and restructure the health care services and delivery system in the country to ensure that all Malawians have access to health care, and that their mental, physical and social health improves; so that the general contribution to increasing prosperity and the quality of life is enhanced.

9.7.2 Ensure that the policies affecting health take into consideration the fact that Malawi is an integral part of the SADC region and has regional responsibilities to prevent and to combat the spread of diseases.

9.7.3 Introduce health sector management practices for all providers of health care, that will promote efficient and compassionate delivery of health services, and ensure respect for human rights and accountability to users, clients and the public at large.

9.7.4 Introduce mechanism that will encourage the full participation of communities in the planning, management, delivery, monitoring and evaluation of the health services in their areas.

9.7.5 Decentralise the whole health delivery and management systems in the country by creating regional health institutions or authorities, that will be responsible for the planning, management and co-ordination of health care services in their respective regions and the district therein.

9.7.6 Actively promote the Primary health Care (PHC) services, and develop integrative strategies for inter-sectoral collaboration and cost-effective health care systems in the country so as to maximise resource utilisation.

9.7.7 Improve the quality of the existing health facilities and provide new ones (especially referral hospitals), so that patients are treated as near to their homes as possible.

9.7.8 Increase government budgetary allocation to the health sector, with a larger portion going to Primary Health Care, such as for immunization, preventive health care, and AIDS awareness sensitisation programmes.

The AIDS programmes would involve mass education through media, in schools and village communities.
9.7.9 Constantly review the working conditions of health personnel, to ensure the stability of human resources requirements of the health sector.

9.7.10 Draw up a Code of Conduct for health workers and a charter of patients' rights, and have these displayed in all health facilities such as hospitals, clinics and health centres.

9.7.11 Encourage and support the creation of medical professional associations to promote the best practices in the medical profession, and the welfare of health personnel.

9.7.12 Establish programmes to improve maternal and child health through access to quality antenatal, delivery and postnatal services for all women; and instituting in-service training programmes for midwives.

9.7.13 Support the establishment of medical and health insurance schemes for both the private and the public sectors.
9.7.14 Improve the preventive and promotive health programmes for children, and encourage and promote breast-feeding among mothers.

9.7.15 Ensure that appropriate information and services through counselling are made available all Malawians to take control of their own fertility vis-á-vis childhood and child-spacing.

9.7.16 Encourage and support the establishment of private health care facilities.

9.7.17 Abolish taxes on all products directly related to the improvement of nutrition for children, to make them easily accessible and affordable to the low-income households.

9.7.18 Intensify the campaign against drug abuse, especially the taking of such drugs as cocaine, dagga/chamba, madrax (mostly among the youth), as they cause immense physical, mental and social damage and place high cost on the society.

9.7.19 Improve and increase mental health services and the accessibility of mental health support and counselling services in all districts.

9.7.20 Encourage research on health related matters in the country.

9.8 MEDA AND INFORMATION SECTOR

AFORD recognises the fact that open debate and transparency in government and society are crucial elements of democracy.

This requires that people, individually and collectively freely and without hindrance have access to, or impart information they need to make informed decisions.

AFORD is also aware that a free and plural media is a basic building block and foundation of a democratic society, and this must be determined by the framework within which media is operated.
Without the free flow of accurate and comprehensive information, democracy in Malawi will lack the people's input necessary for its sustainability.

AFORD has noted with sadness the total abuse and the monopolisation of media by the UDF government and its functionaries.

There is a literally no meaningful press freedom and the free flow of information under the UDF government.

When in power, the AFORD government will:

9.8.1 Formulation a media and information policy which will guarantee and aim at facilitating active exchange of information and opinion within and among communities in the country, and between the government and society as a two-way process.

9.8.2 Adhere to the fundamental principle of the freedom of the media and expression, and encourage the development of all three tiers of media - public, community and private.

9.8.3 Ensure the neutrality and non-partisanship of the media, Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), Malawi News Agency (MANA), and Ministry of Information in their tasks of informing, educating and entertaining the society; by instituting editorial, journalistic and programming freedom.

9.8.4 Institute measures that will limit monopoly control of the media by any institution or authority, and encourage the unbundling of the existing media monopolies.

9.8.5 Regulate the conduct of journalists within the Bill of Rights by means of the general law which every citizen faces, rather than by special laws aimed solely at the media.

9.8.6 Promote the establishment of private radios in the three regions of the country, and the immediate introduction of the public television that will be accessible to all communities in the country.

9.8.7 Work in partnership with the private sector for the establishment of training facilities for journalists in the country, and for community-based media, and beef-up the institutional capacity of the Malawi News Agency and the MBC.

9.8.8 Promote and support independent professional media associations such as the Journalists Association of Malawi (JANA), so that they conduct their work professionally.

9.9 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

It is the belief of AFORD that technological advancement in any society is the key component in both industrial development strategy and high-quality social and economic infrastructure.

It is crucial for raising productivity in both small and large-scale enterprise.

AFORD is also aware that the lack of a co-ordinated approach to scientific and technology research and their application in the country, has led to inefficient application of scarce resources, wastage and unnecessary duplication of efforts, thereby perpetuating the poverty syndrome.
AFORD therefore feels that a sound approach to science and technology is of vital importance for sustained social and economic development of Malawi.

The AFORD government will thus:

9.9.1 Formulate an integrated and comprehensive science and technology policy that will create a supportive environment for innovation, reverse the decline in resources for formal science and technology efforts in both private and public sectors, enable appropriate sectors of the economy to compete regionally and internationally, to ensure that scientific advances translate more effectively into technological applications and humanise technology to minimise the effect on working conditions and employment.

9.9.2 Promote investment in research and development activities in partnership with the private sector, universities and research institutions on a long-term basis, to advance the country's development in all aspects.

9.9.3 Create incentives that will support the expansion of technological development, knowledge acquisition and training that would directly benefit small enterprises.

9.9.4 Ensure that universities and secondary schools give more emphasis on teaching students science subjects, and that such science subjects are responsive to the needs of the country.

9.9.5 Ensure that agreements to import foreign technology include a commitment to educate and train local labour to use, maintain and extend technology.

9.9.6 Promote investment to neglected sectors which have potential for quick pay back on investment such as bio-technology.

9.10 SENIOR CITIZENS (the aged)

AFORD knows that senior citizens have all contributed in one way or the other to the economy and cultural standing of the country.

The energy and enthusiasm with which they have provided their labour, skills and expertise in various sectors of the economy is highly respected and appreciated by AFOD, and their services need to be rewarded.

On attaining a certain age, these people are expected to reduce their workload and service in their various forms of employment.

AFORD has recognised that a good percentage of these senior citizens are an underutilized latent resource for the country.

It is therefore essential that their valuable skills and the accumulated wisdom continue to serve the community in specifically designed programmes.

AFORD also believes that the social welfare of some of these senior citizens needs to be provided by the state.

The AFORD government will thus:
9.10.1 Transform the existing social welfare policies, programmes and delivery systems such as nutritional and medical support, so as to ensure basic welfare rights are provided to all senior citizens in their localities, most specifically the helpless.

9.10.2 Endeavour to engage certain energetic senior citizens or retired persons in critical areas of the economy through their participation in various development initiatives, boards and institutions, and in socio-economic development projects at all levels in their rural communities.

9.10.3 Support the organs of civil society involved in social welfare delivery, such as community-based rehabilitation centres, religious organisations, the NGOs and other similar institutions.

9.11 HOUSING SECTOR

AFORD is totally dismayed to see that the lack of adequate housing and its associated services in both urban and rural settlements has at present reached crisis proportions.

AFORD feels that housing is an ingredient of human rights and human dignity.

It is saddening to note that about 90% of the Malawi population today still lives in grass thatched mud/wattle built houses with no essential services.

AFORD also notes that since the UDF government came to power, not a single public sector sponsored housing programme has been initiated by the Malawi Housing Corporation, or a rental house has been built in any of the urban areas of the country, not to mention a traditional housing area (site and service scheme).

The country up to date, has no coherent national housing policy that could guide housing development in the country.

AFORD is aware that housing programmes are best employment generators and have great impact on economic development through multiplier effects.

When in power, the AFORD government will:

9.11.1 Formulate, as a matter of urgency, a transparent coherent national housing policy that will guide the provision and delivery adequate, appropriate and affordable housing and its related infrastructure services, especially to the low-income communities.

9.11.2 Embark on massive squatter settlement upgrading programmes and the integration of these squatter communities in urban economies, through the formulation of comprehensive urban development plans in every urban centre.

9.11.3 Ensure the availability of building materials at affordable prices by reviewing fiscal policies relating to construction materials such as cement and roofing sheets.

9.11.4 Enact legislation that will ensure the accessibility of housing finance to all socio-economic groups or sections of the Malawi society by reviewing the role of the New Building Society.
Liberalising the housing finance sector, encourage through incentives the commercial banks to extend housing credit facilities to low-income households, and support the establishment of housing co-operatives, credit unions and any other forms of housing related funds.

9.11.5 Encourage the provision of serviced plots by privatising infrastructure development for formal housing for low-income households, and the involvement of non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations in housing development.

9.11.6 Ensure that communities are fully involved in the planning of housing projects from the identification stage up to implementation, through the representative local structures.

9.11.7 Promote and encourage the freeing up of urban/semi-urban land for low-income housing development, while ensuring orderly development of cities and towns.

9.11.8 encourage the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to promote proper residential land-use planning systems in rural areas for easy cost-effective provision of basic infrastructure services.

9.11.9 Encourage home ownership among the house renters, especially those who rent public-owned houses, by formulating appropriate policies and procedures for the disposition of such houses.

9.11.10 Consider the possibility of creating a public-private sector national housing bank to cater for mostly low-income urban and rural households with less rigid collateral conditions for lending.

9.12 POPULATION DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

AFORD is aware that Malawi's population growth rate trend has continuously been higher than the absorption capacity of its economy.

This poses as one of the greatest challenges for Malawi's long-term social and economic development.

AFORD notes also that peiocese are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of the country's socio-economic development endeavours, but also the main resource of such development activities.

AFORD thus believes that an appropriate population policy is not only essential, but will in the long-run be a determining factor for taking Malawi out of the chronic poverty syndrome.

AFORD also knows that a pragmatic approach to population growth, that takes into consideration socio-culture attitudes and the demands of a developing economy, is the only viable way of overcoming and reducing the current high population growth rate in the country.

To this end, the AFORD government will:

9.12.1 Promote and encourage the design of appropriate and intensive family planning programmes through the government machinery, the private sector and NGO's.
9.12.2.1 Expand population education for family management through the media, the national radio and in community centres.

9.12.3 Ensure the integration of population indicators in the planning and location of socio-economic development projects.

9.12.4 Strive to promote a balanced and even development of the country, to lessen the emigration of trained and qualified people to other countries, and reduce the country's unnecessary rural to urban migration.

9.12.5 Ensure that Malawians are and remain the architects of the country's socio-economic development, and are given opportunities to develop themselves, so as to improve their living standards.

9.12.6 Promote policies that will address the development of human capabilities, abilities, knowledge and know-how, to meet their growing needs, and for occupational tasks in various sectors of the economy.

9.12.7 Reduce dependence on expatriates in various sectors of the economy, especially in technical fields, by putting more emphasis on the development of technical fields, by putting more emphasis on the development of technical skills in the country's school and colleges.

9.13 LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

AFORD upholds the dignity of workers and their right to organise freely and to form bodies for collective bargaining.

AFORD notes that in the past years workers in Malawi have won some struggles and made certain gains in the workplaces.

The belief of AFORD is to reinforce and safeguard rights and extend them, to ensure that organised labour is empowered to act as a strong force in the socio-economic reconstruction and development of our country which has been damaged by the UDF government.

The AFORD government will therefore:

9.13.1 Promote and encourage workers participation in the decision making in their workplaces, to ensure a stable environment for the speedy social and economic development of the country and a stable workers-employers relationship.

9.13.2 Fully support the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and its resolutions, and adopt and implement such resolutions accordingly.

9.13.3 Promulgate legislation that will include the creation of an Industrial Relations act which will protect workers against unfair dismissal, provide for a policy of industrial unions, obligatory affiliation to the national Labour Centre, obligatory check-off system, settlement of collective disputes, due-shop order, teh creation of an Industrial Relations Court, and recognise all international labour conventions governing labour relations.

9.13.4 Encourage employers to train their work forces in order to create a skilled human resources base which could ultimately increase labour productivity and work efficiency.
9.13.5 Promulgate legislation providing for adequate renumeratiion of workers based on their length of service in the event of their being declared redundant or retrenched, and guard against all forms of labour exploitation in all sectors of the economy.

9.13.6 Promote and encourage inclusion of labour laws, labour and general economics and industrial relations subjects in secondary schools.

9.13.7 Promote the creation of a National Provident Fund to own shares in the organisations they work for, to give them opportunities to own the means of production as a means of empowering them economically.

9.13.8 Formulate policies that will enable workers to own shares in the organisations they work for, to give them opportunities to own the means of production as a means of empowering them economically.

9.13.9 Encourage employers to offer market related salary packages to the local qualified technical personnel equivalent to their expatriate counterparts on the job with same qualifications.

9.13.10 Formulate policies that will provide job security for pregnant women, and promote the provision of child care to further women's equality in employment without being discriminated.

9.13.11 Ensure that sexual harassment in workplaces is treated as a grave offence, and educate workers and employers how to handle and lodge complaints on such cases.

CHAPTER 10

FOREIGN POLICY

AFORD is aware that MALAWI is an integral party of the global community and operates within the realms of the regional, continental and international body politics.

AFORD is further aware that deepening and consolidating the country's multi-party democracy is not only a matter relating to what we do inside the country, but it is equally a matter relating to our position and relationships we develop in the international arena.

AFORD recognises also that Malawi is an integral part of both the African continent and Southern African region.

Her socio-economic sustainability depends on how she co-operates and co-ordinates her development endeavours with other African and Southern African countries.

AFORD also knows that Malawi is a signatory to various continental and international resolutions.

AFORD further knows that Malawi's ability to interact properly with the international community is dependent on how she deals with and respects or implements the international, continental and regional resolutions and agreements.
In view of the aforesaid, the AFORD government will:

10.1 Strive for peaceful co-existence and co-operation with other African Sovereign States, for the political, social and economic advancement of the continent.

10.2 Ensure that Malawi participates actively in international matters rather than remain docile and isolated in the face of global tension and misery.

10.3 Promote friendly and co-operative relations among the family of nations and international organisations with a view to achieving an international order based on justice, human rights and fairness.

10.4 Respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations, and pursue a policy of non-interference in other countries's achieving internal affairs, but provide advice and mediation when necessary.

10.5 Strive for strong commitment to global, continental and regional organisations that promote the maintenance of peace, socio-economic development and security.

10.6 Commit to work closely and actively with international, continental and regional development institutions (such as IMF, World Bank and AfDB) in pursuit of the political, social and economic development of the global society, and the Malawi population in particular.

10.7 Ensure that Malawi has the size of the diplomatic missions which is not only in the interest of the Malawi nation, but also which is within the affordability level of the Malawi economy.

10.8 Co-operate with SADC and PTA regional institutions and participate fully in all the initiatives pursued and undertaken by these institutions for the betterment of the regional economies and development intergration.

10.9 Encourage the development of joint, mutually-beneficial projects to develop our SADC regional sectors which have remained underdevelopment for many years.

10.10 Strongly support the goals and ideals of the equitable African integration as laid out in the Lagos Plan of Action and the Abuja Declaration.

10.11 Work closely with other SADC countries for the formulation of the Southern African Social Charter that will promote minimum work standards for workers in the region, give opportunities for workers to organise themselves, and the integration of workers and / or their organisations in the decision-making process in their economies and workplaces.

10.12 Observe the United Nations and Organisation of African Unity Charter and resolutions, most specifically those on human rights, childrens rights, women's rights, etc.

10.13 Encourage technical and scientific co-operation among the SADC countries, in order to enhance teh development of expertise in the region in areas such as agricultural research and development, health, environmental monitoring and protection and agro-industry.
CONCLUSION

It has to be noted that the policies, strategies and action plans outlined in this Manifesto, that AFORD plans to follow in the future development of Malawi, are centered on people.

These policies, strategies and action plans are progressive, realistic, practical, achievable, implementable and make sense.

They reflect the real needs and aspirations of the Malawian population, and facilitate embarking upon development programmes that have full potential of creating employment opportunities for our people.

AFORD is saddened by the enormous damages in all sectors of the economy that the UDF government has caused to our country.

The damages are so immense that it will be difficult and painful to resume the road to our country's social and economic reconstruction and development.

When voted into power in the 1999 general elections, AFORD will have no choice but to seriously, selflessly, pragmatically and patriotically lay new foundations for the future development of the country into a prosperous nation.

The rewards of AFORD's policies, strategies and action plans as spelt out in this Manifesto will be tremendous and immense for the nation, especially the poor Malawians.

AFORD assures the Malawi nation that if voted into power in the 1999 general elections, its government will commit and utilise all the country's natural, human and other resources to the nation's development with honesty and patriotism; and free of corruption, favouritism, power abuse, nepotism, regionalism and victimisation.

Malawians are being reminded that our country is in shambles in all aspects, our roads have been destroyed, education and health have collapsed, unemployment has soared, corruption is rampant, crime rate is skyrocketing, the respect for the constitution and rule of law is non-existence and the people have been completely disempowered.

Our nation is at a crossroad, and AFORD is the only curative medicine.