



**Jesuit Centre
for
Theological Reflection**
"Promoting Faith and Justice"

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"The gift of nature has been placed in the hands of humanity; it is a gift that must be used responsibly, conscientiously and prudently."
(From "CST and Natural Resources," p.3)

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Our Dear Readers,

The second quarter of 2010 in Zambia presented very interesting challenges in the governance situation in Zambia. Three key situations presented themselves. First, the Draft Zambian Constitution was released on 18 June 2010 to the general public for consideration and comment for a period of 40 days. Zambia's Constitution making process has been going on since 2003 with the establishment of the Mung'omba Constitution Review Commission. Though the Commission's work was concluded in December 2005, it was only in 2007 when the National Constitutional Conference (NCC) was established to discuss the report and Mung'omba Draft. Since 2007, the NCC has with controversy discussed Articles and Clauses and adopted some of the proposed Articles, rejected some and failed to reach consensus on others. Second, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) stagnated after the national validation workshops took place in the first quarter. Though Zambia was supposed to be peer reviewed in June (or July) 2010, nothing tangible happened in moving this process forward. Third, Church-State relations continued to be crucial especially as regards Church involvement in political, governance, and economic issues of the nation. The relations are further weakened by the fact that when the Church highlights governance issues that are similar to issues raised by opposition political parties, the Church is perceived and even accused to be partisan.

In addition to these highlighted issues, access to basic needs by a majority of Zambians continue to be a problem as evidenced by both the *JCTR Basic Needs Basket*, and the *JCTR Rural Basket*. Despite reduced national inflation rates by the Central Statistics Office (from 10.2% in March, to 7.8% in June), food prices continued to relatively increase (for example, from ZMK2,771,930 in March 2010 to ZMK2, 799,280 in June 2010 for an average family of 6 in Lusaka).

Next year, Zambia will be holding general elections to choose the Head of State, Members of Parliament, and Ward Councillors. Now these are key national leadership positions that impact people's lives at top decision level as well as at the local level. But what is the meaning of elections? Are they just rituals and routine? Do elections really help us to choose good national leaders? Do elections contribute to democracy in Zambia? Even then, what is democracy? What is the end of democracy? Should we even trust that democracy is the best way of practising politics? Are Zambians knowledgeable enough to make mature and informed decisions in elections and in a democracy? Does holding frequent elections prevent those in power to abuse their authority?

These are some questions that have influenced voting patterns in Zambia and the results of the vote. But little seems to be done to look at current governance issues and some other issues that contribute to people's access to basic needs. Even when we still have a full year before the general elections next year 2011, the second quarter seems to be filled with discussions around elections and who will possibly win in these elections. Interestingly in this quarter we had 2 Parliamentary by-elections in Mufumbwe and Milanzi Constituencies. The alleged electoral malpractices and the violence that characterised these elections were troubling. If these are not dealt with, they could influence the environment of the next general elections. Elections and the politicking that go with them seem to be more important than national development and governance processes like those of governance and access to basic needs.

The second quarter *Bulletin* explores some of these issues of elections, democracy, church involvement in politics and governance, policymaking processes and citizen participation in key national processes. It is our hope, dear readers, that you continue supporting the *JCTR Bulletin* in articles, comments, letters to the editor, opinions, short write-ups on issues covered in our past issues of the *Bulletin*, but also issues that are of interest and concern to you. Sometimes even a note on how you find our articles and how you use the *Bulletin* is enough so that we can improve on the quality of the articles in the *Bulletin*.

It is always a pleasure to write these editorials and I cannot wait to write one for the next issue of the *Bulletin*, especially with your submissions in it. Till then, remain blessed and motivated to learn more about politics, economics, social and other national issues from a faith and justice perspective.

*Dominic Liche,
JCTR Editor*

CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND NATURAL RESOURCES: A TALE OF TWO COUNTRIES

Exploration and use of natural resources has been cited as one quick way to economic development and poverty reduction. Sometimes such view of using the environment tends to regard the environment as a “good” only in its usefulness to human beings. This article explores the use of natural resources in Zambia and Canada using two principles of fair distribution and the integrity of creation.

Each Sunday, at the end of Mass during our parish prayer we ask that we be “good stewards of God’s abundant blessings.” This beautiful and simple phrase is wonderful in its potential, and is directly in accordance with Catholic teaching which suggests that although the gift of nature has been placed in the hands of humanity, it is a gift that must be used responsibly, conscientiously and prudently. The Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace neatly summarizes Catholic teaching on ecology in the following statement:

Ecological questions highlight the need to achieve a greater harmony both between measures designed to foment economic development and those directed to preserving the ecology, and between national and international policies. Economic development, moreover, needs to take into consideration the integrity and rhythm of nature, because natural resources are limited. And all economic activity that uses natural resources should also include the costs of safeguarding the environment into the calculations of the overall costs of its activity.

Related to that foundation, Catholic teaching also emphasizes the need for a fair distribution of economic resources. *The Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* notes that:

An equitable distribution of income is to be sought on the basis of criteria not merely of commutative justice but also of social justice that is considering, beyond the objective value of the work rendered, the human dignity of the subjects who perform it. Authentic economic well-being is pursued also by means of suitable social policies for the redistribution of income which, taking general conditions into account, look at merit as well as at the need of each citizen.

The themes, then, of both the fair distribution of resources (in the broadest sense) and the need to maintain ecological integrity, are strongly related to the stewardship of our collective natural resources. And these imperatives are particularly relevant to both Zambia and Canada, given the centrality of the extraction and production of natural resources to our social, cultural and economic well-being. Obviously

natural resource development can be an important means of improving the overall economic well-being of a society. However, it is evident that justice demands this be achieved in a manner that is both environmentally sustainable, and economically beneficial, to everyone in society (including future generations), especially those who are socially and economically marginalised by the operations of global market structures.

Moving into the murky realm of economics and the law, one of the key means of ensuring that natural resources are developed in an environmentally sustainable and economically just way is through effective royalty regimes. A royalty is a fee that is charged for the use of another’s property. Since natural resources are owned by “the people,” governments charge companies a royalty in exchange for the right to extract and develop such resources. Therefore, at the most basic level, royalty regimes present an opportunity to achieve the environmental and economic justice Catholic doctrine demands. However, national and international

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policies and priorities often prevent the effective use of royalty regimes to advance social and environmental justice. As history so readily shows us, economic considerations seem to trump justice – unless there is a measure of awareness, solidarity and action.

As with Zambians, we come from a part of the world that is subject to the ebbs and flows in the market value of natural resources – in our case, oil and natural gas. Petroleum production in Canada is a major industry. Canada is the seventh largest oil producing country in the world and in 2008 it produced an average of 438,000 cubic metres per day of petroleum products. Most of Canadian petroleum production, approximately 283,000 cubic

metres per day, was exported, almost all of it to the United States.

Also like Zambia, Alberta, the province where most of Canada's petroleum production is centred, is currently in the middle of attempts to change the amount of royalties we obtain from the exploitation of our natural resources. In September 2007, the Alberta Royalty Review Committee (made up of both oil industry executives and academics) released a report that concluded Albertans did not receive a "fair share" from the extraction of our collective resources. It also stated that royalties could be increased while at the same time ensuring that Alberta remained competitive from an investment standpoint. The Alberta government agreed to implement the recommendations. This decision would have meant billions of dollars more in government revenue to be spent on important government services such as health and education. It would also have provided the funds necessary to strengthen and diversify our economy from the current over-reliance of the fickle fortunes of oil and natural gas.

However, despite the fact that most of our fellow citizens were supportive of the results of the review, the oil companies, together with one of the opposition parties (currently riding high in the public opinion polls), mounted a campaign against the royalty increases. The Provincial Government caved in and recently reduced the royalty rates. Perhaps displaying a naïve optimism, they argued that a

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reduction in the rates would lead to more investment by the oil sector which, in turn, would lead to the creation of more jobs. It was estimated that the changes will result in a projected loss of approximately \$363 million (Canadian) over the 2011-2012 fiscal year. This significant reduction to government coffers is occurring at a time when there are deep cuts to social services in Alberta, including a freeze in funding to services to people with developmental disabilities.

In many ways, from our understanding, Zambia also falls into the same boat, with its large scale dependence on the mining of copper, and the country's struggles to obtain a more just and equitable royalty return from the exploitation of the metal. Over the last few years we have been following attempts by Zambians to increase royalty rates from the current .6% to 3% (which is more consistent with the international average). Indeed, a World Bank study, *Challenges of African Growth: Opportunities, Constraints and Strategic Directions*

(2006) found that Zambia had regressed into greater poverty since independence and one of the reasons was the failure to adequately use natural resources to increase economic well-being. Nonetheless, as with the Canadian experience, it seems that opposition to Zambian royalty reform has come from those who would place the so-called "logic" of the market above the authentic needs of ordinary people. Mining companies have indicated that royalty increases will hurt Zambia's competitive advantage in attracting investment.

To be sure, there are manifest differences in the experiences, economies and politics of Zambia and Canada. Nevertheless, the reality that local control of natural resources can have tremendous benefits for the social, economic and political development of a political entity and contribute to environmentally sound development is patently true for both countries. Therefore, it is important that we work together for justice, development and peace. In fact, the parallel situations speak to our need to act in *solidarity*, another key principle of Catholic Social Teaching. "Solidarity...is a firm and preserving determination to commit oneself to the common good. That is to say to the good and all of each individual, because we are all really responsible for all" (*The Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*).

When we share the same experiences, it is essential that we put voice to those experiences, and advocate for the necessary creation of a just, humane and inclusive world. From a Canadian perspective this can be seen, for example, in the activities of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP) and the work of Canadian Jesuits International. Additionally, the Canadian federal Bill C-300: *Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil and Gas Corporations in Developing Countries* could serve to be an important recognition of solidarity between Zambia and Canada with respect to the just extraction of natural resources. Bill C-300 seeks to implement the recommendations of the National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility which were released in 2007. This report recommended that the Government of Canada work with those developing countries that seek to promote economic and social development through investment in natural resources. In particular, the report calls for Canadian support for a fair and transparent royalty regime in developing countries.

Certainly, our lived experiences will never be the same. However, solidarity helps in the recognition of our common humanity and our need to move – quoting *The Compendium* once again – "towards an ever more committed unity". At the most basic level, this "unity" is essential if we are to be "good stewards of God's abundant blessings".

*Timothy Wild and William R. MacKay
Ottawa, Calgary, Canada*

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN ZAMBIA

Mr. Sam Mulafufu reflects on the fragile relationship between the Church and the State in Zambia, highlighting the proper roles of each actor. Whereas the State challenges the competence and mandate of the Church in commenting and advising on economic, political and social issues, the Church clearly has a prophetic mandate in speaking on behalf and for the people it serves.

Reflecting on the attitude of the State towards the Church in 2009, it is very easy to anticipate that there could be growing tension between the two bodies in 2010, especially with the narrowing proximity towards the 2011 Presidential and General elections. The usual language from politicians directed at the Church could become more and more frequent: concentrate on preaching the Word of God; remove the Church from politics; come out in the open; pray for the nation, etc.

At the height of the governance and economic crisis in the late eighties, the then President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda challenged Church leaders, who were getting more critical about his rule, to pray for the economic recovery of the nation and offer more practical solutions to the problems facing the nation. The Church leaders responded by stating that as Church leaders, they are not professional economists or policy advisors but are duty bound to interrogate economic policies and practices from a Christian perspective (*Christian Liberation Justice and Development*, 1987). The trend to question the authenticity of the Church's voice on governance has continued even with greater vigour in the post 1990 era. For instance, in 1992 when the Catholic Bishops published the pastoral letter *Hear the Cry of Poor*, questioning the lack of sensitivity in the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme to the plight of the majority poor, the Church was immediately challenged by politicians (the Head of State) to offer alternatives.

What political leaders conveniently choose to ignore is the fact that whereas the moral voice of the Church is always professionally informed, the Church speaks more from its day to day contact with the people; it speaks the reality of the people as witnessed in daily lives and struggles. This in most cases is at variance with what is deduced from statistics. It is the reality of each individual the Church meets. All the Church does is voicing this plight of the people to their government who should be better positioned in terms of capacity to respond to these needs. At the close of 2009, the Central Statistical Office announced impressive statistics indicating marked improvement in the economy; one digit inflation rate of 9.9%, above 6% economic growth rate!! Well and good but how has this impacted on the quality of lives of people especially the poor in 2009? Has there been increased access to affordable and quality health care? Has there been increased

access to quality education? Has there been an increase in quality job opportunities? Has there been access to income and good social security? If all these questions are answered in the negative, then those statistical achievements remain abstract to many Zambians.

This is what the Church has always reminded Government about but instead of appreciating these reminders, Government accuses the Church of inciting the masses or working with the opposition to undermine a "legitimately elected Government." What causes this fear of the unknown on the part of government is difficult to fathom and it always makes government spend valuable time fighting imaginary enemies at the expense of addressing the real developmental needs of the people.

The acrimony of any sitting government towards a major Church body has never been demonstrated like the case was in 2009 when Government accused the Catholic Church of planning genocide in Zambia like it did in Rwanda in 1994. The accusation was

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delivered through a ministerial presentation to Parliament by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Ronnie Shikapwasha. The fact that this position has never been recanted or repudiated by anybody from the State and was issued on the official floor of Parliament clearly makes it a Government official position. For a Church that has spent all its time preaching and promoting love and justice, there can be nothing more hurting. Hurting even more is when one knows that the accusations are all lies, wilfully orchestrated to hurt those who profess the Catholic faith. This is a religious insult that should have caused a genuine uprising against Government by the Catholic community in Zambia. However, in true spirit of "turning the other cheek" there were only a handful of condemnation statements in the media and perhaps a letter of protest from the Church authorities but we all know that there will be and should be payback time for Mr. Shikapwasha and his accomplices.

In the last quarter of 2009, the President of the Zambia Episcopal Conference, Bishop George Lungu was quoted lamenting that the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State has never been as bad as it was then. This was a strong statement coming from a leader of one of the most influential non-State actors in the affairs of the Zambian society. What is even of greater worry is the fact that the

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statement articulated the correct status of the relationship between Church and State in most of 2009. The ruling party has continuously ignored such sentiments at their own peril.

The acrimony of the State towards the Catholic Church was heightened after publication of the Pastoral Letter, *A Call to Integrity* by the Catholic Bishops in May 2009. In this pastoral letter, the Bishops made a review of the “State of the Nation” since the 2008 Presidential by elections and made the observation that Zambia is at a threshold of a looming crisis due to growing poverty levels, corruption and abuse of public office and a futile constitution making process. Since the publication of this pastoral letter, we have seen increased hostility towards the Catholic Church in particular, by national political and other public leaders. Yet the truth in the letter is glaringly there for all to see. We have a Government that has become tolerant with corruption, that is indifferent from the plight of the poor and suffering (if they are not related to influential people in the ruling party) and that uses public resources not for the common good but for excessive lifestyles of those in political leadership. How can the Church stand by in the face of all this and still in good conscience believe that it is still serving the mission of Christ?

On Tuesday 29 December 2009, there were celebrations by a few Christians to mark the 18th anniversary of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation; a declaration shoved on our throats by Mr. Chiluba and his then political cronies on 29 December 1991. I am sure if Mr. Chiluba got his way on his bid to be perpetually in office, 29 December may have already been added to the list of Zambia’s myriad of holidays. Commenting on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation, the Catholic Bishops observed that:

“... a nation is not Christian by declaration but by deeds. Zambia can be Christian Nation only if Zambian Christians follow Jesus in a life of love and respect for one another, a life of dedication, honesty and hard work.... It will be in the deeds of justice and concern for the poor that we will show the Christian

character of our nation.” (*The Future is Ours, February 1992*).

The observation could not have been more prophetic. The declaration turned out to be dubious as the regime that made it turned out to be the most corrupt ever experienced in Zambian history. It stole resources from the poor for the benefit of a small clique of accomplices. Whereas the majority of Zambians were degenerating into extreme poverty, Mr. Chiluba and those around him accumulated dubious wealth, a reason for which he and others were being prosecuted after his presidency. He also presided over a regime full of impunity; manipulating constitution making process, incarcerating political opponents, including his predecessor, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, stifling media freedom and initiating the infamous NGO bill (NGO Act) which his current surrogate has passed into law. The “slush fund” was introduced to buy patronage from groups and individuals and sadly, the Church was a major beneficiary of this fund which sowed the seed of division still visible today.

The Church leaders who wine and dine with Mr. Chiluba and had even their churches built from the slush fund have always refused to see the injustice and sin against the poor in Mr. Chiluba’s government precisely because Mr. Chiluba claimed to be their “Brother” and Zambia is a Christian Nation. This was intended to and has worked to undermine the credibility of the Church. The unprecedented proliferation of Churches during Mr. Chiluba’s rule did nothing to improve the moral standing of Zambia; if anything, the opposite is the case. This is the Christian Nation we have known and only those with very short memories can celebrate it.

In the most dramatic turn of events, Mr. Chiluba was acquitted and cleared of all charges. The beneficiaries of the slush fund during his reign regrouped and organized celebrations. The ruling MMD also organised celebrations. The President and Cabinet Ministers expressed happiness with the ruling and even attempted to project their personal feelings on the case as national feelings. On the other hand, the aggrieved citizens from whom resources were stolen were neither allowed to protest of appeal the judgment. The action of Caritas Zambia and the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) to be part of the public organised expression of displeasure over the judgment and the subsequent behaviour by Government was singled out to be yet another Catholic manoeuvre to unseat Government. The behaviour of government on the Chiluba case and the Dora Siliya case clearly exposed the new attitude of tolerating and encouraging corruption.

CONCLUSION

The Church should not be cowed and should play its rightful role in promoting good governance. The roots of many social problems that the Church has to

deal with among the people are in national policies and some of the governance practices. If we are looking for sustainable solutions to these problems, Government must be put under constant scrutiny in the way it conducts its affairs in the name of the people. The Church must be vigilant and learn lessons from the Chiluba regime. Every institution, including the Church, stands vulnerable to corruption and manipulation by the State. This certainly kills the status of the Church as a moral conscience of society. The Church and State must remain separate while working on the common interests of the people. The insertion of the Christian Nation in the preamble of the Zambian Constitution undermines this principle. Just as we have fundamentalist atheists who may work to stifle the freedom of worship, we also have fundamentalist Christians who would not respect the rights of other faiths or even use their Christian tag to commit injustices against others. Zambia should be a secular state even when many Zambians profess one religion or another.

As for Caritas Zambia, the framework of our engagement in the area of governance in 2010 has already been set by the recent Second Synod of African Bishops:

- We have been called upon to establish advocacy bodies to lobby Members of Parliament, governments and international institutions, so that the Church can contribute effectively to formulation of just laws and policies for people's good;

- We have been called upon to promote multidimensional programmes of civic education; implement programmes to foster the formation of a social conscience at all levels; and encourage competent and honest citizens to participate in party politics;
- We have been called upon to educate candidates at various times of voting to

The Church and State must remain separate while working on the common interests of the people.

respect the principle of fair elections and to contribute through the Justice and Peace Commissions to monitoring elections, so that they be free, fair, transparent and secure. The Church's prophetic mission has to continue to speak out against electoral abuses and all forms of cheating in the conduct of elections.

Given the anxiety that grips stakeholders during the electoral process, we are bound to witness more of the Shikapwasha accusations but unfortunately, this will not deter us because this is our calling as a Church.

*Sam Mulafulafu
Director, Caritas Zambia
Lusaka, Zambia*

On 10 September 2010, Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection will mark two very important moments:

- We will officially witness the handover to JCTR's new Director, Fr. Leonard Chiti, S.J. Fr. Chiti is no stranger to the JCTR having related with the Centre many times over the years and most recently having served as Deputy Director since June 2009. He has come to us with good social and pastoral experience and a recent Master of Arts in Development Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. Fr. Peter Henriot, S.J. steps down and away after almost 20 years at the JCTR but will certainly stay in touch with us in the future.
- We will officially inaugurate our new offices, located just 2 KM away from where we were at Luwisha House over the past 10 years. These offices are located at 3813 Martin Mwamba Road, just off the Great East Road, near the grounds of the Zambian Parliament. Easy to find, and much easier and less crowded to base our activities. The inauguration will include a special blessing of the offices and celebration especially to acknowledge our new Director!

POLITICAL CLIMATE IN ZAMBIA

Politics in Zambia continue to be practiced along partisan lines where even when others try to comment on or contribute towards a culture of practising politics, they tend to be seen to be partisan. Politics also is largely influenced by personal interests where those in leadership positions seems to do everything to remain in power even when that hinders the freedoms and rights of others. Mr. Saviour Mwaba Mutumpa reflections on the political climate in the year 2009.

Looking back at the way that politics were practised in 2009; what comes to mind is the kind of leadership our politicians continued to portray. Politics of benefits and appeasement driven by selfish desires are at their peak. People vying for political offices continue doing so as a job opportunity-overlooking the fact that politics, like any other job-is a “calling” and not a money-making venture or a fulfilment of one’s selfish interests such as being in a position of immense power and wealth. The common perception of political life in Zambia is not that of service to the people but rather an opportunity for one to do as they please because they have power. Many people actually closely associate politics with self-enrichment. The perception has been cultivated by the countless politicians that have used their time in office as an opportunity for enrichment.

Until our leaders begin looking at politics as a “calling,” our politics will remain a “dirty job.” Zambia yearns for a time when her leaders will strive to serve the people and not themselves; leaders who will promote and protect the human dignity and human rights and above all, build the common good. There is

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need to “reaffirm the true role of politics and of politicking, understood it as a service to all persons and not as an exercise of abuse of personal power. In this sense, the politicians must really need to ask forgiveness, for the simple reason of not yet having understood that peace is prosperity, to which all races aspire; it is not based on strategies dictated by relationships of strength or on balances of diplomacy, but on concrete acts of justice and of comprehension” (Pope John Paul II).

ECONOMIC SLUMP

2009 in Zambia and the world over was called the “year of the global financial crisis or credit crunch.” It was a year of great economic challenges, and Zambia was not spared. This brought about the much talked about strikes by nurses, job losses in the

mining industry due to closure of some mines like Luanshya Copper Mines, Chambishi Metals, Munali Mine, etc., and collapse of prices of minerals on the international market. This culminated into about 12,000 job losses experienced mostly on the Copperbelt.

Despite having Indeni Oil Refinery (which no longer refines oil), Zambia was hit by what many called “a Government-engineered fuel shortage.” Like in all instances, this brought life to a standstill as transportation of farm inputs and products became costly.

However, it cannot pass without commenting the fact that Zambia, though in the midst of economic slump, made strides towards economic recovery and mitigation of the adverse impact of the global economic crisis. This could be seen in:

- Significant recovery and growth registered in strategic economic sectors;
- Resuscitation of thousands of jobs lost in the mining sector through the re-opening of some mines and the rise in the mineral prices on world market;
- Growth in GDP, drop in inflation to around 9.9 per cent from almost 15 per cent 21 months before, and reduction in extreme poverty levels from 80 per cent to 63 per cent; this however has brought debates in ordinary Zambians whose lives have not at all changed;
- Launch of the Chirundu one-stop shop border facility to facilitate intra-regional trade has been another achievement.

This was a plus to the Government but an insult to the ordinary citizens who never experienced any of these and but whose cost of living kept increasing.

CORRUPTION

Despite the many strides made by Government to fight corruption by the frameworks that have been put in place, not much has been seen. The following seem only to be on paper:

- The launch of *National Anti Corruption Policy (NACP)* on 26th August, 2009. This is Zambia’s first written anti-corruption policy;

- The revision of the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) Act to incorporate good governance practices;
- The disbanding of the money-spending Task Force on Corruption; the establishment of a *serious frauds unit* to investigate complex corruption cases. The set up of the *financial intelligence unit* as an independent institution to monitor suspicious financial transactions.

2009 was a year when many questionable corruption acts were uncovered, which simply put doubts in many Zambians despite the frameworks put in place. Among the notable ones were:

- Lack of transparency in the allocation of public service contracts as well as general procurement (e.g., serious questions were raised about how public service contracts were awarded at the Ministry of Communications and Transport under the then Minister Dora Siliya);
- The Ministry of Health scandal involving about US\$33 million;
- The questionable and dubious acquittal of former President FTJ Chiluba of all corruption cases.

Because of the corruption scandals that filled 2009, key donor agencies, on which Zambia heavily depends, temporarily suspended their funding to Ministry of Health. The sustained calls for the resignation of Director for Public Prosecution over the Chiluba acquittal saga were also an act of displeasure by the Civil Society Organisations who organised a non-violent demonstration which was quashed by Government.

THE CHURCH AND OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES

The Church Social Teaching proclaims that Christians have a critical role to play in politics as taking part in the organisation of society is one of the key duties of Christian life. Many Christians regard the God-human relationship as so distinct from human-human relationships. This simple misunderstanding could never be a reason for accepting or rejecting any worldly political system. To assume otherwise, it could be argued, would be to commit a fundamental mistake that politics and religion must be kept apart. One might insist that this is because politics deals with our outward, human relationships, whereas religion deals with the relationship of our spirit to God. Christians are political beings by virtue of belonging to a community to which they contribute its wellbeing. Decisions and administration of authority in the community also affect Christians.

All Biblical sources, whether counseling separation from political concerns, submission to

governing authorities, or expecting divine retribution against corruption and oppression, share one thing in common. If the concept of God has any validity or any use in our lives, it can only make us freer and more able to strongly speak justice, and fight for good political system with power that is able to reach out for the poor, oppressed, and other vulnerable persons in society.

Many Christians agree that their faith affects how they approach politics, but disagreements arise over the political role of the church. A common source of confusion is the phrase "separation of Church and State." We must be good-natured Christians with a political allegiance. We should believe in the power of

The Church Social Teaching proclaims that Christians have a critical role to play in politics as taking part in the organisation of society is one of the key duties of Christian life.

faith and sacrifice in defense of the common good. We should trust in God's will and others who do the same. We must also believe in using our God-given intelligence, talent, and judgment to help others and to promote a full human life for all. However, faith alone is not enough. It must be coupled with good actions even in politics.

The irresponsible attacks on the Catholic Church in Zambia by high Government officials dangerously undermine democracy and good governance. The purported reporting of Bishop Duffy to the Pope to seek his intervention in order to restrain him and other well-meaning critics of Government especially in the Catholic Church from participating in active politics is disheartening.

The political climate in Zambia continues to be acrimonious, confrontational and lacking trust. Some sections of the media and opposition parties seem to have become fault-finders in the ruling Government. There is need for the opposition to acknowledge the good efforts Government has put in place to better the lives of Zambian people.

CONCLUSION

In our quest to have politicians who are selfless and in our efforts to defeat politics that only seek personal interests, we should learn to look at politics through the eyes of Jesus Christ. Life lived for ourselves alone is not worth living; but life lived for others is complete. In any way we can, let's strive to better the political situation in Zambia. To those who are already in politics, embrace the qualities of good leadership. Good leaders are those who listen to the people, have empathy and help the poor, are committed to the development of all people, and plan

well for such development to happen. Together let us denounce politics that only benefit the leader where leaders seek to enrich only themselves and serve their own interests alone. Let us denounce politics of empty promises by only voting for those who fulfil their promises and put in place good ways of achieving full human development.

Zambians should be tired of politics of violence where especially the youth are used to disrupt activities of other political parties. Buying of votes especially where the poor are bribed with cheap goods so that they can vote for a particular candidate must be discouraged. If we want our democracy to

Good leaders are those who listen to the people, have empathy and help the poor, are committed to the development of all people, and plan well for such development to happen.

grow, tribal and regional politics where promises of development are only concentrated in areas of the leaders' origin of choice should be done away with. Zambia is one country with so many tribes, so any policies that only divide it must be discouraged in the strongest possible sense. Time and again, we see how people with different views from Government, on a range of issues are regarded as "enemies of the state." Zambia has reached a stage where it has to respect freedom of speech and where possible, Government should listen to the so-called critics and learn from them. Politics that only waste national resources through, for example, using public

resources for electoral campaigns, unnecessary international trips and holidays, high level meetings that yield little help to the people, must also be denounced. Public resources should be channelled towards the development of people.

Zambians yearn for politics that promote and protect human dignity and rights of all persons, politics that put people first before personal ambition, career or gain. Politics of service for the greater good of all allows Jesus to be our role model in all that we do. "The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Matthew 20:27). "If you want to be the great, be the servant of all" (Matthew 20:26).

Politics should promote and respect the rule of law, honesty, integrity and transparency, equal distribution of resources, participation in governance processes. Zambia continues suffering from lack of good leadership in most sectors of society. Good leadership recognises that not all opposing views are bad and that actually there is something to be learnt from the views of others. Good democratic values should be upheld. The very thin line between politics and religion should be streamlined to enable both actors to operate fully and efficiently in contributing to good governance of society. Respect of the rule of law and promotion and defending of human rights should be prioritised.

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ARTICLES AND LETTERS

We would like to encourage you to contribute in articles to the *JCTR Bulletin*. These articles can be on any social, economic, political, educational, cultural, pastoral, theological and spiritual theme. A good issue of the *Bulletin* really depends on your lively analytical exchange of views. The length of your article should be between 1000 and 1500 words.

We also encourage comments on the articles in this or previous *Bulletins*. Views for the improvement of the *Bulletin* are also welcome.

The next issue of the *JCTR Bulletin* (third quarter) will be out in October 2010. So to contribute, please write articles or letters to the *Editor* either by regular mail to JCTR, P.O. Box 37774, Lusaka, Zambia; or by e-mail to jctrbulletin@jesuits.org.zm. The deadline for submissions is 21 September 2010.

We look forward to hearing from you!

DISCREPANCIES IN ZAMBIA'S DEVELOPMENT

"The poor cry, the rich smile!" This phrase the author uses to signify the inequalities and inequities between the poor and the rich. Zambia that has been steadily rising in economic growth in the past few years, now averaging 6% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), still has problems in the distribution of national wealth and goods. Whilst the rich seem to be "smiling" at the wealth they extract from such a growth and availability of goods, the poor continue to suffer especially when development programmes are concentrated in urban areas and more specifically, Lusaka. Emmanuel Liche, a medical student at UNZA, explores why this could be the case.

From time in memorial, the poor have been neglected, including in the time of Jesus. "For the poor will always be with us." But is this good justification to leave the poor at the bottom of the well (in poverty) where they keep crying day in and out to access basic needs? Poverty smells and no one finds pleasure in the scent of poverty. Poverty also deprives freedom and reduces one's self image, thereby leading to a dependence syndrome that dwindles one's autonomy in life. Poverty curtails development and so it transcends generations to create a "poverty clan."

It is because of such resistance to develop that poverty flourishes and its infectiousness continues despite a lot being said and many policies that are not implemented. The lack of freedom caused by poverty further hinders development. Development processes in Zambia which should ultimately clean the mud of poverty have not only been shaky but also coupled with political favours. This in the long run has led to lack of freedom thereby perpetuating poverty

"DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM"

Freedom is a basic constituent of development. Nobel Prize economist, Amartya Sen puts it well that substantial human freedom should focus on capabilities. Without capabilities, it is difficult to become independent and self-sustainable in accessing basic needs. For example, if a farmer will sleep hungry because he cannot sell his maize to Food Reserve Agency (FRA) because of unnecessary requirements and inhibitions (e.g., long distance to the market), he has no freedom as there are no market options which are competitive. Thus if a briefcase buyer appears, a farmer will have very little control over the price he can sell the maize, thereby rendering little or no profit in the sales. Freedom has to do with both process of enjoying one's freedom and creation of opportunity to be free.

Development should thus focus on evaluative scrutiny on things that really matter and in particular avoid the neglect of crucially important subjects. And when this lack of evaluative scrutiny is conceived, poverty is born. Poverty is better measured in

capability deprivation. It is a better known fact that development is mostly driven by good health and education. The implication is that if a nation deprives its citizens of good health services and education, talk of development seems useless.

What under-development does is that it breeds certain vices that are typical. When people lack basic needs, there are increased criminal activities, abuse of power, prostitution and disease, to mention only a few. Poverty strips off people's freedom and creates a vicious circle between lack of freedom and development. This penury "circus catch" seems to have found fertile ground that no one pays attention to finding a long lasting solution.

COMMUNICATION

Among the "drivers of change" is communication. Information is very cardinal towards making an independent decision with full knowledge of its

Freedom is a basic constituent of development. Amartya Sen puts it well that substantial human freedom should focus on capabilities.

consequences. And an organisation that deprives its members of necessary information is likely to keep its members at the "bottom of the well." Unfortunately this has been the pattern by the Zambian Government. The majority poor of this nation cannot access media facilities and they rely on lies and rumours, making it difficult to make informed decisions on development issues.

More than 45 years after Independence, there is still monopoly in broadcasting rights by the state-controlled TV and radio broadcaster, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC). Worse still, objectivity on critical matters especially on development has been lacking. Even with the coming of few private broadcasters, these are mainly concentrated in Lusaka and lack national coverage.

Mobile telecommunications have equally suffered from state-control and inhibitions especially in opening up of the international communication gateway. For a long time the three major network service providers, (Zain Zambia, MTN, and CelZ) were also concentrated in urban areas in Provincial towns. Even now, when the three claim national-wide coverage, such coverage is very sporadic within small kilometres outside of the major Districts. With such limitations, where is the freedom of information if the remotest Zambian cannot access the services of these mobile cellular companies? It is this kind of lack of information that deters development. The story of Vodacom's failure to be given a license could be one sign of porous policies that do not consider capabilities as a measure of development.

Since democracy is about freedom, why find it difficult for companies that fulfil the requirements like Vodacom operate in the country? Such limitations carry a lot of hidden messages and the worst is to have so many speculations about the Government because issues are not clarified.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

A healthy nation is cardinal in fostering development that would transform the lives of the poor. In as much as there may be increase in infrastructure development, it defeats the purpose if the same health facilities have no human resources. There should be a balance between building more health institutions and increased training of health workers. The poor and people in rural areas have to

Even when the buying price of maize by the FRA is good, buying commences late in the year and the farmers are paid much, much later.

travel long distances in order to access health facilities. Even after reaching the clinics, accessibility to good diagnosis and treatment is lacking. There are very few health workers to cover the needs of all Zambians. There are still very few persons graduating from training institutions for health workers such that we are still far from meeting the WHO health worker to patient ratio.

The same workers work in environments which are inhuman. When a worker becomes aware that what he or she puts in and what she yields does not match, there is a danger of compromising quality. Those who suffer are the ordinary Zambians who cannot seek private health services. Thus the poor find themselves with increased infant mortality rates, high under-five mortality rates, maternal mortality rates, and under-nutrition.

The education system has taken a similar pattern where there are several attempts to increase infrastructure without upgrading the staff. Some schools have been upgraded to high schools without qualified teachers. Teachers still remain unemployed until they defect to doing other courses. Even those who carry the burden of teaching have found the career not sustaining enough to cover their basic needs. Children will have to walk long distances to schools where there is only one qualified teacher from grade 1 to 7. In quest for a better life, the same teachers have resorted to private "tuitions" sessions, thereby limiting the good quality of education to those who are financially able to pay for such sessions.

AGRICULTURE

Gone are the days when subsistence farming (especially in rural areas) was rewarding to an extent that people found it easier to stay in villages than in the shanties of overcrowded compounds in towns. Through small-scale farming, people were able to build good houses (using bricks, cement, and iron sheet roofing), buy oxen and oxcarts and even hammer mills for small business ventures. This was due to good access to farm inputs (seeds and fertiliser) and good markets. Nowadays farming inputs are highly expensive and even the price waiver method leaves much to be desired. Access to good and competitive markets is also a big problem.

As a result, people still do not have enough food despite having access to vast arable land. Only about 16% of arable land is utilised for farming in this country. With good land, and people who are willing to farm it, it is unacceptable that people continue to go without food and die of undernourishment because of bad policies.

Due to under-development in the agriculture sector and lack of Government's guidance, the country has higher prices of processed agricultural products. Mealie meal and sugar prices are good examples. When an averagely paid worker finds it difficult to buy such basic food items, what more a villager with little income?

What is more annoying is that Government through FRA easily controls the price of maize and yet finds it difficult through the Millers Association of Zambia to control the prices of mealie meal. Such poor marketing strategies make it difficult for poor farmers to become self-sustainable in their agricultural practices. Even when the buying price of maize by the FRA is good, buying commences late in the year and the farmers are paid much, much later. This makes it difficult for farmers to use the gains from their produce to buy farm inputs. Such experiences sound as though there are deliberate machinations within Government to suppress the little drivers of development for the rural Zambians.

ENERGY AND TRANSPORT

With only about 5 years remaining towards a golden jubilee celebration for our nation, we have very little to celebrate about apart from the relative peace, stability, and some political independence.

Monopoly by the State-controlled Zambia Electricity Company (ZESCO) has led to low levels of access to electrical energy by many in Zambia, especially the poor in rural areas. Also, high prices of electrical power continue to hinder households in urban areas to make the most of this energy power.

Even when we have many water sources in the country that could ensure that we have good renewable hydro energy, some rural Districts still operate on thermal energy. Those that should be enjoying being connected to the national grid have been muddled in power cuts (load shading). In the midst of power shortage in the country, we still export power. When rural parts apply for connectivity, ZESCO take a lot of time to connect power with excuses of not having poles or cables. It is shameful that with most parts of the country covered in flora, poles are imported from countries like Zimbabwe.

Power should be available in villages by now and Government should have seen to it that rural electrification really works and not only remains in plans. Chiefs and other local leaders should encourage their people to build houses that can allow connectivity to hydroelectricity using the resources that they already have (bricks, for example). Regional power stations should be constructed in order to provide adequate power without unnecessary rationalising at the expense of development. If the Luangwa River can accommodate a power station, let it supply the Eastern Region and the Lunga and Zambezi Rivers supplying power to the Northwestern, Western and Southern Regions. The Kafue River will supply the Lusaka and Copperbelt Regions. The Northern and Luapula Regions have several rivers and yet still does not have sustainable hydro power stations.

Rural electrification can significantly improve the quality of life for the poor. Power can attract investors and even the local people can start practicing advanced farming methods that could contribute to bumper harvests.

The price of fuel has continued to rise for a common person. Increase in fuel inevitably leads to negative living standards as the prices of other goods go up. To those who have, the impact may be cushioned. Yet for a poor person, such inaccessible prices can exacerbate suffering. Good leaders who are really at the service of their people should look at such issues seriously.

Despite the clear need for a good road network in the country, many places remain inaccessible because there are no existing roads, or the roads are impassable. Even roads in the heart of town where rich people stay are very bad. I do not totally blame the residents but Government because of some of its policies and political interests. There have been occasions where individuals and churches have asked for permission to tar certain roads but often Government has refused on “baseless” grounds.

“POLITICAL RHETORIC”

One of the instrumental freedoms for development in Amartya Sen's book, *Development as Freedom*, is political freedom. Political freedom is not only pivotal in promoting response socially to economic needs but also the core to the conceptualisation of economic needs. If the people can be asked what they want to see in their area and then Government through its various wings do that, life in rural areas would improve. However, from the year multi-partyism came in with concepts like privatisation, we have seen political greed limiting development to areas where the leader comes from or where he or she got a majority of votes during elections. And because wealth is limited in the hands of those ruling, even sober minded patriots of the nation have been caught in this web leaving the poor with no representation.

Areas labelled as strongholds for the opposition seldom benefit from Government's developmental plans. Despite some problems in the pre-democracy era, people generally had access to crucial basic needs. Industrial development was distributed in the peripheries of the country offering jobs to the local

If the people can be asked what they want to see in their area and then Government through its various wings do that, life in rural areas would improve.

people. Now an orange has to come all the way from South Africa when our virgin land remains unexplored. Even in those areas like Katete where oranges are produced, such oranges are not found in big shops but marketed by the roadside. If those developmental plans were really implemented, districts by now would have been urbanised.

It is sad to see aspiring candidates continuously distribute small notes of money (e.g., ZMK5,000 or ZMK50,000), or sugar, rice, tablets of soap to the poor during election campaigns instead of finding ways of empowering the people to find their own ways of accessing such needs, thereby coming out of poverty. People have lost their dignity in the name of earning a living. That is what poverty can do. Even some of the leaders in Government who grew in

poverty easily forget the paths they walked on barefoot once they hold a political position. When you climb a tree, do not insult those who are down as the branch of tree you are holding on to might fall. In life, we all depend on each other.

CONCLUSION

For life to be lived to the full, people should have basic needs. It is embarrassing to note that we cannot feed ourselves because of policies that only empower a few. Government may truly not have money. But with proper planning and better distribution of the national cake without any greedy motives, our nation can be better than it is today. We are currently rated as number 166 out of the 177 in the world, according to the United Nations Development Index.

Without creating capabilities of persons to take care of themselves, poverty will not substantially decrease. Lack of creation of capabilities has contributed to leading the nation on this path of poverty. Within our society, there are micro-societies that are autonomous just because they support the ruling party in Government. For example, cadres can share plots and market spaces whilst Government wings are watching. Meaningful development is that which will alleviate extreme poverty.

Indeed freedom and development are inter-related and they affect each other. It is difficult to find a poor person who is free. With proper planning and little greed by the people in authority, our country can develop.

It's high time we recognised that instead of concentration on political rhetoric and propaganda, we should be development-oriented both in planning and action. Our journey on earth is for a while. As such, amassing wealth on the tears of the poor is wrong.

If capabilities of all in society are not created and strengthened, the poor will continue shedding tears as the rich laugh with joy. As we go to the polls next year, we should challenge aspiring candidates to base their manifestos on issues that will help the poor come out of poverty. Leaders should look at themselves as being at the service of the people who elect them into leadership positions. Politics, in any case, is not for its own sake but to help people live their lives with dignity.

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CAN 50% + 1 MODE OF CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT BE A SOURCE OF CONFLICT IN ZAMBIA?

The National Constitutional Conference (NCC) have finally released the Draft Constitution to the general public for consideration. In the Draft, the 50 percent plus one way of choosing a President has been recommended even though the NCC failed to reach a two-thirds majority on the issue. Because of this failure, they recommended that it be adopted after a referendum. Amongst reasons given against having such a mode of electing Presidents was the fact that it could lead to violent conflicts like was the case in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Simon Kabanda, Executive Director of Citizens' Forum explores if this really is a good reason for not having this way of choosing Heads of State in Zambia.

The fifty percent plus one (50% + 1) winning threshold for a president is an issue that has created heated debate in the Constitution-making process in Zambia. To say 50% + 1 might be a source of conflict would be an under-statement. 50% + 1 is already a source of conflict in Zambia! Providing for the provision in the Constitution is a solution to ending the already created tension in the country as a result of manoeuvres to block it.

The people of Zambia have made known their desires on this issue through the Mvunga Constitution

Review Commission (1990-91), the Mwanakatwe Constitution Review Commission (1993-94), the Electoral Reform Technical Committee (ERTC), and finally through the Mung'omba Constitution Review Commission (2003-05). In all these years the people of Zambia have overwhelmingly demanded for more than 50% as being the winning threshold for a President in a multi-party democracy.

When we reverted to multi-party democracy, we set ourselves certain principles to guide and strengthen multi-party democracy. This included

enhanced electoral competition. On the issue of 50% + 1 the principle is: "An executive President is entrusted with the discharge of sovereign functions on behalf of the people. It is therefore a universally accepted principle that only a person who enjoys popular support of the electorate should occupy the Office of President."

In a democracy, a simple majority vote is acceptable in respect of matters that are not so fundamental as to raise serious questions of popularity, mandate and legitimacy as in the election of a President.

VIEWS ARTICULATED IN THE MUNG'OMBA CRC

Submissions:

A very large number of petitioners were of the view that for a presidential candidate to be declared winner, he or she must obtain at least 51% of the votes cast. If this is not achieved, a rerun should be conducted between the top two contenders (713). The main reason advanced was that a President should have a mandate of the majority of the electorate ... while others called for the current system of First-Past-the-Post (simple majority) to continue in order for the nation not to incur additional costs associated with a rerun, and in view of the large number of presidential candidates which makes it difficult for one candidate to obtain an absolute majority (CRC Report, 20).

Observations:

Many countries with executive Presidents, such as the United States of America, Ghana and Uganda,

In a democracy, a simple majority vote is acceptable in respect of matters that are not so fundamental as to raise serious questions of popularity, mandate and legitimacy as in the election of a President.

have an absolute majority vote requirement for the presidency. One common threshold is more than 50% of the valid votes cast. This argument is based on the principle.

The Commission acknowledges that under the current electoral regime where there is no restriction on the number of candidates, there is a likelihood that a requirement for an absolute majority of votes would almost invariably lead to a rerun each time there is a presidential election. The Commission is, however, of the view that the dictates of democracy and the need to have a President with a popular mandate outweigh the cost implications.

The Commission also notes that the Mvunga and Mwanakatwe Commissions recommended that the winning presidential candidate should receive at least 51% of the votes cast and that the 1991 Constitution made provision for a minimum threshold of more than 50% of the valid votes cast. The 1996 Constitution amendments, however, changed the requirement to a simple majority.

In arriving at an appropriate recommendation, the Commission notes that the desire was to have a popularly elected President with the majority of votes. It is perhaps this consideration that influenced the requirement of a minimum threshold of more than 50% in the 1991 Constitution.

Further, it is desirable that the period within which a rerun should be conducted, should be 30 days in order to expedite the process. This would compare favourably with a number of other countries with such a system of electing a President.

Recommendations:

In the light of these observations, the Commission recommends that in order to avoid problems associated with a minority President whose legitimacy and mandate would be in doubt, and as a cost saving measure, the Constitution provide that:

- a winning presidential candidate should receive a minimum of 50% plus one of the valid votes cast and that failure by any of the candidates to attain this threshold should lead to a rerun, within 30 days, between the candidates who receive the two highest numbers of the valid votes cast;*
- if in the re-run election none of the candidates receives more than 50% plus one of the valid votes cast, the Speaker should summon Parliament to elect the President between the candidates with the two highest numbers of the valid votes cast, and the candidate who receives the highest number of valid votes cast by the members shall be declared President; and*
- in the event of a tie between candidates with the highest number of parliamentary votes, the Speaker or Presiding Officer shall have a casting vote.*

SOURCE OF CONFLICT IN ZAMBIA

Where does conflict come about on this issue? You begin to create conflict when you begin to throw away principles, when you begin to tamper with the desires of the people on an issue, when you begin to go in a wrong direction, when you become petty in your arguments.

19 January 2010 will go down in Zambian history as a "Black Tuesday" when the National Constitution Conference (NCC) subjected to a vote an issue that the people of Zambia had already decided upon since we reverted to multi-party democracy in 1991. The

NCC “legally” tampered with the desires of the people of Zambia on this issue.

You create conflict when you begin to manipulate the desires of the people, when you begin to doctor what the people want for your own political expediency. For example, in 2005 the Electoral Reform Technical Committee (ERTC) decided to manipulate and doctor the desires of the people on the issue of 50% + 1.

Interim ERTC Recommendations:

The Committee recommended that Presidential elections be conducted on the basis of a Majoritarian System, whereby the winning Presidential candidate is required to receive an absolute majority of votes cast, in other words, achieve a score of fifty percent (50%) plus one vote of the total votes cast. ... fifty percent (50%) plus one Majoritarian System, is generally presumed to foster national unity in the sense that a presidential candidate has to gain support from a broader section of the society.

After producing the interim report of the ERTC the general public was given 90 days (which was later extended) to react to the interim report. Sadly, when the ERTC sat down to write the final report, they manipulated and doctored the meaning of 50% + 1.

Final ERTC Recommendations:

The Committee recommends that Article 34 of the Constitution be amended so that Presidential Elections be conducted on the basis of a Majoritarian System, whereby the winning Presidential candidate is required to score fifty percent (50%) plus one vote of the total votes cast. Where no candidate achieves an absolute majority in the first run, the candidate with the highest number of votes should negotiate with other political parties so that together they attain the fifty percent (50%) plus one vote threshold.

The Committee further recommends that the Constitution be amended so that a candidate who scores the highest number of votes in an election, but does not attain the fifty percent (50%) plus one vote threshold may invite other political parties to attain the threshold in order to form a Coalition Government. In the event that a Coalition Government collapses or fails, the presidential candidate who attained the highest votes in the preceding election shall invite another political party or parties to form another Coalition Government for the remainder of the term ... In order to persuade the other political parties to form a Coalition Government, the political party with the mandate to form Government should offer them incentives. The incentives may include offers of Cabinet portfolios, Senior Government positions or public policy options

This was a clear case of throwing principles away, purely for political expedience. It was an

attempt to legalise and legitimise wrong-doing and corruption. This was a disregard of the intelligence of the people of Zambia who genuinely wanted to promote, safeguard, and strengthen the principles of multi-party democracy. When recommending the 50% + 1 mode, the people of Zambia knew what they were talking about. They knew what they wanted.

REFERENDUM

The decision to subject this issue to a referendum is a source of even greater conflict, for the following reasons:

1. It is not a constitutional requirement to subject the issue of 50% + 1 to a referendum. Why even subject to a referendum an issue that the people of Zambia have conclusively decided upon from the Mvunga Constitution Review Commission (1990-91) to date?
2. It is not practically and legally possible to have a referendum before the 2011 elections. Allowing the 50% + 1 issue go to a referendum means closing the avenue to have it in the new Constitution before the 2011 elections.

This, therefore, is a demonstration of another form of manipulating the situation for political expedience. Those who are arguing against the 50% + 1 mode of electing a president are not basing their arguments on any principle. Arguments not based on any principle are a recipe for conflict.

NCC AS PRIMARY SOURCE OF CONFLICT

The conflict that has been created by the issue of 50% + 1 is only a sub-set of the larger conflict that has been brewed by the National Constitution

You create conflict when you begin to manipulate the desires of the people, when you begin to doctor what the people want for your own political expediency.

Conference (NCC). The NCC and its supporting legislation are the primary source of the current conflicts in the Constitution-making process. Why? This is because the NCC has “legally” deviated from its role of adopting the Constitution.

When we decided to come up with a multi-party Constitution, we set for ourselves certain principles that would guide us. What were these principles? First, since we were coming from a one party system of government to a multi-party one, we needed a totally new Constitution. Second, the process of coming up with this totally new multi-party Constitution ought to be people-driven.

On the basis of these principles, we came up with stages to arrive at the desired constitution, as follows:

- Collection of views from the people around the country, through the CRC;
- Adopting the outcome of the collected views;
- Approving of the final document by the general public; and
- Enactment into law by the people's representatives.

Sadly the NCC Act decided to throw away the principles that we had set for ourselves, by:

- Legally deviating from the principles and meaning of adoption;
- Legally manipulating the logical stages that we had agreed upon.

To “adopt” means to accept, assume, approve, take up, agree to, espouse, support, promote, back, advocate, champion, implement, embrace, take on

In Constitution making process, conflict is caused by preoccupation with political power without ethical standards or morality.

board. Sadly the NCC has been given powers legally to adopt or not to adopt, when its role is purely to adopt what came from the people during stage 1 of the process, if we go by the principles we set for ourselves from the beginning. This is really a source of conflict.

The legal powers of the NCC to *vary* and *remove* and *add* are a source of conflict because these three actions are contrary to the principles of adopting.

To “vary” means to *differ, diverge, be different, disagree, change, alter, fluctuate, adjust, modify, deviate, move away, depart, conflict, digress, go off the point, go off tangent, stray, wander away, wander off, go astray, lose your way.*

This is contrary to the true meaning of “adopting,” and if the NCC has been to “vary,” they have been a source of conflict.

To “remove” means to *take away, get rid of, eliminate, do away with, take out.*

Again, this is not “adopting,” and therefore a source of conflict.

To “add” means to *put in, insert, include, bring in.*

This is not adopting, and therefore a source of conflict.

In Constitution making process, conflict is caused by preoccupation with political power without ethical standards or morality. This leads many into believing that qualities like frankness and honesty are blocks to achieving political power. In this case you find that the arguments of the opponents of the 50% + 1 are not grounded on ethical standards, but on political expedience. When you throw away morality and embrace political expedience, then you are sowing seeds of conflict.

**DOES PARLIAMENT REQUIRE THE NCC?
IS PARLIAMENT DEPENDENT ON THE
NCC?**

Parliament does not require the NCC to amend the Constitution. If our interest was merely to amend the current Constitution, then there was no need to create the NCC.

But one of the fundamental principles in creating the NCC was in order to come up with a new multi-party Constitution. You create conflict when you come up with a body that deviates from the fundamental principles. The decision to subject the 50% + 1 winning threshold for a president is coming from a body that has deviated from the fundamental principles.

WHAT IS THE WAY FORWARD?

As the people of Zambia we need to make a radical political decision. Whereas what the NCC is doing is within the law, namely the NCC Act, we have no choice but to disband it, as it is not safeguarding the principles of which ought to guide and strengthen our cherished multi-party democracy. The law governing the NCC is a bad law, and therefore we should not allow wrong-doing to continue just because the wrong-doing is supported by the law.

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JCTR VISION

“A society where faith promotes justice for all in all spheres of life, especially for the poor.”

THE PRESS IN A DEMOCRATIC AFRICA

Of the three main organs of a democratic society, media is debatably one of the most important ones given its apparent independence and influence in the lives of the people. The other two are the state and civil society. We have often times experienced how the media has uncovered a scam that would have gone covered, how the media has led to some very prominent resigning in top government positions, how the media has highlighted the plight of the poor in a very remote parts of a country. The vibrancy of the media depends on its independence to do its work. Such independence depends on laws regulating the media, access to public information by media, protection of media personnel from abuse from authority. Francis Chisembe Chishala highlights the importance of the press in African struggling democracies.

In any democratic dispensation, the time of elections is the pinnacle of democracy. It is during this period that democracy is tested. However, elections could not be classified as the only measure of democracy. There are other serious tenets of democracy like good governance, upholding of the rule of law, promotion of human rights, a free press and separation of powers in the three organs of government among many other things. In the West, the media can be said to wield a lot of power due to the fact that people rely on the media for information about many things; for instance, the way government is run. This aspect of the media somehow cannot be true if we were to consider most parts of Africa. In Africa, most media outlets, like newspapers, are not easily accessible to the majority of the population that live in remote areas and under abject poverty.

The implication of this is that not so many Africans can manage to buy a copy of a newspaper every day of the whole year. Worse still, the illiteracy levels in Africa are so high. Very few newspapers are published in African or indigenous languages, hence leaving many Africans with an information blackout. Even the few published in local languages are not popularly read in those areas for the people who can read mostly prefer to do so in English.

Broadcasting through radio is one way through which the African media has been able to reach the majority of the rural folks because with radio the issue of illiteracy does not count. Though the media does not wield much power in Africa, it at least plays a major role in the democratic process of a country. However, newspaper publications unlike radio broadcast can be kept and shared even by the poor for a longer period. For a rural folk a week old newspaper is not old news at all if one is accessing it for the first time.

In most parts of Africa the press is unregulated and it is divided between state-owned and independent or privately-owned newspapers. It has always been the case that the state-owned newspapers toe the government line by acting as its propaganda tool. On the other hand the independent press has added a new angle in reporting African

politics. The independent press in Africa has been known to champion causes of a free press and has unearthed stories of corruption in public office. However, the independent press has been accused of sensationalising political issues in its reportage and many a time has faced unruly party cadres' harassment and government's wrath of every kinds, including imprisonment of the correspondents.

With the coming in of multi-party politics and liberal democracy in Africa, after the collapse of the Berlin wall, much has been expected of the media, especially in sustaining and foresting the tenets of democracy. Having lived with the government-controlled press in the past, the African populace expects the privately controlled press to act as an alternative voice that is objective. But just as the

In a democracy, one of the most important virtues is that people or the public have access to information to enable them to exercise their democratic rights.

state-controlled press is biased towards the ruling party and champions the ideals of the government in power, the privately owned press is also constrained by market forces to endorse, with vested interests, certain positions that might seem to be biased against the government's position on a number of issues. However, the living side by side of the government controlled press with the independent press does contribute to the fostering and sustenance of democracy.

In the relationship of press and democracy, one of the most important virtues is that people or the public have access to information, right information for that matter, to enable them to exercise their democratic rights. For instance, during political elections, people are free to elect a leader of their choice. It is in this respect that the media, and the press in particular, is seen to play a significant role in democracy. It is in reporting politics that a disparaging contrast between government controlled press and privately controlled press can be noticed.

One particular moment when this can be noticed is during political campaigns and elections.

The African press has realised that African readership takes particular interest in the political life of their nations. It is political news, reports and stories that usually take the headlines of the majority

In a democracy the press can be effective in unearthing cases of corruption and instances of bad governance.

of the African newspapers. However, it is not so clear whether the press influences the African populace on who to vote for during parliamentary and presidential elections.

There has been a tendency by politicians in Africa to use the press in order to gain political mileage. However, when the press initiates stories that implicate a particular politician, then you hear calls of respect for privacy. The democratic dispensation calls for a free media and unregulated press. The African situation presents us with a two-tier approach to the press between the state-controlled and independent or private-controlled. What role is the press in Africa expected to play? Are there different roles for private-controlled press and for the state-controlled press? Or does the press have a common role either as private-controlled or state-controlled?

It is argued that a free press and mostly an independent press can be more effective than an opposition party in bringing about change in an oppressive regime. Much more, in a democracy the press can be effective in unearthing cases of corruption and instances of bad governance. A free press is a pillar of democracy because it provides checks and balances for the ruling elite and government.

The press has a watch-dog role to play in society. In short, the press should act as the conscience of society. Therefore, the role of the press is not only to report about what the government is doing but also to bring out issues of public interest that politicians sometimes ignore. It can also monitor and follow up politicians to see if they are living up to their promises. It is not a bad thing to have an opposition press in a situation where the state also owns a number of newspapers. If state-owned newspapers are going to tell us about the government and its programmes, then an independent press is a relief to save us from state propaganda that might be purely subjective. The independent press therefore would be needed to offer an alternative voice. Usually a free press reinforces democratic ideals. A state-owned press has a public mandate of serving the public interest and the national interest. National

interest and public interest is not a prerogative for those who wield political power or financial power but for the general populace.

Knowing that the private-press is sometimes moved by market interest does not stop it from serving public interest and national interest. It is at this point that the issue of media ethics and professional integrity become imperative. The press has a role of agenda setting on issues such as the economy, health, education, employment, constitution and other issues that affect the people. The media and the press in particular have to reclaim their credibility through critical and in-depth analysis of issues. Election time is a time of decision-making and it is only with a free press that people can be able to do that effectively and efficiently.

What has been lacking in the African press is good, adept and in-depth analysis of issues. Good, adept and in-depth analysis of issues would require the press to do thorough research on an issue and present it professionally rather than angling it to fit the interests of the media house involved. Good, adept and in-depth analysis presents facts as they are and leaves the reader with the duty to draw his or her own conclusions. For instance, during an election campaign, the press could do good research on the contesting political parties, focusing on the party manifesto and the programmes the party is pushing. Dwelling too much on personalities defeats the ideal of professionalism. It would rather be necessary to highlight what the candidates have to offer and a bit of their credentials. What has been the

A free press is a pillar of democracy because it provides checks and balances for the ruling elite and government.

case in most African press reports is the focus on petty personality issues that are counter-productive to the exercise of true democracy.

The African press ought to be able to discern what is the right information for the readership at each particular time. Sometimes when it comes to serving national interest and upholding peace it is very important for the press to be vigilant on what information they disseminate. Free press is not synonymous with lack of responsibility on the side of the press. What is needed in today's democratic Africa is a press that is responsible in making our leaders accountable to the electorate of their actions. However, a courageous press is one that is capable of taking risks in the quest of promoting the tenets of democracy.

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FINANCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE SME BUSINESS SECTOR IN ZAMBIA

Using a speech by Luis Alberto Moreno presented to the 41st Banking Convention of the Inter-American Development Bank held from 10-11 August 2006 in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, Trevor Simumba, a Zambian economist working in the United Kingdom, argues for financial democracy where the majority poor have access to finances to access their needs and not where finances are concentrated and limited to big enterprises like banks. Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and micro enterprises contribute greatly to financial democracy.

Economic development is for people, that is, for citizens of a country. If the benefits of economic growth fail to reach the majority, in the long run there is no development. Over the last five years, Zambia has enjoyed an economic situation that, without exaggerating, can be classified as spectacular. But conditions for the majority of Zambians have not improved substantially. Without change, the entire legitimacy of economic development effort should seriously be called into question.

Development is a combination of good policies, both macroeconomic and microeconomic. The development of regions such as Southeast Asia, for example, was based largely on numerous microeconomic instruments. In Zambia, despite the colossal task we have accomplished at the macro level (good economic growth indicators), we have often forgotten the micro dimension of development. We have fallen short in terms of creating and distributing opportunities. The country's per capita income has barely doubled over the last 42 years, whereas in South Korea it has increased fifteen fold! Poverty and inequality ratios have been stagnant.

We must therefore turn our attention to the base of the pyramid, which represents the immense majority of Zambians. Financial markets have a key role to play here. There is ample evidence of the relationship between financial-market development

“If you want to be rich spend your life buying assets. If you want to be poor or middle class, spend your life buying liabilities.”

and economic growth. I doubt anyone disputes the link between the depth and coverage of the system and poverty reduction. Achieving well-functioning financial markets and financial institutions, which attract savings and channel them into productive investment projects, should be a policy priority for governments and development finance institutions alike.

In brief, financial development enables individuals to express their potential, and represents a tool for achieving “financial democracy”. In Zambia, we have made historic strides toward the consolidation of political democracy. But this has not been accompanied by democratisation of economic means and opportunities. The real economy is still in the hands of the few. Financial democracy is fundamental for achieving greater inclusion, contributing to social cohesion, and generating broad-based growth. It is therefore crucial for economic dynamism and political stability.

What do we mean by financial democracy? Financial illiteracy is the foundation of financial struggle says Robert Kiyosaki. He has stated further that, “if you want to be rich spend your life buying assets. If you want to be poor or middle class, spend your life buying liabilities.” In Zambia, we have spent the last 40 years accumulating debt (financial liabilities) and we have failed to use our assets to generate real economic development. We have spent huge amounts of financial resources to buy liabilities rather than buy assets like, roads, bridges, machinery to manufacture goods, railways, etc. Financial democracy in a country is critical to the success of economic development because financial exclusion prevents people from gaining access to resources that would enable them to make the most of their work capacity and assets, and condemns them to a cycle of poverty from which it is hard to escape.

Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and micro enterprises are economically vital for the country, despite their lack of access to adequate financing. They account for the majority of all enterprises and, normally account for a large part of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and create many employment opportunities.

At the individual level, financial inclusion generates optimism and confidence in the future. It is impossible to understate the importance of access to financial services for population groups that are currently marginalised, both in terms of their potential in helping people to escape poverty, or in contributing to economic activity, social cohesion, and political stability.

A population that participates in economic activity is much more likely to identify with the rest of society, and have a sense of belonging, thereby contributing to stability. The feeling of belonging to a community contributes to social cohesion.

Unfortunately, financial systems in Zambia do not play a significant role in the life of most of the people. The consequent “intermediation gap” is reflected in narrow and shallow financial markets – a phenomenon that restricts broad-based economic growth and helps to perpetuate inequality throughout the country. In particular, the rural based SMEs and micro enterprises face serious problems to access financial services.

Basic financial services, such as bank accounts, credit, and insurance, paradoxically have higher costs for the vast majority at the base of the pyramid, and this discourages their use. A challenge for many small businesses is access to bank financing which is the leading source of money in Zambia. The financial system in Zambia is characterised by a large supply of debt instruments issued by Government – involving short-term amounts that are still very significant.

This tends to generate atrophy in the financial system rather than development, by “crowding out” the private sector. Many financial institutions have ceased to fulfil their role as intermediaries and channel their energies into investing in government bonds and foreign currency money markets, to the detriment of lending to the private sector, which is more difficult. This suboptimal behaviour is strengthened by banking regulations in which the main aim is a stable financial system even though it does not intermediate. This has resulted in coverage being restricted in more sparsely populated areas, such as the rural sector, and among low-income groups. Lending to the government and to large customers is easier and more profitable, and it requires less capital.

If the banks continue to fail to deepen and extend their activities, alternative means will emerge in the market, taking advantage of technological progress to

allow fund transfers and intermediation without banking infrastructure. In countries where bank-account use is low, such as South Africa, we are already seeing the emergence of systems based on smart cards and on prepaid cellular telephony (like CELPAY in Zambia, MPESA in Kenya), which allow transactions between individuals and between them and commercial entities, without the need for banking infrastructure.

South Africa has also been a pioneer in establishing a universal access fund, similar to that used to promote cellular telephony, to which banks make a contribution and in exchange receive fund resources as they expand access. It is time for

The rural based SMEs and micro enterprises face serious problems to access financial services.

financial institutions to develop innovative mechanisms and new programs to reach the microfinance sector, remittances and other under-served markets. This represents an opportunity to fully open up a potentially enormous and profitable market.

This opportunity needs to be seized now while the financial system is not under pressure, to give financial democracy the attention it has thus far lacked. It is clear that there is enormous market potential at the base of the pyramid, which remains unutilised even though it could offer high returns. Products and services need to be developed that are adapted to the needs of the majority at affordable prices. This would help to create job opportunities, which is fundamental in reducing inequality and poverty. But this requires a step forward in traditional strategies and the use of technological innovation, particularly in the area of mobile telephone systems.

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JCTR MISSION STATEMENT

To foster, from a faith-inspired perspective, a critical understanding of current issues. Guided by the Church's Social Teaching that emphasises dignity in community, our mission is to generate activities for the promotion of the fullness of human life through research, education, advocacy and consultation. Cooperating widely with other groups, our Jesuit sponsorship directs us to a special concern for the poor and assures an international linkage to our efforts. We aim to promote an inculturated faith, gender equality and empowerment of local communities in the work of justice and peace and the integrity of creation.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT: POTENTIALS AND CONSTRAINTS

Development in Africa and experience in the rapidly developed nations in Asia show that development of rural areas can substantially contribute to the overall development of the nation. Simply developing and expanding urban areas with little focus on rural areas is not helpful. Rural areas in Africa are underdeveloped in many ways such as insufficient infrastructure of roads, schools, clinics, industries. Rural areas' underdevelopment is exacerbated by lack of access to agriculture inputs on which many rural folk depend on, lack of access to markets, and lack of skilled persons to work in the areas because they prefer to be in urban areas where a "modern" good life is possible. Patricia Chabwe explores some of the ways that can contribute towards rural development.

There has been plenty of discussion on rural development. Thus far, these discussions still do not seem enough to help in developing rural areas. Just what is rural development and why do so many people say it is important? Is it even possible to achieve?

Rural development is concerned with the eradication of poverty in rural area. Until now, most African countries have continued to struggle to improve living standards of people but when they do so they concentrate their efforts in urban areas. This is also the case in Zambia where development efforts have weighed heavily in favour of urban areas. The development challenge in Zambia is more pronounced in rural areas. Rural areas need to receive more attention as these are areas in which poverty is more visible (in Zambia for example, about 78% to 80% of people in rural areas are poor).

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Rural development is a strategy planned to improve the social-economic well-being of the rural poor by focussing on vulnerable groups like small-scale farmers and the landless. Other vulnerable groups include the weakest in society, among these are women, children, elderly, and persons with disabilities. The aim of rural development is getting rid of all traces of poverty especially in rural areas where poverty is more prevalent compared to urban areas. Rural areas are characterised by large populations with few sources of income. These areas often have un-diversified economies, small markets, and little choice of economic opportunity for the mass of the people. For instance, about 65% of Zambia's population live in the rural areas. The poverty levels are much higher in rural areas than in urban areas – about 78% of the people living in rural areas are poor. This shows the importance of focusing on rural development for Zambia to develop.

Rural areas usually lack modern facilities such as piped water, hydroelectricity, tarred and gravelled

roads and other social amenities. In other words, they are deprived of most of the social services that people living in urban areas normally enjoy. The rural people often lack the basic necessities necessary for them to live a life of freedom and dignity. It is usually difficult for the rural people to access most social amenities that are vital for a successful and humane life. For example, healthcare, education and market facilities are few and situated in far places. Most of the time people have to move long distances to access such services. Worse still, most of these facilities (especially education and health) lack human resources and basic requirements such as drugs in clinics, or resource books in schools.

Although there are a few medium and large scale farmers, most rural areas are dominated by small-scale farmers who usually grow just enough for the consumption of their families. Most rural people have a tendency of selling some of their produce so as to meet other household needs, even when they have just enough for their consumption. Such needs

The rural people often lack the basic necessities necessary for them to live a life of freedom and dignity.

include transport to general hospitals, paying school fees for school-going children, occasional purchase of cooking oil, salt, laundry and toilet soap and other such needs. Even though there could be other sources of finances to use on such needs, small-scale farming remains an important source of livelihood.

Most rural people suffer set-backs as a result of having sold most of their produce to meet their needs. As a result, food for consumption runs out in the middle of the year making most of them to engage in piecework with large-scale farmers who usually pay just enough to sustain them (the rural people) for a day and keep them working on the farm the next day. This leads to the people neglecting their own fields and giving them very little time to do

substantial work in their own fields. As a result, this creates some sort of a cycle which repeats itself year after year, thereby perpetuating poverty.

As the JCTR has stated many times, "There is urgent need to refocus on rural development if holistic development has to occur in developing countries." Lack of development in rural areas continues with poor rural infrastructure, food security problems, human-animal conflict, weak local institutions of development, lack of nutrition, poor access to good health, high illiteracy rates that in turn perpetuate high levels of poverty in rural areas. It is important to develop rural areas in order to prevent rural to urban migration that puts a lot of pressure to service provision in urban areas. Rural to urban migration is on the increase in Zambia and as a result rural poverty is being transferred to shanty compounds in urban areas. Because of generally poor conditions in rural areas, young people who have acquired some skill usually migrate to urban areas where they hope to have a better life. In most cases, it is not the case that they actually get this good life.

There are different approaches to rural development. On one hand there are some people who would like to see the poor being given relief in the beginning and then to be step by step allowed, on a longer-term, to deal with their own situation. On

"There is urgent need to refocus on rural development if holistic development has to occur in developing countries."

another hand, others hold that the poor need to be released from the trap of poverty before anything else. Rural development should therefore not only be about providing the poor with relief, but about empowering the rural poor so that they are able to meet their own basic needs. This can be achieved by addressing the following issues.

First, by addressing equal treatment of all in society, including issues of distribution, enrichment of the elite, curbing of corruption, and the empowerment of the poor. Second, by redressing land tenure by looking at the relationship between the difference of land tenure and rural development. Access to land and land tenure reforms are complex issues. Land tenure is also related to issues of migration, population pressure, equal treatment and economic relations.

Third, by directly addressing migration and population pressure. Rural-urban migration is closely related to both rural and urban development. There is a relationship between migration and rural capacity for productivity. Fourth, by relooking at economic and political relations at a variety of levels on the issue, among other things relations between rural and urban

and among various social groups which include the powerful and the powerless.

There is now recognition by many organisations and individuals that many of the past and current approaches to rural development are piece-meal, short-term, reactive and relief-oriented, only designed to address immediate problems. These have included distribution of relief food supplies, fertilizer subsidies and addressing some local trade imbalances in access to markets.

Since it is widely recognised that agriculture is the mainstay of rural development, agriculture development is very cardinal in the development of rural areas. Agriculture provides human beings with food, raw materials in industry, and other basic necessities like income. The agriculture sector has high economic prospects in dealing with poverty.

There is need to invest in rural development and make transport, information and communications, safe drinking water, sanitation, modern energy and reliable water for agriculture-related small and medium enterprises.

ACTORS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

There are a number of actors who are directly involved in the process of rural development. These include the State, international organizations, Non-Governmental Organisations and community and faith based organisations. The State remains the most important actor in rural development. This is because the State is made up of policy makers, law makers, executives and service organisations at all levels. Non-Governmental Organisations are also important actors in rural development. They are inclined to be more successful and are easier to operate in comparison with State organisations. NGOs are usually easily accepted by the community. Community-based organisations represent and distinctively act as a means by which the poor can participate in development. The poor may be poor, weak, and unsophisticated, but their experience in living in those respective areas makes them the most able in highlighting ways of dealing with the challenges and problems they face.

SOME COURSES OF ACTION

Despite there being a shift in development thinking from a large-scale, sustained, self-sufficient approach, development also needs adjustments in the implementation of rural development agendas. However, this does not mean that industrialisation and economic developments are not necessary. There is just need to shift the emphasis to putting the knowledge, abilities, needs and interests of the poor first through the process of empowerment. This means that the people's needs as defined by themselves are satisfied and that social security is

provided. To ensure sustainable development, each person and each community must handle its own resources and environment with the necessary care.

There is need for Zambian Government to begin to focus its attention more on rural development rather than the usual emphasis in urban development. It should put in place policies that actively support self-help and service improvements by the poor through support programmes that assist community and neighbourhood groups to improve their own living conditions. Minimal services should be provided to allow self-help programmes to operate effectively.

POTENTIALS OF ACHIEVING RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural areas have the potential to develop if the agricultural sector can be invested in. More utilisation of arable land will help increase household incomes and lead to increased agricultural export share. This will also benefit a number of rural people by providing them with food, jobs, raw materials for industries, markets for manufactured goods, and foreign exchange. Consequently, this will reduce poverty levels. Boosting the agricultural productivity will lead to a diversification of the economy which is sought for and much discussed for a long time now. The agriculture sector is one of the sectors with a high potential for growth.

There is need to shift the focus from exporting primary commodities to exporting finished products. Sustainable economic growth can only take place when a country moves away from primary production to industrialisation and climaxes in trading services. It entails that government revenue will be accumulated from various sources. This will result in more jobs for the people and higher incomes.

Rural areas can be developed by improving road networks, improving storage facilities for agricultural products, improving output and input markets, and improving on the time of delivering farming inputs.

The agricultural sector in Zambia is so heavily dependent on the rain season that when the country is hit by drought or floods the country is highly threatened by hunger and starvation. Government should therefore invest in irrigation schemes in rural areas in order to avoid dependence on the rain season for food production. If irrigation schemes are put in place, small-scale farmers will be capable of growing a variety of crops. The diversification in the agricultural sector could lead to the improvement of food security and better economic performance.

Only if Government systems provide necessary incentives, economic opportunities and access to needed credit, full benefits of small scale developments will not realise their potential. There is

need to create rural institutions that control production. This can be done through provision of banks and credit facilities, distribution points for seeds and fertilizer, good and competitive markets, and good transport network.

The potential of rural development lies in transforming low productivity peasant farmers into highly productive farmers through improved practices. Small-scale farmers are a target group for a growth oriented rural development. Agriculture and rural development that benefit the masses of people can succeed only through joint effort by government and the small-scale farmers themselves.

CONSTRAINTS OF ACHIEVING RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development continues to be constrained by poor infrastructure and poor support services. Good infrastructure is important because it links farmers directly with markets so that farm produce can be quickly and economically transported at all times. Zambian small-scale farmers lack support services which would allow access to credit facilities, market information and extension services, training and technical assistance, and research and development.

Dependency on mineral resources is another constraint where most efforts are focussed on this sector leaving the agriculture such not fully utilised. Such dependence has continued to affect negatively the poor, especially when the mining sector is not doing very well due to low international prices or volatile investment climate.

Inadequate investment in the agriculture sector is yet another constraint, especially investment in small

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holder farming in rural areas. Despite vast available land, agriculture only contributes to about 22% of the total export earnings.

There is also very little targeted focus to rural areas. There is less allocation of resources to rural areas compared to the already privileged urban areas. National policies and institutions have a bias tendency of excluding the rural poor from the benefits of development. For instance, large commercial farmers are generally found in areas of greater potentials.

The other constraint is HIV and AIDS. HIV and AIDS affect both demand and supply. Those who have HIV and AIDS are in a way incapacitated to effectively participate in the agricultural productive process. The supply of agricultural products decreases because of lower productivity levels on account of AIDS.

CONCLUSION

Developing rural areas remains a big challenge. But it is a challenge that should be faced and quickly dealt with in order to free thousands of people who live in rural areas. Zambia as a country should be able to look back and see, even just in literature, that developed countries were jump-started by the agricultural sector. Rural development is very important if there is to be any tangible economic growth and poverty eradication; the agricultural sector provides food and raw materials for industries; the

poor of the poorest are found in rural areas. The lifeline of the poor is mainly agriculture, but they lack support to better their lives. It is possible to make these rural areas more productive and less vulnerable to poverty and its associated problems.

There is need for Government and the rural population to work together, having targeted policies to develop rural areas, improving infrastructure and support services, enhancing agriculture support programmes and other related programmes. Rural development is very possible especially with policies that favour considerable investment in the agricultural sector in rural areas. Truly the development problems Zambia is facing as a whole are because of rural underdevelopment.

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UNDERFUNDING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES BY ZAMBIA'S CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Centralisation of governance continues to make development strategies only consider with greater attention the urban areas. Despite that decentralisation has been suggested as a good method of development for all areas and sectors of a country, developing countries and governments continue to prefer centralised systems of government. This is mostly because they are easier to handle but also power is easier to control. The Church Social Teaching proposes a very important principle of "subsidiarity" that encourages things that can be done at a lower level to be done at that level with minimal interference from national governments. This article explores the impact that underfunding of local structures has on Zambia's development.

As compared to National Government, Local Governments (LGs) are physically closer to voters, and operate at a smaller scale. At the local level it should therefore be easier for voters to hold their politicians accountable, and for politicians to interact intensively with their electorate, whilst maintaining relative freedom from interference by outsiders. This could be in controlling superfluous levels of management above the local level which, according to certain Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys, might siphon off up to 80% of funds. Decentralised government should also be more able to show responsiveness to the needs of marginalised groups. This is the logic of the principle of subsidiarity, which is well entrenched in Catholic social thought. In the words of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*: "Excessive intervention by the state can threaten personal freedom and initiative.

The teaching of the Church has elaborated the principle of subsidiarity, according to which "a community of a higher order should not interfere in

the internal life of a community of a lower order, depriving the latter of its functions, but rather should support it in case of need and help to co-ordinate its activity with the activities of the rest of society, always with a view to the common good."

This principle is based upon the autonomy and dignity of the human individual. Quite in conformity with it, in the last decades many countries have made efforts at decentralisation. Judging by the Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP) published in December 2009, Zambia is now going to join them as well. This article focuses on one crucial aspect of the plan: funding.

1. INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS ON FUNDING LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Most taxes, for instance, customs duties or corporate income tax, could hardly be administered at the local level. In all countries, there is an imbalance between the functions and the revenue sources

assigned to LGs. To compensate for that, central governments have systems in place to transfer moneys to LGs based on transparent rules. In many countries grants from central government contribute more than half of LG spending, in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, for instance, about 70%.

These grants easily make up 10% of the national government's budgets.

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF FUNDING LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ZAMBIA

The situation in Zambia is slightly different. In 1991 the Local Government Act (Chapter 281 of the Laws of Zambia) came in place. Article 45 entitled "Government grants and loans" (amended by Act No. 19 of 1992 and Act No. 30 of 1995) states that:

"(1) The Minister may, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, make constituency development grants or loans of money to a council for the purposes of the

"Excessive intervention by the state can threaten personal freedom and initiative."

discharge by the council of any of its functions.

(2) Any constituency development grant or loan made by the Minister under this section shall be paid out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose.

(3) The Government shall make specific grants to the council concerned for

- (a) water and sanitation;
- (b) health services;
- (c) fire services;
- (d) road services;
- (e) police services;
- (f) primary education;
- (g) agricultural services."

The language of clause (1) does not contain any guarantee for transparency, for vertical equity (between central government and LGs), for horizontal equity (among LGs), or for the establishment of a rules-based system where money will be allocated over jurisdictions based on spending needs and revenue potential, to be paid out in twelve monthly instalments on a fixed day in the month. Everything is at the discretion of the Minister. Clause (3) provides for seven specific grants to every LG. Specific grants as compared to general purpose grants take away autonomy from local government. Compared to other countries that devote dozens of articles to the subject, this piece of legislation is seriously underdeveloped.

There has been much discussion about President Chiluba's decision in the 1990s to have houses owned by LGs privatised. In practice, the prices paid

were below fair market values, which was a windfall to the buyers (presumably not from the lowest income groups), and a financial drain for LGs. Since then, Zambia's LGs have been in crisis.

The Commonwealth Local Government Forum indicates that in 2002, national support to local authorities was just 3% of total LG income.

In 2002-2003, there were reports that LG civil servants in several cities had not been paid salaries for six to eight months. In that period, late President Levy P. Mwanawasa responded to the financial distress of local governments by saying that: "... most councils' failure to pay workers was unfortunate because it showed that they were not utilising their revenue base and that government might as well abolish councils. ... Local councils were set up as a way of taking power to the people ... [but] did not understand how big municipalities were failing to pay workers when they had many properties which could be used as a source of revenue."

Several elements of this response are typical for the attitude of several central governments anywhere in the world to the needs of local governments:

- Not assuming responsibility to provide part of the funding of LGs, in accordance with the principle of vertical equity between levels of government;
- Referring to themselves as "government," as if local governments are not part of central government in national governance;
- Not taking into account the diversity of the potential of LGs (and their constituent populations) to generate "rates" (property tax) and other revenue;
- Not referring to measures of revenue potential based on assessed values of property, or on the gap between property tax assessments and actual collections.

The financial problems were emphasised in the conclusion of a recent article by B. Chikulo on LGs in Zambia:

"The argument that democratic decentralised local governance can deliver services more efficiently and more responsively depends on the adequate provision of resources. Yet lack of financial resources continues to constrain the effectiveness of local authorities. The failure to fully empower local authorities undermines their effectiveness and legitimacy."

The same author gives a more specific diagnosis when discussing the SADC region: "The taxing powers of local authorities are not wide enough and the yield from existing sources is in most cases inadequate to meet their expanding expenditures for both development and recurrent expenditures. Consequently, fiscal dependency on central government grants is a common feature of local

government in the region” [www.clg.uts.edu.au/colloquium/PDF/ChikuloBC_ColloqMay09.pdf].

This could be interpreted as a call for reassigning taxes, or for sharing revenue from specific taxes as the main instrument for LG funding. But as the second column in the table below shows, dependence of LGs on central government grants is not pathologic at all: it is part of international best practice.

Recent budget speeches [available at: www.mofnp.gov.zm] give the following picture (in billions of kwachas).

	Grants to LGs	Constituency Development Fund	Total Budget	Grants (%)	CDF (%)
2007	102.7	NA	12,042.4	0.85	NA
2008	103.0	60.0	13,761.4	0.75	0.44
2009	110.0	67.5	15,279.0	0.72	0.44
2010	135.3	100.0	16,717.8	0.81	0.60

It was astounding to read a headline like this: “Government disburses K3 trillion to 67 councils” [www.lusakatimes.com/?p=22839] in January 2010. In reality, national government had only *approved* LG budgets of this size [www.times.co.zm/news/viewnews.cgi?category=4&id=1262767211] not the

The taxing powers of local authorities are not wide enough and the yield from existing sources is in most cases inadequate.

actual disbursement. Obviously these were mainly funded by the council’s internally generated revenue which represents underfunding of the councils.

The real diagnosis therefore seems to be that the virtual absence of grants from central governments has forced LGs (at least, some of them) to go to great lengths to mobilise internally generated revenue. They may even go farther than would be desirable for the business climate, for instance by imposing numerous nuisance taxes. Another element may be dependence of LGs on donors, which is less desirable than funding by central government, because of national sovereignty, but also because of the volatility of donor funding in any country, and the inability of donors to achieve horizontal equity in funding LGs.

3. THE DECENTRALISATION IMPLEMENTATION PLAN 2009-2013

In #3.2.6 of the Zambia Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP), the government envisages a “team” focusing on the following activities:

- 6.1 “Review current government sources of revenue and transfers and recommend potential sources of revenue for Councils;
- 6.2 Recommend measures to redress the imbalance in tax assignments between central and local government;
- 6.3 Establish formula for revenue sharing and commence transfer of grants directly to Councils;
- 6.4 Establish a special Equalisation Fund;
- 6.5 Establish a system for regular reviews of, and recommendations on, periodic revisions of the level of personal levy and other charges.
- 6.6 Strengthen the enforcement of legislation to ensure adherence to timely release of funds to Councils by Ministry of Finance (MFNP);
- 6.7 Establish consensus within Central Government and clear all outstanding debt of Councils to restore public confidence;
- 6.8 Develop and apply effective revenue collection mechanisms for use by district councils;
- 6.9 Enhance the human resource capacity in district councils in revenue collection;
- 6.10 Transfer Local government Finance and Audit Section from Ministry of Local Government to Auditor General’s Office.”

Several of these activities (6.3, 6.6, 6.7, 6.10) are clearly commendable. But in the light of the foregoing analyses, it is a serious concern that the issue of vertical equity (i.e. the adequacy of grants from central government) is not on the agenda. For that reason, activities 6.5, 6.8 and 6.9, emphasising the collection of internally generated revenue, as well as 6.1 and 6.2 might be even misplaced. The name of the “Equalization Fund” (activity 6.4) appears far too limited, as everywhere in the world the function of a so-called “Local Government Fund” is first of all revenue adequacy, and not the equalisation of the tension between spending needs and revenue potential of LGs – however valuable the latter may also be. Furthermore, the DIP pays no explicit attention to the following.

- The desirability of transforming, to the extent possible, specific grants into general purpose grants, to respect local government autonomy;
- The institutionalisation of monitoring and evaluating the financial relationships between the various layers of government. In many countries this is done by a permanent commission in which LGs are represented.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Zambia is still a very centralised country. Its decentralisation strategy so far ignored the extremely small size, by worldwide and African standards, of the grants from national government to LGs.

The size of the Local Government Fund should be linked to national government tax revenue (international best practice), for the sake of affordability. Specification of its size in the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework will help LGs to plan for the medium term.

The percentage share of the Local Government Fund in national tax revenue should be increased gradually, in line with improvements in LG financial management (avoidance of overstaffing, merit-based recruitment, publication of annual financial reports, follow-up on audit reports).

The formula and variables used for the distribution of the fund over Local Authorities should be published.

The new legislation on central government grants should provide for equal monthly instalments, and a specification of the payment for the sake of accountability towards LGs.

Maarten de Zeeuw and Mwangala Mubita
The Netherlands

LOBOLA: APPRECIATION OR ENSLAVEMENT?

Culture is a very important aspect of any society in the world. In most African cultures, adherence to traditional cultural demands is still very strong even among persons who apparently do not seem to be living their tradition cultures. Traditional African cultures therefore permeate Modern European and Christian cultures that greatly influence Africans. Whilst extreme supporters of modern culture assert that African Traditional culture should be done away with, extreme traditionalists stress that modern culture should be done away with for it has corrupted the good and vibrant cultures. A healthy view is that there are good and bad aspects of African culture and the good ones should be promoted. This article looks at one aspect of traditional culture: paying the "bride-price" or lobola before a man marries a woman.

In Africa, it is commonly held that marriage is a symbol of unity in most families. In most cultures in Southern Africa and other parts of the continent, a woman is commonly seen as creating and sealing relationships between families through the payment of *lobola* (bride wealth). Through *lobola*, control over a young woman is vested in the woman's elders and in the husband. *Lobola* can be used to control women's freedom over their own affairs and their own bodies, either sexually or in terms of labour. I believe the payment of *lobola* can be tantamount to human trafficking especially when such is misunderstood.

Human trafficking can be defined in different ways but a standard definition is: "The recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision or obtaining a person for labour or services through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, debt bondage or slavery.

It is obvious that the cultural practice of *lobola* results in no personal enrichment for the woman involved. Instead, her parents are the chief beneficiaries of this transaction. The husband-to-be is charged, often quite heavily, when he seeks to enter into marriage. Evidently, the bride-to-be is

understood to be something akin to a piece of merchandise in what amounts to a business transaction.

In some African cultures, *lobola* is essentially understood as payment for children to ensure lineage. In such a context, *lobola* brings about the absolute transfer of children from the wife's family to that of the husband. This form of *lobola* is common in most Zambian tribes, e.g., the Namwungas, and the Mambwes. One might question, what ramifications arise from this interpretation of *lobola*? Does it mean that the mother has no rights over her children? Usually the woman has no rights because the husband "buys" the children through the payment of *lobola* and all lineage rights become the husband's. "When a man pays *lobola* and his children want to marry or get married, their marriage will be prepared and arranged by his family members and not the wife's family," explains Jesse Namonje Bwalya, a member of the Namwanga tribe. Should husband and wife divorce, custody of the children is automatically ceded to the husband and his family.

African women may also be seen as conduits of relationships rather than as equal partners in

marriage. It is not uncommon to find that when a man and woman marry, the woman assumes the position of servant or vassal to the man, who holds a virtual kingship in the making of even simple decisions which affect both of them and their children.

The *lobola* transaction clearly bolsters the idea of the man's superior position in the marital context. He has paid for the woman, and now she must repay this sign of "appreciation" for the rest of her married life. The woman gains no social power through the marriage, but rather surrenders her own identity and becomes simply "the wife of Mr. X" or "the mother of X and Y."

Women in some cases are reduced from subjects, capable of thought, decision-making and personal independence, into objects whose tacit task in life is to facilitate the development of the husband. Is this the destiny of a rational being who is able to exercise freedom in meaningful ways or has the woman's liberty been surrendered for her by her relatives? Might we consider again the definition of human trafficking, where a choice is made for another human being whose input in such a decision is essentially irrelevant?

No cultural practice is perfect, but some practices can actually hinder personal and social development. The payment of *lobola* is clearly such a practice, especially when taken in the context described above. Before a woman is married, she is taught that she must always bow before her husband when serving him any food or drink. This form of obeisance signifies the master-servant structure which will theretofore characterise the marital relationship. Could we ever imagine an African man bowing before his wife or serving her? Such a thought might be laughed at by many traditional men and could be considered ludicrous. The husband's primacy in the family structure is assured through the financial deal consummated between the bride's family and himself.

The common practice of physical abuse of African wives by their husbands appears to find its justification in the *lobola* payment which has constituted the wife's status as one of the husband's possessions, like a house, car or dog. In such situations a woman finds few alternatives. Attempting to return to her family can often result in the wife's simply being sent back to her husband, since the *lobola* has determined where and to whom she belongs, despite the abusive situation in which she may be forced to exist. Otherwise, the wife's family might be obliged to repay the *lobola*, effectively annulling a profitable contract.

There was a time, in the past, when the payment of *lobola* was not perceived as a business

transaction. According to Kitwe resident Marvin Matela, a Kaonde tribesperson, the bride price was utilised to start up a home for the newlyweds. This benefited both the husband and the wife. Nowadays, the only beneficiaries of this deal are the wife's family and, eventually, the husband. The woman and the husband's family are basically ignored in this symbol of unity, respect and appreciation.

Marriage is the sacred union of two people and that such an understanding underpins the solidity and potential for growth of any family. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant recognised marriage as an essential institution for the rational and meaningful functioning of any society. Exchanging a woman for

The woman gains no social power through the marriage, but rather surrenders her own identity and becomes simply "the wife of Mr. X" or "the mother of X and Y."

money or other physical goods does not really show respect. The act only degrades women and consigns them to inferior status. Marriage should be based on mutuality. Despite respecting and following traditional values, we should recognise that in marriage, we become friends and form relationships at a deeper level by choosing a partner with whom we would like to share our lives forever.

While our cultural heritage brings much richness to our society, not everything instituted in it is healthy or worth preserving. Are there other ways of interpreting the roots of the *lobola* practice, of returning to the heart of culture to transform the aberrant form which it has assumed? Would we not think of both the bride and the groom giving symbolic gifts together to both their families as a way of signifying a positive union rather than an oppressive one?

Zambians should refuse to participate in such a bad belief of *lobola* which militates against the continued positive development of individuals, a nation, a continent. Zambian men should rethink the practice of *lobola* and eventually reject the belief that by giving *lobola*, one is "buying" the woman to become an object for use as he wants with little respect to the woman. Such a way of relating to women would be a form of institutionalised human trafficking that should obviously be punished by law.

*Kafwimbi Bwalya
Zambia Catholic University Student
Kalulushi, Zambia*

“IF I FORGET YOU JERUSALEM, LET MY RIGHT HAND WITHER!”

This verse of the Psalm (137:5) reminds us that Jerusalem must have a special place in our life and in our spirituality as Christians. It is the place where the Jewish religion finds its roots, where Christianity was born and where Muslims have also built their home. And the actuality of the recent and coming months will remind us how truly important Jerusalem is.

In December 2009, the Christians of Palestine published a lengthy document called “A Moment of Truth.” It quickly was referred to as a “Kairos Document” because of its affinities with the original “Kairos Document” from South Africa. In this document, the leaders of the various Christian Churches of Jerusalem have an honest look at the painful reality of their occupied Mother Land. In spite of this Israeli occupation, they are still full of faith, hope and love in their objectives to lay the ground works for a new society “for us and for our opponents.” “Our hope,” they say, “is not to give in to evil but to say NO to oppression and humiliation” while they carry within themselves “the strength to love, not that of revenge; the culture of life, not that of death.” That is how they will find “ways to encounter the humanity of their enemies themselves.”

In the coming month of October 2010, the Catholic Synod of Bishops from the Middle East will take place in Rome. One of the main focuses of the Synod will be the situation of the Christians in these heavily Muslim countries, more especially in Palestine with Jerusalem. The preparatory document underlines what is ultimately at stake: “It would indeed be a loss for the Universal Church if Christianity were to disappear or be diminished in the very place where it was born” (#19). The document is convinced that Christianity has something to bring to all the people of the area: “Middle Eastern countries would be at a disadvantage without the Christian voice” (#24). Christians have to play their part in this situation and understand what it means “to love one’s enemy” (#68). And the document’s conclusion is quite straightforward: “We have a future. We must firmly grasp it” (#119).

Finally, in January 2011, we shall have the traditional week of prayer for Christian Unity, a week sponsored by the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Roman Catholic Church. The theme is based on the first Christian Communities of Palestine and Jerusalem and as such, the detailed preparations for each day have been entrusted to the Christian leaders of Jerusalem. Therefore, the call for unity comes from to the various Churches from all over the world. They are calling for a genuine Ecumenism, grounded in the experience of the Early Church, an

experience which we have to discover anew through the Word. They even stress that at the origins, there was a beautiful diversity between the believers of the First Pentecost. But this diversity became divisions which were brought to Jerusalem by the already divided Churches. Now, it becomes a commitment for all of us, to rebuild this unity for all of us, starting with the Mother Church, Jerusalem.

We have many reasons to remember Jerusalem, to remember and to express our solidarity with all our brothers and sisters living over there in Palestine. Solidarity is an important dimension of the Social Doctrine of the Church. Nowadays, there are no documents from the Church which do not mention it in one way or another. Living here in Zambia, we should be in solidarity amongst ourselves, in the village, the Church, country and the world over. We should also be in solidarity with the people suffering from natural disasters like those in Haiti. In each case, prompted by our faith, we have found ways and means to express our solidarity. We are called upon to extend our solidarity to the people of Palestine who have been often enough ignored or left aside while suffering for so many years under occupation. Nelson Mandela had said once: “Our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of Palestine.”

It is from today and the year to come that we have to find ways of expressing our solidarity with the people of Jerusalem. We have almost a full year to think about it, pray about it, and mostly do something about it. Our Palestinian brothers and sisters are a bit worn out by all these talks about peace. Following Saint John who wrote “Let us love not in words or speech but in deeds and truth!” (1 John 3, 18), we have now to try to do something.

And if we succeed to do something, we can do it as Christians, with all the members of the various Churches and faiths present in Zambia. Because Jerusalem is also theirs as much as it is ours. And if we can do more, it would be far better if we could express an inter-religious solidarity together with our Muslim neighbours here in Zambia. Genuine Muslims are not promoting struggles and terrorism but the cause of peace and dialogue.

Christians from the various Churches, Muslims and Jews of good faith, let us not forget Jerusalem, the cradle of our three monotheistic religions. We can say with Jerusalem: “There is a future. Let us grasp it firmly.”

*Gilles Mathorel
Lusaka, Zambia*

THE JCTR *BASIC NEEDS BASKET*

The Social Conditions Programme of the JCTR conducts monthly research on the cost of basic needs within a number of urban areas across Zambia, including Lusaka, Ndola, Kitwe, Luanshya, Kabwe, Livingstone, Mongu, Kasama, Chipata, and Monze. For the month of June 2010, the cost of Basic Needs Basket stood at ZMK2, 799,280 in Lusaka.

(A) COST OF BASIC FOOD ITEMS FOR A FAMILY OF SIX IN LUSAKA

Commodity	Kwacha	Quantity	Total
Mealie meal (breakfast)	62,200	3 x 25 Kg bags	186,600
Beans	12,800	2 Kgs	25,600
Kapenta (Siavonga)	82,500	2 Kgs	165,000
Dry Fish	87,500	1 Kg	87,500
Meat (mixed cut)	21,100	4 Kgs	84,400
Eggs	7,900	2 Units	15,800
Vegetables (greens)	5,500	7.5 Kgs	41,250
Tomato	8,100	4 Kgs	32,400
Onion	8,600	4Kgs	34,400
Milk (fresh)	12,400	1 x 2 litres	12,400
Cooking oil	29,700	2 x 2 litres	59,400
Bread	3,900	1 loaf/day	117,000
Sugar	6,400	8 Kgs	51,200
Salt	3,300	1 Kg	3,300
Tea (leaves)	11,800	1 x 500 g	11,800
Sub-total			K928, 050

(B) COST OF ESSENTIAL NON-FOOD ITEMS

Charcoal	68,800	2 x 90 Kg bags	137, 600
Soap (lifebuoy)	2,500	10 tablets	25,000
Wash soap (Boom)	4,100	4 x 400 g	16,400
Jelly (e.g., Vaseline)	7,700	1 x 500 ml	7,700
Electricity (medium density)	70,000	300 units	70,000
Water & Sanitation (med - fixed)	114,530	114,530	
Housing (medium density)	1,500,000	1,500,000	
Sub-total			K1, 871,230

Total for *Basic Needs Basket* K2, 799,280

previous months	Jun 09	Jul 09	Aug 09	Sep 09	Oct 09	Nov 09	Dec 09	Jan 10	Feb 10	Mar 10	Apr 10	May 10
Totals Amount	2,168,730	2,226,930	2,235,730	2,260,680	2,200,630	2,254,630	2,276,730	2,696,030	2,713,580	2,771,930	2,778,680	2,798,580

(C) SOME OTHER ADDITIONAL COSTS

Item	Kwacha	Item	Kwacha
Education		Transport (bus fare round trip):	
Grades 8-9 (User+PTA/year)	K300, 000 – K420, 000	Chilenje-Town	K6, 000
Grades 10-12 (User+PTA/year)	K600, 000 – K900, 000	Chelston-Town	K7, 000
School Uniform (grades 8-12)	K90, 000 – K180, 000	Matero-Town	K5, 400
Health (clinic)		Fuel (cost at the pump)	
3 Month Scheme (per person)	K5, 000	Petrol (per litre)	K7, 750
No Scheme Emergency Fee	K5, 500	Diesel (per litre)	K7, 250
Mosquito Net (private)	K15, 000 – K20, 000	Paraffin (per litre)	

(D) SOME COMPARATIVE FIGURES OF WAGES--"TAKE HOME PAY"

	Teacher	Nurse	Guard with Security Firm	Secretary in Civil Service	Average Monthly Income in Urban Low-Cost Area - CSO	Piecoworker on a Farm
Pay Slip	K1,300,300 to K2,200,600	K1,300,000 to K3,450,000	K250,000 to K850,000	K1,390,500 to K1,900,000	645,326 (between October 2004 and January 2005)	K5,000 to K15,000 per day

The June Basic Needs Basket is approximately US\$558 based upon an average middle exchange rate of 5020 Kwacha per US\$ at the end of June

THE JCTR UPDATE: PEOPLE AND ACTIVITIES

WHAT KEEPS US BUSY AT THE JCTR? HERE ARE SOME RECENT ITEMS OF INTEREST

CHURCH SOCIAL TEACHING PROGRAMME

Pete Henriot, S.J., and **Kayula Lesa, RSC**, attended the African Forum for Catholic Social Teaching (AFCAST) meeting in Maputo in May 2010 and also the follow up meeting on the Synod organised by Caritas Africa and SECAM. At the Synod meeting, Henriot made a presentation giving some reflections.

Dominic Liche attended a regional elections meeting in Lilongwe, Malawi where some partners of CAFOD and Trocaire met to share their experiences in engaging in elections across the region.

Leonard Chiti, S.J., the incoming JCTR Director, attended meetings of Jesuit networks in Mexico and Rome where he is part of taskforces in Ecology and Human Rights.

The Programme in collaboration with the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) continued to give workshops on the Second African Synod in Dioceses of Zambia. The workshops aim at educating key Church leaders on the Synod and encouraging the Dioceses to form local taskforces to implement the recommendations of the Synod.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS PROGRAMME

The Programme continues to conduct living conditions surveys through its Urban and Rural Baskets, and has used the findings for advocacy and engagement with Government institutions and unionised workers.

OUTREACH PROGRAMME

Capacity building and sharing workshops were held in Kasama. Local workshops on different works of JCTR took place in all the six Outreach areas in Monze, Mongu, Kabwe, Kasama, Ndola, and Livingstone.

The JCTR Outreach Programme in Ndola actively participated in the Trade Fair where JCTR materials were displayed and distributed and the work of JCTR explained. This, like the Agriculture Show in Lusaka, has become one of the avenues of popularisation JCTR work but more importantly of disseminating information on social issues in Zambia.

DEBT, AID AND TRADE PROGRAMME

The Programme focussed on monitoring the implementation of projects using debt resources in Zambia. In the second quarter, the Programme began monitoring water and sanitation projects in

Kapiri Mposhi under the African Development Bank (AFDB) loan.

The Programme continued collecting information (data through a structured questionnaire) for research on accessibility and ease of participation in the national budgeting process. The research, popularly known as "Our Money, Our Right," aims at contributing towards an improved national budgeting process in Zambia.

INFORMATION OFFICE

The JCTR and Alliance Francaise public lecture was held on 22 June 2010 at Alliance Francaise in Lusaka. The presentation, entitled "The Illusive Nature of Poverty," was given by **Dominic Liche** of JCTR with very good response and interaction with the audience.

Our Radio Christian Voice programme every Friday from 09 hours to 11 hours has presented social, economic, political, religious topics mainly drawn from what the Programmes of JCTR concentrate on. Some particular issues recently discussed included the role of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in development, Chinese influence in Africa, and human rights.

A WARM WELCOME

JCTR welcomes **Sydney Mwansa** who joined the JCTR in May 2010 as a Programme Officer in the Debt, Aid and Trade Programme. Mr. Mwansa comes with a very strong academic background in Development Studies and research experience having worked with Steadman and World Vision respectively. JCTR also welcomes **Peter Paul Musekiwa, S.J.**, who joined the Church Social Teaching Programme as an intern. Peter is studying theology at Hekima College in Nairobi.

THANK YOU

JCTR thanks **Humphrey Mulemba, Jr.** for having worked for 2 years in the Debt, Aid and Trade Programme as Programme Officer and acting Programme Coordinator. JCTR also thanks **Saviour Mwaba Mutumpa** for working as an Assistant Programme Officer in the Church Social Teaching Programme. Their contributions are greatly appreciated.

Fr. Jim Stormes, S.J., was with us in the second quarter and gave an in-house training in June 2010 on the impact of JCTR's work especially in its use of the Church Social Teaching. We are very grateful to his presence and zeal to help us better our work at the Centre.

Views expressed in the JCTR *Bulletin* do not necessarily reflect the views of the JCTR.