

# THE MANIFESTO

OF THE



**PATRIOTS FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS**

**Wa Msegede Salema**

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

1	Abbreviation	Meaning
2	COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
3	ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
4	FISP	Fertilizer Input Support Programme
5	FRA	Food Reserve Agency
6	IMF	International Monetary Fund
7	LAZ	Law Association of Zambia
8	MP	Member of Parliament
9	NHA	National Housing Authority
10	NOC	National Organizing Committee
11	PeP	Patriots for Economic Progress
12	PMS	Political Mobilization Structure
13	POC	Provincial Organizing Committee
14	SADC	Southern African Development Community
15	SG	Secretary General
16	SGS	Shadow Government Structure
17	WB	World Bank
18	ZCID	Zambia Centre for Inter-Party Dialogue
19	ZICA	Zambia Institute of Chartered Accountants
	ZRA	Zambia Revenue Authority

**CONTACT DETAILS:**

The Secretary General

Patriots for Economic Progress (PeP)

Unit 12, Palm Business Park Plot 8616 Off Great North Road

Ngwerere, Lusaka, Zambia

Email: [membership@pep-zambia.com](mailto:membership@pep-zambia.com)

Website: [www.pep-zambia.com](http://www.pep-zambia.com)

Facebook Page: <https://www.facebook.com/pepzede/>

To join, send an SMS to **+260974667977/+260961402605** outlining your full names and NRC number and you will be included on the membership register and the PeP Members Whatsapp Group.



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## PART 1: PREAMBLE

1. The official name of the political party is **“Patriots for Economic Progress” (PeP)**, hereafter referred to as “the Party”.
2. The party symbols are;
  - (a) A united and happy family standing on top of the globe, representing the potential that Zambia wields to be a world economic leader.
  - (b) The first Party motto of “together we can”, signifies the importance of national unity and brotherhood, the second Party motto of “wa msegede salema” signifies the Party’s relentlessness and resoluteness in pursuing its vision of a better Zambia and the third Party motto of “smile PeP is Here” signifies the fact that Zambians can now rejoice in knowing that there is a political party that truly works towards protecting and enhancing the people’s welfare”;
  - (c) The Party colors are yellow, green, red, orange and black, with yellow being the dominant color. The bright yellow color represents the future of our nation, Zambia which is now bright with the coming of PeP.

## PART 2: IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTY MANIFESTO

3. This Party Manifesto:
  - (a) is the main guiding document of the party and any other party written policies, rules, regulations, procedures etc. that are inconsistent with the provisions of this Manifesto, are void to the extent of the inconsistency;
  - (b) Shall form the basis on which the Party will govern when it forms government;
  - (c) Shall form the basis on which the Party shall engage the government of the day on issues of governance and social-economic management;

### PART 3: PARTY IDEOLOGY, VISION, MISSION, VALUES, AND OBJECTIVES

4. The Party is driven by a **Centre-Left** ideology. Simply put, we believe in a liberalized free-market economy where economic parameters determine the allocation of resources and that the State must only give social welfare to those citizens who are unable to engage in productive work and fend for themselves, on account of old age or disability.
5. The Party's vision is ***"to have a Zambia where the poorest person has an average monthly income of ZMW5,000=00, inflation is below 5%, average commercial bank lending rates are single digit, the Gini coefficient is less than 0.1, Per capita income is above US\$30,000, the least educated citizen has a grade 12 certificate and Zambians having a life expectancy of not less than 70 years"***.
6. The Party's mission statement is: ***"to win the 2021 general elections in the first round without going for a re-run"***.
7. The party values and principles are;
  - (a) **Patriotism;**
  - (b) **Accountability;**
  - (c) **Competence and;**
  - (d) **Courage;**
8. The Party's primary objective is to do anything and everything necessary to protect and enhance the welfare of Zambians both locally and abroad.

9. This Party Manifesto seeks to address three main problems that Zambia has been grappling with for a very long time now, namely;

- (i) Very high levels of poverty and squalor among citizens;
- (ii) Very high levels of corruption both in the public and private sectors;
- (iii) Very high levels of incompetence among government officials;
- (iv) Tribalism and Regionalism and;
- (v) Too much power vested in the Republican President which results in abuse.

#### **PART 4: REFORMS IN THE GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY**

10. A PeP Government Cabinet will be made up as follows;

- (i) The President who shall be the same as the Party President and who shall chair all meetings of the Cabinet;
- (ii) The Vice President, who shall be the same as the Party Vice President and who in the absence of the President, shall chair meetings of the cabinet;
- (iii) The Minister for Finance and Economic Development;
- (iv) The Minister for Defense;
- (v) The Minister for the Interior;
- (vi) The Minister for Commerce, Industry and State Enterprises;
- (vii) The Minister for Intelligence and State Security;
- (viii) The Minister for National Infrastructure;
- (ix) The Minister for Agriculture;
- (x) The Minister for Mines, Energy, Water and Environmental Affairs;
- (xi) The Minister for Lands, Wildlife and Tourism;

- (xii) The Minister for Education, Labor and Social Security;
- (xiii) The Minister for Health and Human Services;
- (xiv) The Minister for Communications and Transport;
- (xv) The Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- (xvi) Minister for Sports, Culture, Community Development and Traditional Affairs;
- (xvii) The Attorney General, who shall be the head of the Ministry of Justice;
- (xviii) The Minister for Adhoc Affairs, who shall attend to all adhoc matters such as national disasters, hosting of international events etc and;
- (xix) The Administrator General, who shall be an ex-officio member of the Cabinet and a Secretary.

11. It is worth noting that with the exception of the Party President and Party Vice President, no other Party official will be a member of a PeP Government Cabinet.

This will ensure that the governance of the country is separated from the politics.

12. A PeP Government will amend the existing Constitution to put provisions that facilitate the adoption of a quasi-federal system type of government where significant power to govern the country will be delegated to Provincial Governments. There will be Provincial Parliaments, Provincial Members of Parliament (PMPs), Provincial Cabinets which will be headed by a Provincial Governor who shall be directly elected by the people. Provinces through their Parliaments will have power to make certain types of laws, will have their own police and court system.

13. Members of the National Parliament (MNPs) will not represent any geographical area or constituency and will focus only on making national laws. Only Members



of Provincial Parliaments (MPPs) will have constituencies and will represent specific geographical areas.

14. The political structure of all Local Authorities such as City Councils, Municipal Councils and District Councils will be abolished and the wards and Ward Councillors will be scrapped and replaced with provincial political structures. The administrative structures of Local Authorities headed by the Town Clerk or Council Secretary as the case may be, will remain in place and will form part of the Provincial Government. The administrative heads of Local Authorities will be appointed by the Provincial Governor.

15. The Provincial Governments will set the taxation rates and collect all personal income taxes (Pay As You Earn) from employees resident in the respective province, personal levy, land rates, business licensing fees etc. The National Government will collect Corporate Income Tax, Value Added Tax, Customs Taxes and all other types of taxes that may be introduced from time to time.

## **PART 5: REFORMS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE**

16. All job positions will be declared vacant from the Permanent Secretary or CEO or Managing Director as the case may be, in the central government, local government, government agencies and parastatals. A recruitment exercise that will be based on merit, transparency and accountability will then be undertaken and will be extensively advertised across the country as well as to Zambians living abroad. Previous office holders will be eligible to re-apply for their previous job position or indeed any other job position.

17. All profit seeking parastatals such as ZESCO, ZAMTEL, ZCCM-IH etc will gradually be sold to Zambians through the listing of its shares on the Lusaka stock exchange. The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) will be disbanded.
18. The retirement age for all civil servants and employees of government agencies and parastatals will be a mandatory 55 years of age or 25 years of service, whichever comes early.
19. A PeP Government will put in place service standards outlining the time it will take to provide a specific service for each line Ministry, Government Department, Government Agency and Parastatals. A monthly report will be submitted to the President by each Minister outlining all cases in which the respective Ministry failed to meet specific service standards, the reasons for the failure and the planned course of action to mitigate the problem going forward.
20. A PeP Government will put in place a comprehensive performance management system in which the performance of each and every civil servant and employees of Government agencies and parastatals will be evaluated on a quarterly basis and the information captured in a database. At the end of every year, all civil servants and employees of Government agencies and parastatals whose performance will be among the 5 percent poorest performance for that institution and/or Department, will have their employment terminated and other Zambians given a chance to work in the given position.

## PART 6: REFORMS IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

21. A PeP Government will widen the tax base by increasing funding to the Zambia Revenue Authority so that ZRA there are as many ZRA offices across the country as there are Police Stations.
22. Given the increased tax base, the PeP Government will reduce the various tax rates so that the highest Pay As You Earn (PAYE) band is less than 20%, the highest corporate income tax rate is below 25%, the value added tax rate is below 10% and the total tax cost on importation of any motor vehicle is not more than 15% of the invoice value. Therefore, a Toyota Corolla which is bought for US\$2,000 will attract a total tax cost of not more than K3,000=00 at the border.
23. A PeP Government will reform the Bank of Zambia so as to ensure that there is proper corporate governance in its structures and it operates in an independent manner. This will include removing all government representatives such as the Secretary to the Treasury from the BOZ Board. Other changes will include appointment of an independent chairperson of the BOZ Board instead of the BOZ Governor being also the Chairperson of the Board and consequently reporting to himself. All BOZ employees will also be removed from both the main Board and the Monetary Policy Committee and the Governor will merely play a Secretarial role to both the Main Board and the Monetary Policy Committee. The BOZ Board will be made up of independent players from industry and academia.
24. A PeP Government will ensure fiscal discipline by spending only according to the budget as approved by Parliament.

## PART 7: REFORMS IN DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

25.A PeP Government will ensure that democracy is vibrant in the country. To this end, the following reforms will be made;

- (i) the Public Order Act will be amended so that duly registered political parties are excluded from its provisions. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) will be responsible for coordinating political party rallies and gatherings. This will ensure that the ruling party has no say on when an opposition political party should hold a rally or public meeting;
- (ii) A PeP Government will enact a law to facilitate the funding of all political parties using an agreed formula. The law will also require all political parties to fully disclose the sources of their funding so that politicians do not mortgage our country to outside interests.
- (iii) A PeP Government will enact a law that will remove the function of regulating political parties from the ambit of the Registrar of Societies under the Ministry of Home Affairs, and move it to the Electoral Commission of Zambia. This will prevent government interference in the operation of political parties.
- (iv) A PeP Government will pass a law that will regulate the sharing of airtime on public media among all duly registered political parties in Zambia using a prescribed formula that ensures fairness and transparency.

## PART 8: REFORMS IN LAW, ORDER AND JUSTICE

26. A PeP Government will abolish the Constitutional Court as it cannot be a court of both first and final instance on constitutional matters. Such a position increases the probability that the court would misdirect itself on an issue and such misdirection cannot be remedied.

27. A PeP Government will change the court system so that in any court, at least 3 persons sit on the bench to adjudicate a matter in a trial regardless of whether it is at Local Court, Subordinate Court, or High Court level. This will reduce the probability of the court misdirecting itself as well as reduce the opportunity for corruption by the bench.

28. A PeP Government will enact a law that will make it mandatory for all laws that are more than forty (40) years old to be automatically repealed. This will ensure that laws are up to date and relevant to the lives and way of living of Zambians.

## PART 9: REFORMS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

1. A PeP Government will ensure that the scourge of corruption is totally and completely eliminated. In this regard, the Party has developed a Ten Point Plan which will be implemented so as to address the problem of corruption once and for all.

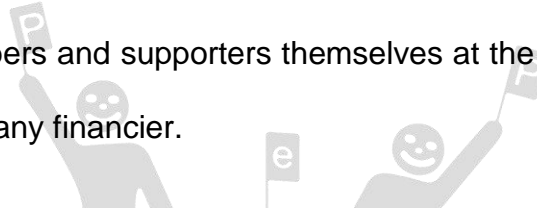
2. **Laying a Proper Foundation:** Like any other major undertaking, effectively fighting corruption in Zambia will require that a proper foundation be laid. Corruption is actually a symptom of two main underlying problems which are lack of accountability and lack of transparency. Therefore, in order for the Patriots for Economic Progress to be able to effectively address the problem of corruption, it

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is necessary to address the issues of transparency and accountability. Transparency means rendering or availing or opening yourselves up to the scrutiny of the Zambian people and accountability means giving full disclosure to the Zambian people with regard to the manner in which you as a government are running national affairs. An obscure government is more likely to be corrupt than a transparent government because accountability can only take place where transparency exists.

3. **Embracing Accountability as a Way of Life:** The four core values of the Patriots for Economic Progress are patriotism, accountability, competence and courage. The reason that we included accountability as one of our core values is that we would like to ensure the PeP membership embraces accountability as a way of life and not as a jacket which they will have to wear once PeP forms government.
4. **Avoiding Circumstances that Encourage Corruption:** Corruption does not take place in a vacuum but is fueled by certain circumstances. For example, most political parties receive illicit money from individuals and companies for purposes of mobilization during election campaigns, and such money requires to be paid back after elections and when the particular political party wins the elections. If a given party fails to win elections, then such debts are carried forward until when such a political party forms government. That means for political parties that have been participating and losing elections for some time, they have probably accrued significant debts from individuals and companies that have been funding them all this time. When the given political party forms government, they rarely have resources from legitimate party fundraising activities and the only way of paying back these ballooning debts is by engaging in corruption, either through awarding

illicit contracts to those they owe money or by obtaining illicit money from the treasury to pay back these debts. Unlike the existing major political parties, PeP has avoided this pitfall by firstly ensuring that our election campaigns are lean and not resource intensive and secondly by ensuring that all our party activities are funded by the members and supporters themselves at the grassroots and that we are not beholden to any financier.



5. **Addressing the Institutional Causes of Corruption:** One of the biggest institutional causes of corruption is inefficiency and poor public service delivery. If a passport takes one week to process and you're in a hurry to travel out on an emergency and you need your passport in two days, you're more inclined to bribe an official at the Passport Office to process the passport for you in 2 days. But if the passport takes one hour to process, the need to bribe anyone does not arise. Therefore, a PeP government will ensure efficient public service delivery thereby undermining the demand for corruption. This will be achieved by establishing and implementing strict public service delivery standards for each government department.

6. **Addressing the Structural Causes of Corruption:** Our current systems in Zambia are tailored to encourage and not fight corruption. For example, if a traffic police officer mounts a speed trap in the middle of nowhere on a highway, if you're caught over speeding, you'll be required to pay the fine there and then. The question is how many motorists would actually have a K600 in their pockets to pay there and then? Very few. Therefore, even if you're not a corrupt citizen and the officer is also not corrupt by nature, the fact that you only have K100 in your pocket and you're required to pay the fine there and then will compel you to

engage in corruption. A PeP government will ensure that all circumstances and procedures that have the effect of encouraging corruption, are actually addressed.

7. **Increasing Efficiency of the Judiciary:** One of the major existing challenges of fighting corruption is the slow pace of disposing of corruption cases in our courts of law. A PeP government will establish fast track courts to handle corruption matters so that it does not take 8 years to dispose of a corruption matter like what happened with the Henry Kapoko, Ministry of Health case.
8. **Strengthening the Capacity to Fight Corruption:** one of the biggest challenges that currently exist with regard to the fight against corruption is poor funding to corruption fighting agencies which results in failure to attract and retain properly qualified and experienced investigators and prosecutors. That is why most corruption cases are lost in court. A PeP government will allocate appropriate resources to the fight against corruption.
9. **Availing the Political Will to Fight Corruption:** One of the biggest hindrances to the fight against corruption today is the lack of political will from the Executive Wing of government. A PeP government will ensure that there is political will to fight corruption, especially given that accountability is one of our core values. Key reforms in this regard will include a change in the reporting structure of the Director General of the Anti Corruption Commission from reporting to the Republican President to reporting to a Standing Parliamentary Committee on Corruption. This will ensure the independence of the ACC.
10. **Step 9 - Ensuring Fair and Equitable Application of Anti Corruption Laws:** One of the biggest challenges to the fight against corruption today is the selective



application of laws on those that disagree with the government only. A PeP government will ensure that anti corruption laws are applied fairly and equitably on all citizens regardless of political affiliation, tribe, region or gender.

11. **All Encompassing Approach to the Corruption Fight:** just like all cancers, the fight against corruption must not be limited to public officers and public resources. A PeP government will ensure that the fight against corruption is extended to the private sector as well. As PeP, we are going to ensure that integrity becomes a way of life for all citizens.

## **PART 10: REFORMS IN THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT**

12. A PeP Government will ensure that the cost of doing business is significantly reduced by eliminating the number of licenses that a business requires in order to operate. This will be done through the establishment of a National Licensing Authority that will be a one-stop authority that will issue one license to a business that will cover everything from fire to business licenses as well as monitor compliance.
13. A PeP Government will ensure policy consistency and will put in place a law that will ensure that all new government policies or policy changes are implemented not less than 12 months from the date of issue. This will give the business sector assurance about policy stability and consistency.
14. A PeP Government will ensure that all regulations do not create a bottleneck in the operations of businesses by undertaking wide consultations with business players for all policy changes.

## PART 11: REFORMS IN THE MINING SECTOR

15. The PeP Government will ensure that it derives maximum economic value from the mining sector by enforcing the following;

- (i) Simplification of tax laws for mining companies by implementing a revenue tax on all copper exports based on the prevailing prices on the London Metal Exchange (LME).
- (ii) Giving a quota to all mining companies for the maximum number of non-citizen employees they can employ, based on the company's total tax paid to ZRA in the past financial year. If a mining company's tax liability goes down from one year to the next, then they would have to let go of some of their foreign workers as their quota will go down. This will ensure that Zambians get the jobs that they're entitled to in their own country.
- (iii) Continuously hold talks with potential mine investors and sign tentative agreements for them to take over existing mining operations so that the Government is not held at ransom by mining companies threatening to pull out from Zambia.
- (iv) Establish a quota for each mining company with regard to the maximum amount of goods and services that can be imported from outside the country so as to promote local production and industries.

16. The PeP Government will establish a Minerals and Oil Exploration Authority that will be responsible for undertaking exploration of various minerals and oil across the country, using state-of-the-art technology.

## PART 12: REFORMS IN THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR

17. A PeP Government realizes that agriculture holds the key to the economic prosperity of Zambia largely due to our abundant fertile land and water resources, as well as our ever hungry neighbors in surrounding countries.
18. A PeP Government will primarily focus on improving the marketing side of agriculture by facilitating exports of agricultural produce from maize to wheat and other crops.
19. A PeP Government will, under no circumstances whatsoever, implement an export ban on any crop regardless of the amount available for local consumption. This will be meant to give confidence to producers so that they can make long-term investments in agricultural development as the haphazard policy of the existing Government on crop exports such as maize and wheat has a very disruptive impact on the sector and its ability to make long-term investments.
20. A PeP Government believes that once the marketing side of agriculture has been addressed, the production side will address itself.
21. A PeP Government will remove any subsidies in the Agricultural Sector and programs such as FISP will be scraped as they're not sustainable. Instead, the PeP Government will focus on improving logistics and ensuring that agricultural inputs such as fertilizer, chemicals, seeds etc., are delivered to farmers in time and NOT on time.
22. A PeP Government will restrict the participation of the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) to only purchasing grain needed for strategic national reserves and not an active market player.
23. Occasionally depending on the circumstances at hand, the PeP Government may impose an export tax on the export of certain crops but NEVER an export ban.

24. A PeP Government will facilitate seed-capital loans to qualifying peasant and subsistence farmers using the Citizen Economic Empowerment Commission (CEEC). Such loans will be issued strictly on merit without any regard to the political affiliation of applicants.

### **PART 13: REFORMS IN THE TOURISM SECTOR**

1. A PeP Government will ensure that tourism is positioned as a key sector in the diversification drive of the Zambian economy and as such will implement a number of measures in order to make this a reality.
2. Basic infrastructure such as paved roads and airports will be implemented in all tourist destinations so as to ensure easy accessibility by both domestic and international tourists.
3. A national airline will be established, whose key role will be to service all previously un-serviced tourist destinations and make it easy for commerce and trade to take place in the remotest parts of Zambia.
4. Establish a national tourism agency which will operate as an independent business entity which will be professionally run and whose key mandate will be to market and sell tourism packages in all large tourism markets such as the USA, Europe, Australia, Japan, China, India etc. This will ensure that Zambia enjoys the full benefits of tourists that come to the country as opposed to the current situation whereby tourist packages are arranged by foreign companies and the country hardly enjoys the full benefits of the tourists that come to visit us.
5. Remove advance Visa restrictions for all nationalities and issue Visas at ports of entry so as to make it less cumbersome for tourists to visit Zambia.

6. Establish appropriate tax incentives for investors in the tourism industry so as to ensure the establishment of adequate infrastructure facilities.
7. Significantly increase the funding to the Department of Wildlife and National Parks so as to improve the conditions of service of Wildlife Police Officers and the availability of appropriate equipment so as to all the Department to better protect the nations wildlife resources.

#### **PART 14: REFORMS IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR**

8. A PeP Government will take special note of the fact that education is key to the economic development of Zambia as well as to the quality of life of its citizens.
9. A Party realizes that the current education model is not effective as it fails to produce graduates that can adequately discharge their responsibilities in the work place as students spend too much time learning theory and very little time practicing what they learn.
10. A PeP Government will reduce primary education from the current 7 years to 6 years and reduce secondary education from the current 5 years to 4 years. The 2 years time that will be saved will be used by students to undertake apprenticeship in the work place.
11. A PeP Government will set very stringent standards for tertiary institutions in terms of qualifying to be called a “University” or “College” and to issue academic certificates, diplomas and degrees than the free for all atmosphere that is currently prevailing.

12.A PeP Government will ensure that the top 5 percent of all students from primary school to University are given 100% government sponsorship. This will encourage students to work hard throughout the education process.

13.A PeP Government will give scholarships to students that do not have the financial means using a comprehensive social welfare evaluation criteria that will be applied objectively without favoritism as is the case currently.

## **PART 15: REFORMS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

14.A PeP Government will evaluate the need to belong to regional multilateral trade organizations such as SADC and COMESA in terms of value added to the welfare of Zambians.

15.A PeP Government may decide to withdraw from regional multilateral trade organizations such as SADC and COMESA in preference for specific bilateral agreements with relevant countries.

## **PART 16: REFORMS IN DEFENCE AND SECURITY**

16.A PeP Government will ensure that Zambia is a regional military power so as to protect our economic interests.

17.A PeP Government will spend a minimum of 7 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on defense and security so as to ensure that we buy the latest military hardware and we provide appropriate remuneration to our military and security wings.

18. In order to ensure enhanced patriotism and discipline among upcoming generations, the PeP Government will introduce a mandatory one (1) year military service for all secondary school leavers.

## **PART 17: REFORMS IN THE LAND AND HOUSING SECTOR**

19. The Party realizes the importance that land holds in the lives of Zambians and is aware of the inherent problems that can be created in a country when land issues are not properly handled.

20. A PeP Government will limit the maximum lease term for all land sold to non-citizens from the current 99 year period to 20 years renewable. This will ensure a balance between achieving economic development through foreign direct investment (FDI) and state security.

21. A PeP Government will merge the National Housing Authority and the Zambia National Housing Society to form one housing authority that will undertake mass housing projects and sell affordable houses to Zambians.

## **PART 18: REFORMS IN SOCIAL WELFARE**

22. As a capitalist-liberal political party, PeP does not believe in hand outs and alms except in very exceptional circumstances.

23. The Patriots for Economic Progress does not believe that poverty alone is a sound basis on which an individual should receive social welfare assistance.

24. A PeP Government will only accord social welfare assistance to selected vulnerable groups such as the elderly who are above the age of 80, double-

orphaned minor children up to the age of 18, individuals with selected chronic illnesses, individuals with selected physical handicaps, etc.

**PART 19: ADOPTION OF THE PARTY MANIFESTO**

25. This Manifesto for the Patriots for Economic Progress was adopted by the Party's National Organizing Committee on **02/02/2018**.

Signature :.....

Name: Sean Enock Tembo (SET)

Position: Party President

