



TSOGOLO LATHU

UTM MANIFESTO 2019



TSOGOLO LATHU **LOWALA, LABWINO, LAFIKA**





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**SAULOS
KLAUS CHILIMA,
PhD**

**PRESIDENT
UTM**

**URBAN
DEVELOPMENT**



**PUBLIC SECTOR
REFORMS**

ACRONYMS

ACB	Anti-Corruption Bureau
AGOA	African Growth Opportunity Act
AGYW	Adolescent Girls and Young Women
BVCs	Beach Village Committees
CHG	Country's Contribution to Greenhouse
CPRs	Competence Person's Reports
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
COMSIP	Community Savings and Investment Promotion
CoST	Construction Sector Transparency Initiative
DPs	Development Partners
DRIMP	District Road Improvement Maintenance Project
EAC	East African Community
EMA	Environment Management Act
FISP	Farm Inputs Subsidy Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
IPPs	Independent Power Producers
ITAS	Integrated Tax System
MACRA	Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority
MDAs	Mining Development Agreements
MEDEF	Malawi Enterprise Development Fund
MFIs	Micro Finance Institutions
MGDS III	Third Malawi Growth and Development Strategy
MICT	Ministry of Information Communication and Technology
MRA	Malawi Revenue Authority
MIC	Middle-income Country
NCIC	National Construction Industry Council
PAYE	Pay as you Earn
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SEED	Secondary Education Expansion for Development
SEDOM	Small Enterprise Development of Malawi
SMEDI	Small and Medium Enterprise Development Institute
TEVETA	Technical Vocational Education and Training Authority





MESSAGE FROM UTM PRESIDENT

In the harsh adversity of our times and the despondency that it usually brings, our excitement is oftentimes all too compelling to omit all of this nation's great blessings. The blessing of the selfless sacrifice of men and women who built the foundation of the Malawi we now call home. Whether it was that trailblazing preacher from Magomero who refused to be complicit, through silence, in the suffering of his people. Whether it was those who bravely faced the live muzzle of the coloniser's rifle at Nkhata Bay in 1959. Or the many men and women who perished in Malawi's lonely and cruel political prison cells standing up to the oppression and tyranny of one of their own. Or the students and the Church who stared down a 30-year-old autocracy and told it that they would have it no more.

Malawians from all corners of our country have, at one time or the other, made personal sacrifices in pursuit of a national dream of a better Malawi. From Chitipa to Nsanje. From Mchinji to Likoma. They belonged to all tribes. Not just one tribe. Not just one region. But they were ready to die for their nation. These Malawians were ready to die for all tribes. They were ready to die for brothers and sisters they had never seen nor met; brothers and sisters who did not speak their language or share the same cultural practices. Many of them are alive today. They never personally benefitted from their input to the nationalist struggle for freedom. Along with their children and their grandchildren, they continue to fight for freedom. The freedom from want. The freedom not to be poor. They suffer in silence. They



have been short-changed over the years.

Fellow Malawians, Malawi is in a state of flux. Our country was among the first cohort of countries in Africa to gain independence from colonial rule. The promise of progress we had at independence has swiftly dissipated. We have been independent for a little over five decades. We have never experienced civil war or other debilitating national conflict. Yet, the country is engulfed in a dire socio-economic status quo. A status quo that is affecting every woman and girl, man and boy from all walks of life. Malawi is, according to several respectable indices, the poorest country in the world. This is unacceptable. Low GDP estimates reflect increasing poverty, closing of business enterprises, job losses and unemployment. Together with poor management of the economy and the country, the low economic growth has led to sub-standard social service delivery to the people of this country in such areas as health and education, to mention a few. This status quo abounds amidst a culture of getting rich by a few at the expense of the majority, through corruption, nepotism, and outright theft of public resources.

Malawi continues to experience entrenched and institutionalised corruption at all levels of our society; deepening poverty; and persistent hunger and starvation for the masses. It is time for a paradigm shift in the administration and management of Malawi.

Change must come!

We cannot continue in the 'business-as-usual' manner in which our country has been run. The people have lost trust in the honesty and integrity of our politics. Often, our podium-politics has been indifferent to the fact that the Constitution of Malawi reminds any person exercising the legal and political authority of the State that they do so with the blessing of the people of Malawi. It is never a self-interested exercise.

The constitutional order we ushered in, in 1994, is well meaning. It has, at its core, the separation of the State and the political party. Post-1994, our governance framework has steadily degenerated to the promotion of patronage and partisanship. Most of our people have been denied the right to enjoy the fruits of democracy and the privilege to meaningfully participate in building our nation. Most of our people have been subjected to unacceptable levels of marginalisation. They are thoroughly frustrated.

It is well and good that we must celebrate our varied heritage based on the diversity of ethnicity or tribe that prevails in the country. At the end of the day, however, we are all Malawian first. It must not matter whether you are in Malawi or the Diaspora. We are all Malawian. We must all get together – with a unified sense of purpose – to rekindle the ethos of self-reliance and self-confidence that must drive our country forward.

Why do we need a unity of purpose? Fellow Malawians, narrow, self-interested political networks have given us a raw deal: Malawi has a high maternal death rate; a high infant mortality rate; a low life expectancy; a high illiteracy rate; and low productivity, among other things. We have had five Administrations since 1994. Despite the potential the country has, we have, at best, stagnated and, at worst, regressed.

We, at UTM, present to you our Manifesto which is premised on three main pillars: Anti-Corruption Drive; Economic Transformation; and Governance Transformation. We have complemented the three pillars with a 'mindset change' philosophy. We have called this philosophy the 'Tsogolo Lathu' Culture. We believe that Malawi is a country for all of us. It is the only country we all have and, in whatever we do, we must expend our energies on the development and implementation of initiatives that take our country forward.

We believe in the supremacy of the Constitution of Malawi and we are committed to upholding it. We believe that no institution or person is above the Constitution or any law of this country. We believe in an open, accountable and transparent government. We believe in the fundamental constitutional principle that the authority to govern in this country derives from the people of Malawi. We detest the attitude that has crept into some sections of Malawi's podium political class that behave as if they are doing the people of Malawi a favour. In our 'Tsogolo Lathu' Culture, we call on the people of Malawi to, at all times, hold those exercising

State authority to account. We, at UTM, commit ourselves to staying focused on a national agenda that prioritises the development of Malawi as a whole. We abhor divisive politics shamelessly based on ethnicity, colour or creed.

This Manifesto is the culmination of many hours of consultation. The process confirms the common understanding that Malawi can truly transform, but only with leadership that is bold; hands on; practical; and leadership that believes and shall implement an inclusive 'Tsogolo Lathu' Culture. We must all embark on this journey where every Malawian shall eventually be a winner.

We share this Manifesto with you, the people of Malawi, as our blueprint for the progress of our country; one that guarantees a steady and sustained growth of all sectors of our economy. We believe in opportunities for all regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, disability, property, or birth. We remain passionate about creating new spaces of employment. We are committed to creating one million jobs in our first year in office. We are committed to a corrupt free Malawi. We shall ensure a healthy population, where having three meals a day is the norm rather than the exception. We are ready to engender a vibrant middle class in our country. We shall lay a strong foundation for Malawi's sustainable development. We shall be counted by future generations as a people who saw their country going in the wrong direction and took action to put the country back on the path of prosperity.

Fellow Malawians, there is a lot of work ahead of us. We, in UTM, commit ourselves to working harder for the betterment of our country. We beseech you, fellow Malawians, to commit to doing the same. Just like our brothers and sisters who fought the injustices of the past, we have reached a critical juncture. We must rise to the occasion. We must stand up and be counted. The tripartite elections of 21st May, 2019 present a decisive moment and how we respond shall determine the future of this country. As Malawians, we owe it to ourselves and future generations to engender a great, healthy and prosperous Mother Malawi. Fellow Malawians, we, at UTM, are your rightful partners in this journey towards a Malawi we all crave; a great country we all know is possible.

Tsogolo Lathu: Lowala, Labwino, Lafika.

God bless us, the people of Malawi. God bless our mother, Mother Malawi.

Saulos Klaus Chilima, PhD
President
UTM

INTRODUCTION

This is the first Manifesto of UTM as the party contests the tripartite elections of 21st May, 2019. We, at UTM, will take part in the elections recognising that our country has deteriorated at all levels. The economy is reeling from rampant mismanagement. The standard of living of the people is less than dignified. Cronyism, nepotism and corruption in general are endemic. The post-1994 democratic order has been compromised by the narrow, self-serving politics of patronage. As a country, our podium-political class has ignored the lessons of the past, but it is from our shared history that we shall draw our energy and understand the urgency of developing the agenda that forges our country forward.

History teaches us that the incidence of colonialism over the territory that came to be known as Nyasaland ushered in an era of various cycles of political agitation. The nationalist struggle has remarkable critical junctures in our history. The Chilembwe Uprising of 1915; the various native associations



that emerged in the post-second world war period; the formation of the Nyasaland African Congress; the attainment of self-government in 1961; and, ultimately, the independent country of Malawi on 6th July, 1964. It is acknowledged that a united, popular participation of the masses was pivotal in the independence struggle.

History teaches us a second lesson about the country's nationalist movement. On the face of it, the nationalist movement portrayed a unified call for independence. In the post-1961 period, the movement lived side by side with a growing impatience with dissent. Indeed, the



unity of the independence struggle masked an emergent ethnic, regional and generational tension that would be a factor leading to the Cabinet crisis of September, 1964. Regrettably, this is the beginning of the many black spots in our country's political history.

Indeed, the intervening years between September, 1964 and June, 1993, the country experienced heavy handed one-party rule. While the country posted economic gains in the intervening decade following independence, the oil crisis of the late 1970s and the intensification of war in Mozambique, which affected

Malawi's trade route to the rest of the world, obliterated any modest political-economic gains that the country achieved.

The referendum of 14th June, 1993 ushered in a new wave of multiparty politics in the country. The first post-one party State Administration came into office in May, 1994. However, post-1994, Malawi has been beset with cronyism and nepotism, and the entrenchment of corruption at all levels of our society. More than five decades since independence, Malawi has not been able to reach its full political-economic potential.

The country has never been at war or suffered a debilitating national calamity and yet recent global development indices place Malawi below average when it comes to human development and categorises it as among the poorest countries in the world. According to the Human Development Index ('HDI'), 2017, Malawi is categorised in the low human development category of poor countries, ranked 171 out of 189 countries.

Poverty remains widespread with an undiversified economy vulnerable to external shocks. Hence, poverty and inequality remain high and are worsening. According to Household Surveys conducted by the National Statistical Office, the people living below the poverty line of USD1.32 per day declined from 52 per cent in 2004 to 51 percent in 2010, but reverted back to 52 per cent in 2016/17. The situation is worse in rural areas where the poverty rate has increased from 56 per cent in 2004 to 60 percent in 2016/17 on average. Poverty rates in some districts are as high as 83 per cent. Poverty in the country is driven by poor performance of the agriculture sector, volatile economic growth, high population growth, and limited opportunities in non-farm economic activities. These factors are, in part, a result of the country's non-resilience to climate challenges, but they are also due to poor leadership,

mismanagement of the economy, nepotism, corruption and theft of public resources. A clear example of corruption and mismanagement of public resources is the manner in which the Farm Input Subsidy Programme is implemented.

Despite the existence of a progressive Constitution, the strict adherence to the rule of law in the country remains a challenge. There is low capacity in institutions that are mandated to enforce and uphold the rule of law. The protection of vulnerable groups like women, children, the elderly, persons with disability and with persons with albinism remains inadequate.

The Malawi governance framework is, primarily, defined by the Constitution. The Constitution provides for a unified governance structure that entrenches the separation of the State from party politics. There is a dire socio-economic profile across the country such that ethnic or regional-politics are unfathomable and have no place in modern day Malawi.

We, as a people, must loathe politics of empty promises; an economy of deficits; a work culture of delays, inefficiency and laziness; and an asset base of deficiency. Malawi deserves a robust economy based on the energy and industry of her people.

UTM strives to unite Malawians around a common agenda for the

development of this country. The common agenda must require a change in the way we think as a people; the heart to put country first; and the realisation that –with focus and a unity of purpose – we are achievers.

THE IMPERATIVE FOR THE 'TSOGOLO LATHU' CULTURE

The tragedy that has befallen Malawi is short termism. Our politics and the country's economic management reveal an obsession with cheap gains, which are not only unsustainable but are also regressive in the long run.

At UTM, we are fortified in our belief that our politics and national policy formulation must go beyond short termism. Every Malawian woman, girl, man and boy must be less than impressed with promises of a borehole in a village when the conversation can rightfully focus on a water supply system for a whole zone, area, ward, constituency or district.

Every Malawian woman, girl, man and boy must frown upon promises of infrastructure development that are presented as pet personal projects of a politician. National infrastructure development projects must be truly national and backed by a clearly identifiable national policy or programme. National infrastructure development projects must be funded, primarily, by the

contributions of the Malawian taxpayer. In this regard, the projects must not be personalised by any politician.

Any person who is elected to a podium-political public office is not, suddenly, a saviour of the people of Malawi. The politics of handouts has no place or relevance in modern Malawi. We, at UTM, are of the view that short termism, in all its disguises, reveals an end of innovation and thinking. Those who all they can offer is a short-term mentality, have no business seeking public office.

At UTM, we believe in the rule of law. We believe in the supremacy of the Constitution of Malawi. We believe that no institution or person is above the Constitution or any law of this country. We believe in an open, accountable and transparent Government. We believe in the fundamental constitutional principle that the authority to govern in this country derives from the people of Malawi. We detest the attitude that has crept into some sections of Malawi's podium political class that behaves as if they are doing the people of Malawi a favour.

We believe that all Malawians must embrace change in their thinking. We urge the people of Malawi to hold those exercising State authority to account for every step of governing. We, at UTM, commit ourselves to staying focused on a national agenda that prioritises

the development of Malawi as a whole. We abhor divisive politics shamelessly based on ethnicity, colour or creed.

At UTM, we are convinced that the mindset change philosophy requires a strong leadership that is bold; risks temporary unpopularity; and leadership that not only sets the agenda but also gives the nation the 'Tsogolo Lathu' Culture; a culture that speaks to the citizenry that we must be collaborative and engaging in executing the various national agenda. Every Malawian must be encouraged to share his or her thoughts on how we must take our country forward. No one has a monopoly over progressive thinking. There must be no Master. There must be no Servant. We must be Equal Partners expending our efforts to take our country further ahead.

In advancing our belief in the 'Tsogolo Lathu' Culture, we—

- (a) Acknowledge that government systems and institutions remain in need of further transformation. In this regard, Public Service Reforms shall revert to the close oversight of the Presidency;
- (b) Shall conduct a careful diagnostic of government institutions and effect strategic decisions to ensure institutions add value to the economy;

- (c) Believe in honesty and integrity of those in positions of leadership in the public service and shall decisively deal with corruption, public finance mismanagement, theft and under performance in the public service; and
- (d) Shall use the first 100 days in office to cultivate an organisational culture characterised by an open, accountable and transparent governance.

Further, we, at UTM, are committed to eradicating the following malaise in our society: a divisive tendency of inducing traditional leaders to root for a particular political party; perceived and actual threats to religious tolerance; a culture of handouts; laziness and idleness among citizens in the productive age bracket; poor time keeping; diminishing sense of national pride; corruption; impunity by duty bearers; abuse of the youth by politicians whereby the youth are tools of violence; abuse of women by politicians whereby women participate in politics as mere dancers and nothing more; and blatant political interference in public institutions. We shall do the following—

- (a) Introduce a voluntary national service period where citizens provide their labour, skills, and resources in implementing

- community level social projects;
- (b) Incentivise and reward professionalism in public and quasi-public institutions; and
- (c) Provide the space for a national anti-corruption drive to operate independently and professionally without interference or the fear of interference from any institution or person.

In the context of the 'Tsogolo Lathu' Culture, we, at UTM, share our Vision, Mission, Values and Aspirations as follows–

VISION: To transform Malawi into a just, modern, prosperous and united sovereign State

MISSION: To lead Malawi into a middle-income country by 2030

VALUES:

- a) Rule of law;
- b) Accountability and Transparency;
- c) Integrity;
- d) Inclusivity; and
- e) Patriotism.

ASPIRATIONS:

UTM's aspirations for Malawi are:

- a) A peaceful and united Malawi;
- b) A prosperous Malawi;

- c) A development driven Malawi; and
- d) A democratic Malawi.

UTM commits to developing a long-term national development plan once we get into office that covers the period up to 2050. The long-term development plan shall inform all the short-term plans during this period.

In the chapters that follow, we present, in detail, the three pillars that underpin this Manifesto. These are:

- **Anti-Corruption Drive;**
- **Economic Transformation; and**
- **Governance Transformation.**

At UTM, we are convinced that a corruption strategy that transcends mere rhetoric is necessary in order to resolve the damage inflicted to our country through corrupt networks. We have formulated an Economic Transformation agenda based on sound economic management, agricultural transformation, national infrastructure maintenance and development, transformative social policy, a clear urban development plan, the development and implementation of a social housing policy, and industrialisation. Our Governance Transformation is based on the strict adherence to the Constitution of Malawi and all the laws of the land.

CHAPTER 1: ANTI-CORRUPTION DRIVE



CONSTITUTION

Removal of the Presidential immunity from criminal prosecution while in office



AMNESTY

30-day amnesty declared for the restitution of proceeds of crimes

Malawi has high levels of corruption. Under the 2018 Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, Malawi is ranked 120th out of 175 countries, a worsening position compared to number 112th in 2015.

Corruption is one of the major factors affecting economic growth. A strange union through corruption, of the politician, the public servant and the entrepreneur has developed. State coffers are haemorrhaged to benefit the few in this union.

The local construction industry has been a major conduit of corruption through the plunder of public resources under dubious construction contracts. UTM shall empower the National Construction Industry Council ('NCIC') in the enforcement of the National Construction Industry Act and the Code of Ethics for the construction industry sector. Secondly, UTM shall support civil society initiatives such as those under the Construction Sector Transparency Initiative ('CoST') in working with State enforcement agencies such as the Anti-Corruption Bureau ('ACB'), the Auditor General and the Office of the Director of Public Procurement by ensuring accountability and transparency in the award of construction contracts and that infrastructure projects, in fact, meet the standards set by the national construction law and policy. In this way, UTM shall commit to

curbing corruption in the public service and the construction industry.

The selective and slow prosecution of high-profile cases and lack of political will to provide meaningful independence of the ACB exacerbate the negative perception of, and actual corruption in the country. UTM shall ensure that the Office of the Director of the ACB (and the entire institution) is free from political or any other interference. Malawi must have an independent Bureau to effectively combat corruption.

Corruption in the country has also manifested itself in various forms including nepotism, bribery, rent seeking, especially when seeking jobs, contracts and obtaining services from public institutions. This has, in turn, reduced efficiency, increased costs, discouraged development and, hence, reduced economic growth and development for the country. UTM recognises that the status quo worsened post-1994 during the first post-one party State Administration. A robust public service must be based on the following ideals: Hierarchy, Merit, Continuity and Team Work. UTM shall restore these ideals in our quest to eradicate corruption in this country.

UTM is committed to an open, accountable, transparent and corrupt free government and State. UTM shall do the following to curb

corruption, impunity and nepotism in the country–

- (a) Amend section 91(2) of the Constitution to remove the immunity of the President from criminal prosecution while in office;
- (b) All public officers, including the President, and all public institutions shall account for all public moneys and other resources in accordance with public finance management and other applicable laws;
- (c) Review the composition of the Public Service Commission to ensure that it is robust, independent and free from political or any other interference so that the Commission confirms an appointment of a Director of the ACB through a public interview and confirms the removal of the Director following the rules of natural justice;
- (d) Re-open the debate on the financial and operational independence of the ACB;
- (e) Strictly apply the Corrupt Practices Act and other related laws;
- (f) Give a 30-day amnesty that shall be declared for the restitution of proceeds of crimes;
- (g) Strictly apply protection orders and forfeiture orders under the Financial Crimes Act;
- (h) Operationalise the Access to Information Act by bringing the Act into force;
- (i) Maintain partnerships with regional and international anti-corruption agencies in the fight against corruption;
- (j) Review the anti-corruption law to provide robust protection of, and provide incentives to, whistleblowers;
- (k) Establish a standardised mechanism for merit-based recruitment and promotion in the public service and public offices in order to end cronyism and nepotism;
- (l) Establish a transparent and publicly auditable public procurement system;
- (m) Embark on transparency in provision of services, as well as focusing on automating systems in the public service.
- (n) Engage the Judiciary to explore the possibility of specialised and expedited trials of pending and new criminal cases of corruption;
- (o) Provide timely and adequate funding to the ACB; and
- (p) Encourage individual lifestyle audits, which shall be guided by the due process of the law.

UTM shall ensure that Malawi is among the 50 least corrupt countries in the world and ten least corrupt countries in Africa under Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index in three years' time.

CHAPTER 2: ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION



AGRICULTURE

Phasing out the
Farm Inputs
Subsidy Program



INFRASTRUCTURE

Re-develop the
existing class
'M' roads to
multi-carriage
motorways

Malawi is a small, highly populated country and has one of the world's lowest incomes estimated at a Gross Domestic Product ('GDP') per capita of USD339. In recent years, GDP growth has slowed, from an average of 6.0 per cent in the early 2000s, to between 2 and 4 per cent since 2015. Growth in the industrial sector has also slowed down. This reflects several factors that include power shortages, high cost of financing and corruption. These factors are also a result of poor economic management and poor political leadership. The economic slowdown has resulted in the closure of factories, increased unemployment, increased poverty and other challenges.

UTM commits to reversing this trend, sustaining a higher GDP growth rate at more than 8.0 per cent per annum, and bringing the country to middle-income country ('MIC') status by 2030. UTM also commits to providing transformational leadership and supporting meaningful economic management that shall deliver prosperity.

UTM commits to facilitating the creation of one million jobs in the first year of its Administration. A job shall mean that a person gets, at a minimum, a wage. Malawi's labour force has 7 million people,

but only 5.5 million people are in employment.

The main occupations in Malawi's labour force are agriculture, forestry and fisheries at 19 per cent of the total labour force; elementary occupations at 22 per cent; and service and sales workers at 19 per cent. The stratification of the labour force is as follows: 64 per cent of employees are in agriculture, forestry and fishing; 16 per cent in wholesale, retail and services; among others.

The Labour Force Survey, 2013 established that there were, for instance, 758,118 business entrepreneurs owning 987, 480 business entities. In 2011, the year the Survey was conducted, these businesses employed one million people and generated about MK326 Billion.

At UTM, we are convinced that a well-implemented Economic Transformation agenda can generate one million jobs in the first year in office.

UTM identifies these eight areas as key to Malawi's economic U-turn:

- (a) Economic Management
- (b) Agriculture Transformation
- (c) National Infrastructure Maintenance and Development

- (d) Transformative Social Policy
- (e) Urban Development
- (f) Social Housing Policy
- (g) The Environment, Natural Resources Management and Climate Change
- (h) Industrialisation

2.1. Economic Management

UTM shall aim at achieving sound economic management and will focus on a number of areas that include: (i) improvements in macroeconomic and fiscal management; (ii) private sector development; (iii) tourism development; and (iv) mining development.

2.1.1 Macroeconomic and Fiscal Management

Malawi faces persistent shortfalls in available government revenue to finance increasing public spending demands. The Malawi Revenue Authority ("MRA") has not been able to collect enough tax revenue as it faces inadequate enforcement mechanism, political interference and that there is a large constituency of players in the informal economy which is not yet in the tax net, among other challenges. A significant amount of tax revenue is forgone in terms of unnecessary tax exemptions to friends or affiliates of the political

establishment. Tax evasion and avoidance are rampant, because of the loopholes in tax laws and procedures.

Unrealistic economic projection that have mostly been done to paint a rosy picture of economic improvements, have also meant unrealistic revenue forecast at times. This has in many cases resulted in mid-year budget cuts, oftentimes affecting long term investment projects. In relation to non-tax revenue, most if not all, of the MDAs have payment systems that are manual and prone to manipulation and abuse. UTM shall migrate the government payments to electronic payment systems, starting with introduction of cashless system in all the MDAs, to curb the loss of non-tax revenue collected through fees, levies and stamp duties.

Monitoring of budget performance in Malawi is usually very poor. In terms of expenditure, UTM has noted that under past Administrations, the executive has continued to spend financial resources on unbudgeted activities, and in many cases has paid for activities that have not been undertaken, as well as goods or services that have not been delivered or rendered. This happens mostly due to non-compliance with the Public

Finance Management Act, the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act, the Public Audit Act and other related laws on public finance. For these and other reasons, significant amount of government resources have been lost, government has accumulated significant domestic debt - with consequent huge debt repayments, thus affecting budget implementation.

Some of the state owned enterprises have become a source of financing for personal and party political activities, and have been a drain on the budget.

Most of the times, the audits by the National Audit Office are conducted late when corrective action that is recommended may no longer be relevant. The internal audit service is not functioning efficiently, among other reasons, for lack of motivation, inadequate and untimely funding, and insufficient human resource.

To finance the deficits, Government has consistently resorted to borrowing from the Central Bank and the private sector. The insatiable appetite for borrowing has thus crowded out the private sector and drove up interest rates.

UTM notes that there is serious abuse and non-compliance with

the Pension Act in the public service (including parastatals) whereby employee pension contributions are not being remitted to pension fund administrators. Pension funds are a vehicle for investment for the country and the individual contributors. The non-compliance with the law, at the moment, closes a window for potential economic growth of the country.

UTM shall-

- (a) Ensure that government is in full compliance with the Public Finance Management Act, the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act and the Public Audit Act and other related laws on public finance;
- (b) Implement major tax reforms to ensure that every eligible taxpayer under the Laws of Malawi is registered for tax and complies with payment of all taxes;
- (c) Enforce a special audit of tax revenue for greater accountability of the Malawi Revenue Authority on tax collection and voluntary compliance of taxpayers;
- (d) Ensure transparent processes in granting mining licences and oil and gas exploration licenses, to guarantee compliance with tax laws;
- (e) Strictly ensure that Ministries, Departments and Agencies

- spend within budget during a financial year to clear arrears and avoid accumulating new debt;
- (f) Oversee that state-owned enterprises are adhering to public finance laws in their core roles and prudent expenditure, including performing their obligations to remitting withholding tax including PAYE;
 - (g) Timely and adequate funding of the National Audit Office, the Financial Intelligence Authority, the ACB, and other enforcement agencies to ensure that they competently exercise their mandate under the Laws of Malawi and they work independently;
 - (h) Tackle corruption on tax administration;
 - (i) Review the tax exemption regime;
 - (j) Amend the Public Officers (Declaration of Assets, Liabilities And Business Interests) Act for purposes of ensuring tax compliance;
 - (k) Ensure that the Integrated Tax System ('ITAS') is expeditiously implemented within the first year in office for the transparent and efficient collection of taxes and auditing;
 - (l) Digitise payments systems at all levels in order to improve tax and non-tax revenue

- collection and curb corruption;
- (m) Revise the procedure on the initiation of public projects and establish new standards for approving projects funded by public resources to eliminate political interference; and
- (n) Ensure that the Pension Act is strictly complied with through remittances to pension fund administrators and invested accordingly.



2.1.2 Private Sector Development

UTM shall promote private sector businesses as a key element in promoting sustained macroeconomic growth. UTM appreciates that the private sector is a key partner in building a more diverse, vibrant and balanced economy. A vibrant private sector is the driver for income generation, employment and, ultimately, poverty reduction.

The Malawian private sector currently faces numerous challenges including high cost and risk of doing business; limited access to finance; poor infrastructure; limited skilled labour force; intermittent supply of raw materials for the manufacturing sector; unreliable energy supply; weak legal and regulatory frameworks; and corruption. The

manufacturing sector that was at one point contributing significantly to the economy has been seriously affected by these challenges and as a result many factories have closed.



UTM is committed to the development and focused implementation of a national private sector development policy to reverse this trend, by:

- (a) Developing and implementing a national private sector development policy;
- (b) Rebuilding the support

infrastructure, especially the energy, water and roads sectors; and

- (c) Improving the financial sector so that business enterprise can access affordable financing.



2.1.2.1 Financial Sector Development

Numerous surveys have found that access to finance is the key challenge to business development in Malawi. Lending rates by banks and non-bank financial institutions are high. The banking system offers a narrow range of financial products and banks demand very high collateral to lend out their funds. The private sector is crowded out because of government's high appetite to borrow.



In order to ensure that the private sector has affordable funds for their businesses, UTM shall pursue policies that–

- (a) Ensure that the Central Bank reduces its policy rate, translating into a reduction in bank lending rates;
- (b) Ensure that government borrowing from the public and private sectors is strictly minimised;
- (c) Incentivise mobile companies and supermarkets to enter and promote the growth of e-money products;
- (d) Encourage banks to expand innovative products in order to accelerate financial inclusion;
- (e) Support fully the strengthening and utilization of the credit reference system and improving justice system in order to stop escalation of the loan non-payment culture;
- (f) Implement legal reforms that protect the financial sector development, such as the Financial Crimes Act and other related laws; and
- (g) Encourage pension funds to invest in long term development projects.

and compete in business.

Registering business, getting permits by small and largescale enterprises, as well as potential foreign investors are some of the challenges in Malawi. To reverse this and support the establishment of businesses and investment, UTM shall–

- (a) Promote skills development programmes for small and medium sized entrepreneurs or persons, and start ups for small and medium sized businesses;
- (b) Firmly implement the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act to protect Malawian citizens in the supply of goods and services to public institutions;
- (c) Redefine ‘foreign investor’ in order to attract serious investments with a potential for higher value addition to the economy;
- (d) Improve the business licensing and permit systems by streamlining approval procedures and automating the systems. This would speed up the process, reduce the cost and the rent seeking behaviour that discourage investors;
- (e) Protect the full rights of domestic and foreign investors to do business in Malawi;
- (f) Incentivise foreign investors



2.1.2.2 Entrepreneurship

Many Malawians do not have sufficient skills to engage meaningfully in entrepreneurship

- to take on board Malawian citizens as equity partners; and
- (g) Depoliticise and fully audit national business loan programmes such as the Malawi Enterprise Development Fund ('MEDEF') to effect the recovery of loans and put in place measures for the administration of the programmes as revolving funds.



Jobs make people productive, enable them to live a dignified life and foster economic growth. In this regard, job activation and creation shall be the focal point of policy making. UTM notes that:

unemployment in general is high and is even higher among the youth; under employment is high and earnings are very low; and the formal economy is stunted.

UTM shall facilitate dialogue among the Executive, national employers' and national employees' associations respectively in order to determine the minimum wage for a dignified livelihood. UTM shall strictly enforce compliance with the minimum wage in the labour market.

Several initiatives have been implemented in the past to address job activation and creation. These include Small Enterprise Development of Malawi ('SEDOM'), MEDEF, as financing vehicles; and Small and Medium Enterprise Development Institute ('SMEDI') and community technical colleges, as business and skills development vehicles respectively.

UTM shall assess past initiatives in job creation. Initiatives that have proved successful shall be supported and continued.

UTM commits to facilitating the creation of one million jobs in the first year of its Administration by: The creation of Mega or Anchor Farms; Promotion and support of micro, small and medium sized entrepreneurs; Establishment of

a K40 billion loan facility; national infrastructure maintenance and development, among others.

UTM shall also introduce the following initiatives–

- (a) Targeting economic growth of no less than 8.0 per cent per annum and the achievement of middle-income country ('MIC') status by 2030. Such growth would trigger and sustain an economic boom, allocate adequate resources in public works for the development of roads, rail, air and water transport networks;
- (b) Improving labour productivity in the agriculture sector through strengthened markets which offer better prices;
- (c) Providing more farm and non-farm employment opportunities to address under employment;
- (d) Leveraging on existing financing windows, such as the African Development Bank's 17,000 jobs project; the United Nations Development Programme's job stimulating project; and the Local Development Fund's Community Savings and Investment Promotion ('ComSIP') to build synergies for small and medium business enterprises; and
- (e) Linking the apprenticeship

and technical schools with the labour market.



2.1.3 Tourism

The tourism sector is the third biggest foreign exchange earner in Malawi. Despite the modest gains the sector has made, it suffers from weak policy and regulatory framework for the industry due to the absence of a national policy and insufficient support for the Tourism Board.



Where all other sectors of an economy are performing well, the tourism sector will also perform well. UTM commits to improving

tourism in order to create employment and bring foreign exchange to the country, by-

- (a) Providing timely and adequate funding to the Tourism Board in order that it discharges its mandate of coordinating the efforts to improve the sector;
- (b) Developing a robust tourism strategy to guide the development of tourism industry;
- (c) Providing an enabling environment for new private tourism-related investment;
- (d) Supporting tourism skills development programs;
- (e) Supporting the development and implementation of tourism packages such as archaeological or cultural safaris, arts, music and cultural festivals, identification and maintenance of cultural heritages sites, among others;
- (f) Supporting the development of a tourism satellite accounting system;
- (g) Commissioning a special holiday resort project for Chizumulu and Likoma Islands;
- (h) Encouraging Public Private Partnership in the management of tourist attraction centers, by issuing concessions that have at least 51 per cent stake of foreign investment and at least 49 per cent stake of Malawian

- investment; and
- (i) Strictly enforcing the Land (Development of Lakeshore Plots) (Control) Order under the Land Act in order to prevent unplanned property development and proscribe the privatisation of the lakeshore.



2.1.4 Mining Development

Malawi's mineral sector has not been promoted and marketed sufficiently resulting in very low exploitation of the resources. There is lack of sufficient geological data and information about Malawi's mineral resources and the allocation of resources for developing the mineral sector is inadequate.



The mining sector also lacks accountability and transparency which breeds corruption; there is no education in the artisanal mining sector on the benefits and risks of the mining operations; and the State has failed to develop Competence Person's Reports ('CPRs'). The lack of the CPRs means that, as a country, we do not know the value of our mineral resources, the opportunity costs or the risk (or lack of) to the environment.

UTM shall–

- (a) Aggressively implement the Mines and Minerals Policy;
- (b) Re-open the review of the Mines and Minerals Act;
- (c) Develop CPRs;
- (d) Ensure that geological information is compiled and interpreted to encourage more detailed exploration and investment by private investors;
- (e) Establish an applied research and development facility for high-level skills development, and the development and application of mineral development technologies including appropriate technologies for artisanal and small-scale miners;
- (f) Establish a dedicated mineral fund to provide loans for mining equipment to artisanal and small-scale miners;
- (g) Promote the formation of cooperatives in artisanal and small-scale mining to enable collective bargaining, access markets and better recognition by the financial institutions;
- (h) Simplify licensing procedures, and the issuing of respective mineral rights or permits to artisanal and small-scale miners
- (i) Promote value-addition to mineral production including value addition of precious and semi-precious stones at village level;
- (j) Ensure that the mining fiscal regime is competitive within the region to attract investment in the mineral sector;
- (k) Ensure mineral royalties are competitive in the regional and international markets;
- (l) Harmonise the various mining related departments to increase effectiveness in implementation of sectoral policy;
- (m) Respect every person's right to property in land;
- (n) Strictly ensure that the award of contracts is open, accountable and transparent;
- (o) Make all contracts public, and provide updated and validated information mineral revenue collection and management;

- (p) Put in place policies to support value addition to mineral resources;
- (q) Ensure that Mining Development Agreements ('MDAs') are properly negotiated to ensure that the Government of Malawi gets a fair share of revenues from the mineral resources. Proper negotiation of contracts shall ensure that-
 - i) Companies provide meaningful employment for Malawians especially in senior management positions and that there is an open, merit-based skills development programme;
 - ii) There is strict adherence to community development agreements in the mining sector;
 - iii) Malawi shall have at least 49 per cent shareholding in any mining investment; and
 - iv) There is strict enforcement of environment and social impact assessment reports, and
- (r) Link the mining economy to the rest of the national economy by deliberate policy that shall encourage local sourcing.

every person has enough nutritious food throughout the year to have three meals a day. Agriculture transformation is underpinned in enhancing production and productivity; value addition; strengthening markets; and strengthening institutions.

While the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy III ('MGDS III'), recognises that agriculture is key to Malawi in terms of driving economic growth and development, the sector is riddled with many challenges and, therefore, is not able to support growing demands for food and to support industry. Productivity is undermined by factors such as the country's non-resilience to climate challenges, lack of agriculture diversification, land degradation, and undeveloped market systems. Some of these factors reflect poor planning by relevant government institutions and point mostly to poor political leadership in this important sector.

Agriculture programmes in Malawi have placed disproportionate emphasis on food security other than commercialisation of the sector. This is a short term perspective. To this effect, huge amount of resources (human, time and financial) have been used for input subsidies, for example, at the expense of other equally important aspects of agriculture production and diversification. Programmes have also placed disproportionate

2.2. Agriculture Transformation

UTM commits to ensuring that

emphasis on crop production over livestock production. Agriculture marketing has been dysfunctional. There has been policy reversal, unnecessary government intervention, and impediment to private sector investment; all these have affected the growth of the agricultural sector. The weak business-enabling environment such as low energy supply, poor transport system, among others, renders agricultural markets and prices unpredictable and unstable. The country has failed to fully exploit Malawi's irrigation potential. Climate change also presents a threat to the sector.

UTM commits to improving agricultural productivity, cash crop diversification (including maize), scaling down subsistence maize production, and to improved agriculture marketing.

UTM shall approach agricultural transformation holistically and shall pay close attention to–

- (a) Increased production of crops, livestock and aquaculture; and
- (b) Agriculture marketing to support the commercialization process.

over emphasized. At the moment, crop production is dominated by smallholder farmers. This group, however, has limited stimulus to grow and it is more vulnerable to shocks, including poor post-harvest storage, which leads to low productivity.



2.2.1 Crop Production

The need to restructure the agriculture sector by balancing support to large, medium and small-scale farmers cannot be

UTM shall continue with reforms in the agriculture sector to encourage participation of large and medium-scale farmers, as well as improving productivity of the small-scale farmers. UTM shall support

commercial farming of high value exports in order to promote cash crop diversification. For example, UTM shall focus on the cotton value chain through the removal of existing bottlenecks in production and the creation of special financing of the cotton sub-sector.

In respect to Farm Inputs Subsidy Programme ('FISP'), UTM notes the challenge in its current state, including huge administrative costs, corruption and poor targeting. UTM shall strive to push the programme beyond a poverty reduction objective to a full transformative agrarian programme that eventually reduces the need and provide an 'exit option'. In this regard, UTM shall devise a programme that ensures that both small and large scale farmers have access to cheaper fertilizer for maize and other national priority crops. The programme shall be complemented with a significant extension services component that shall guarantee that the number of beneficiaries steadily reduces in the long term.

The Mega or Anchor Farms Concept is central to UTM's agenda. UTM acknowledges that value addition thrives on economies of scale and specialisation. In this regard, UTM shall organise smallholder farmers into cooperatives and provide them with designated agriculture extension services. There shall be

at least one Mega Farm in each district in Malawi. Each Farm shall grow a specific crop; be linked to a factory for value addition in the production of specific products from the crop.

The Concept shall enhance productivity, be a market for farmers, add value and increase foreign exchange generation by exported value added produce under the core crop zoning. Further, the Concept shall not alienate existing smallholder landholding. The Concept shall encourage smallholder farmers in the periphery to form cooperatives; amalgamate their land holdings and grow a similar crop as the one grown on the Farm in order to join the value addition chain.

Beyond the Mega Farm Concept, UTM shall–

- (a) Foster market predictability and price stability at the start of a growing season;
- (b) Promote use of hermetic bags and community and district silo infrastructure;
- (c) Develop irrigation infrastructure in the country in order to reduce capitalisation of the private sector;
- (d) Review the mandate of the Greenbelt Initiative;
- (e) Create a national irrigation board;
- (f) Strictly implement the National

- (g) Irrigation Policy; Depoliticise national irrigation initiatives;
- (h) Encourage water harvesting in all districts in order to improve the stability of crop yields and raise crop productivity;
- (i) Improve agriculture extension services, research and development, technology generation and quality planting materials, among other ways, through increased government financing to relevant departments that provide these services;
- (j) Mechanise agriculture through procurement and provision of appropriate technologies to suit landholding sizes available to farmers under farmers' cooperatives;
- (k) Promote climate smart agriculture and conservation agriculture and other resilience enhancing measures;
- (l) Incentivise farmers to absorb and adopt new technologies, in order to improve output;
- (m) Provide support to agriculture research centres for research and development;
- (n) Leverage on existing programmes such as the Local Development Fund, support afforestation to strike a balance between home consumption needs and afforestation for commercial purposes; and

- (o) Implement the National Resilience Strategy to mitigate against effects of climate change.



2.2.2 Livestock production

UTM shall strengthen livestock production in Malawi to meet requirements for domestic consumption and export; by–

- (a) Establishing large scale livestock programs for domestic and export markets;
- (b) Promoting animal breeds that provide high returns on meat and meat products, and milk and milk products;
- (c) Establishing cooperatives made of community members that will manage ranches;
- (d) Engaging private sector investors to establish processing plants for meat and dairy products in the districts where the ranches will be operated;
- (e) Revamping extension and veterinary services in rural areas to promote the health of livestock and prevent occurrence of pests and diseases;
- (f) Strengthening production of poultry and other small livestock to meet nutrition requirements and increased income at the household level; and
- (g) Aggressively exploring markets for livestock products.

2.2.3 Fisheries

2.2.3.1 Aquaculture

Malawi has a wide variety of fish including the famous chambo. Aquaculture in Malawi is under threat because the current fishing practices do not support the growth of fish population.

UTM shall encourage aquaculture by–

- (a) Encouraging sentimental and ornamental values of the wide varieties of fish;
- (b) Strengthening enforcement of fisheries conservation laws in order to maintain responsible fishing;
- (c) Promoting large scale private sector fish farming in Malawi, by engaging private investors to play the role of bulk buyer and processor for local and export markets;
- (d) Investing in research on fish breeding and extension services on fisheries;
- (e) Encouraging the private sector to invest in fish feed mill to reduce the cost of fish culturing; and
- (f) Empowering communities to strictly apply fisheries conservation in order to promote small scale aquaculture production into business.

2.2.3.2 Capture Fisheries

UTM advocates the sustainable harvesting of fisheries resources from all natural waters of Malawi. In this regard, UTM shall ensure that appropriate fishing methods are used by fishermen in all lakes and river systems in Malawi.



UTM shall encourage capture fisheries by–

- (a) Involving the fishing communities through community participation approach with the involvement of beach village committees

- (b) Monitoring and controlling of the exploration of the fisheries resources in all lakes and rivers;
 - (c) Promoting fishing related activities based on Public Private Partnerships;
 - (d) Advocating suitable control measures for the recovery of the overexploited fish stocks; and
 - (e) Developing and disseminating appropriate fishing technologies for offshore fishing and fish processing technologies.
- (ii) Introduce a professional corporate governance structure;
 - (iii) Reduce government's influence in the appointment of ADMARC's Board and in the appointment of top executive management;
 - (iv) Separate the commercial function of ADMARC from its social function; and
 - (v) Re-capitalise ADMARC through Treasury appropriation, a sovereign guarantee loan or public equity.



2.2.4 Institutions

a) ADMARC:

ADMARC is a private company limited by shares. The State is the majority shareholder. A truly private company breeds the confidence of private sector and development partners ('DPs'). However, ADMARC is a poorly run private company. There is a lot of political interference, a poor governance structure, state capture, corruption, fraud, theft and incompetence.

UTM shall–

- (i) Free ADMARC from this undue political pressure and eliminate the corruption and



b) Academic and research centres:

These centres shall be supported to ensure that they produce the much-needed technology, and crop varieties with high yield and livestock breeds with high resistance to pests and diseases.

c) Farm inputs suppliers to government programmes:

UTM shall ensure that the process of public procurement of farm inputs is open, accountable and transparent. UTM shall also ensure that payments to farm inputs suppliers – fertiliser and seed

suppliers – are up to date..

d) Laws and policies:

UTM shall support the review of laws and policies in order to provide a conducive environment for agricultural transformation.



2.2.5 Markets

Malawi is a member of COMESA–EAC–SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area, which has preferential market access to member States under the Tripartite arrangement; the European Union market under the ‘Everything But Arms’ Initiative; the United States market under the African Growth Opportunity Act (‘AGOA’); and preferential market access to China and India. UTM considers this is a broad market base that has not been fully exploited.

UTM shall–

- (a) Strengthen information exchange among Malawi Investment and Trade Centre, and the government ministries responsible for agriculture, and trade;
- (b) Enhance the use of ICT to facilitate information dissemination to farmers on crop varieties and commodity prices on local, regional and

- global markets;
- (c) Use ADMARC and other actors to strengthen and expand structured markets to rural areas;
- (d) Develop structured markets for other agriculture produce such as pulses. Warehousing and efficient private sector participation shall be encouraged in this space; and
- (e) Introduce processing factories linked to Mega Farms as a source of raw materials and as markets.



2.3. National Infrastructure Maintenance and Development

The country is severely impacted by the deficit in both the quantity and quality of its road, rail, air infrastructure; lake services; ICT infrastructure, and the energy sector. Road and rail infrastructure, in particular, remain grossly inadequate and very poorly maintained. Poor infrastructure is a critical barrier to accelerating growth, enhancing regional integration, reducing poverty and securing development.

UTM commits to focusing its attention on the maintenance of dilapidated infrastructure and the development of new infrastructure in the country. UTM shall concentrate on the

transport network, the energy sector and ICT. Further, UTM notes that the National Transportation Master Plan has been selectively implemented with political pettiness influencing the prioritisation of projects. UTM shall aggressively implement the Plan based on sound technical advice on the prioritisation of projects. This shall entail the development of a public investment plan that shall facilitate the implementation of projects.

Malawi shall seek to fully exploit the available transport routes to the sea. An urgent task shall be the creation of facilities to accelerate the optimum use of the Nacala route. This shall require a dry port at Liwonde in Machinga, which shall connect the rail, road and water transport networks. UTM shall ensure the speedy construction of the Liwonde Dry Port that shall enable the country to fully exploit the excellent location of Liwonde.

As we have previously pointed out, the construction industry in Malawi has been a route of public finance mismanagement, corruption, fraud and outright theft. The status quo has affected the quality of the public infrastructure in the country. UTM shall empower the NCIC to ensure accountability, transparency and deliverance of standards in all national infrastructure projects. We, at UTM, are convinced that this arrangement shall provide a trusted quality control system; curb corruption and maintain the cost

of projects within reasonable cost levels.

UTM identifies the following areas under its strategy for national infrastructure maintenance and development:

2.3.1 Roads

The national road infrastructure network is in very poor condition. Urban roads are narrow and are badly maintained. Most of the district roads are not upgraded to bitumen standards. Public institutions responsible for road maintenance and construction have been inefficient for some time now. Road design is equally of poor quality. Most roads do not have a drainage system, for example, and this reduces the life span of the country's roads. In our cities and towns, street lighting is rare, dysfunctional or outright non-existent.



UTM notes that several public works projects on roads construction have stalled or have been abandoned for a number of reasons ranging from inefficiency or corruption to political pettiness. UTM commits to reviewing all public works projects throughout the country and shall ensure that all projects are completed expeditiously.

UTM commits to drastic improvements in this area as follows–

- (a) UTM shall begin to re-develop the existing class ‘M’ roads to multi-carriage motorways meeting international standards.
- (b) Embarking on an initiative to upgrade all main roads to district centres to bitumen standard. By 2024, all districts in Malawi shall have tarmac roads connecting to the national motorways.
- (c) City roads shall be maintained and upgraded, together with complementary infrastructure such as drainage system, street lights and pedestrian paths wherever practical.
- (d) The District Road Improvement Maintenance Project (‘DRIMP’) shall be resuscitated and shall be fully funded under the Consolidated Fund and proceeds from the Roads Fund.

- (e) Designation of roads shall use the measure of economic viability for purposes of prioritising road upgrade projects.



2.3.2 Railway system

The country’s railway system is not fully functional. The network is dilapidated and is in need of serious upgrade. The parts of the railway system that are functional within the country are not well connected. Further, there are gaps in connecting with neighbouring countries.

UTM shall focus on enhancing PPP regimes in rail infrastructure development and management of railway systems. The priority shall be to upgrade existing national railway infrastructure. Among other areas, UTM shall–

- (a) Build a high-speed line between Lilongwe and Blantyre;
- (b) Upgrade the Nkaya/Salima/Mchinji railway line in order that it connects with the Moatize /Nkaya railway line or the Nacala line;
- (c) Upgrade the Limbe/Sandama/Makhanga and Marka lines;
- (d) Engage the Republic of Zambia on the connection between Salima/Mchinji line and Chipata in Zambia;

- (e) Construct the Liwonde Dry Port;
- (f) Connect Chilumba in Karonga to the TAZARA line;
- (g) Connect Marka and Mutarara in Mozambique;
- (h) Rehabilitate the Chiromo Bridge on the Marka line; and
- (i) Rehabilitate the Blantyre / Nsanje line.

UTM recognises that there is potential to grow air transportation to prime tourism places; harness the business traveller into a frequent internal air flyer; and to provide an enabling environment for private investment in domestic air transport business through PPP arrangements.

UTM shall do the following in the sector–



2.3.3 Air Transport

Air transportation in Malawi has not been fully exploited. There are a number of administrative malaise such as overly bureaucratic processes, inefficient systems, and poor facilities that are affecting air transportation.



- (a) Expedite the upgrading of Chileka and Kamuzu International Airports respectively;
- (b) Construct modern international airports in Mangochi and Mzuzu starting in the 2020–2021 financial year;
- (c) Construct a new airport at Salima Town;
- (d) Rehabilitate Karonga Airport;
- (e) Review the PPP agreement on the national airline;
- (f) Consider local investment into the national airline; and
- (g) Operationalise the civil aviation law that splits the Department of Civil Aviation into an airports authority and a civil aviation authority.



2.3.4 Water transport

Water transport, especially on Lake Malawi, is unreliable and outdated. Yet it has the potential to connect

various places along the lake and, simultaneously, complement a fully-fledged railway system, if it were in place.

UTM commits to the following–

- (a) Rehabilitate the existing ports on Lake Malawi at Chilumba, Nkhata Bay, Chipoka, Monkey Bay and Likoma;
- (b) Explore sites for, and development of, new ports on Lake Malawi and other water bodies;
- (c) Explore the viability of river navigation systems; and
- (d) Review the concession agreement with the water transport operator on Lake Malawi and, if need be, re-negotiate the agreement.

there is a great deal more that can be achieved by prioritising ICT and accelerating the integration of digital technologies into Malawi's economic development strategies and plans.

While some strides have been made in developing e-government applications and services, Malawi lacks a comprehensive and coordinated ICT ecosystem to fully exploit the benefits of e-transformation. The development of the ICT ecosystem and infrastructure must form the axis for accelerating growth in other sectors and shall be an enabler for poverty reduction and wealth creation in the country.



2.3.5 Information and Communication Technology

A well-informed, knowledge-based society can positively contribute to the economic development of a nation and enable instant access to critical information from both the public and private sectors for all the citizens of Malawi. The global proliferation of Information and Communication Technology ('ICT') or digital technologies has had a major impact in accelerating the economic growth and development of emerging markets. While the country has made some progress,



The ICT penetration in Malawi is low. Only radio broadcasting is at an acceptable level of penetration at around 80 per cent of the country's population. Tele-density is at around 50 per cent. Television broadcasting penetration is at less than 20 per cent. Mobile phone penetration is low, at about 40 per cent. Fixed broadband subscriptions are extremely low. Development of, and access to, digital public services is, likewise, extremely low. This means that a very large segment of the population of Malawi is not capable of receiving and sharing vital information through television broadcasting, telephony or through the Internet.

Some of the challenges in the development of the sector include–

- (a) Low human capital, low levels of income, digital illiteracy and lack of institutional capacity constrain access to digital technologies and services in Malawi and hold the country back from capitalising on new opportunities;
- (b) High levels of taxation, weak regulatory authority and instruments are impeding investment, affordability and demand for services;
- (c) High mobile voice tariffs;
- (d) Lack of competition in critical telecom market segments;

- (e) The need for the institutions responsible for policy and governance of the ICT sector; and
- (f) Lack of or poor last mile ICT infrastructure, and high charges by the licensed network providers to the end users.

UTM commits to achieving 100 per cent penetration of ICT services in Malawi by 2024, by–

- (a) Continuing to pursue and accelerate on-going projects on ICT infrastructure development, while ensuring efficient use of government resources and avoiding any possible duplication;
- (b) Encouraging competition in the ICT sector by attracting more network providers to operate in Malawi;
- (c) Reviewing taxation of the sector to ensure that affordability agenda takes precedence over short-term high revenue collection needs; and
- (d) Introducing and promoting ICT in schools and other sectors of the economy.



2.3.6 Energy Sector

Malawi has one of the lowest electricity generation capacities

and access rates in the world. The sector faces many challenges including insufficient installed generation capacity and overreliance on hydropower, inadequate transmission and distribution networks, inefficient tariff framework, low access to electricity, and inefficiencies and corruption in the power governing bodies. As a result, only 10 per cent of the population has access to electricity (with severe disparities: 38 per cent for urban areas, and 4 per cent for rural areas). As of 2018, there was a total installed capacity of over 400MW against an estimated demand of about 700MW. The government is slowly electrifying rural trading centres. Malawi's off-grid sector is very nascent consisting of few donor-funded initiatives. Many rural households depend on biomass, which has led to serious deforestation.

UTM shall expedite the assessment and development of mini grids and renewable energy resources such as geothermal, solar and wind energy. Further, sustainable biomass energy has the potential for growth in this country.

UTM commits to–

- (a) Aggressively implement the National Energy Policy, 2018;
- (b) Intensify the expansion and

rehabilitation of the national transmission and distribution system;

- (c) Speed up the interconnection of the transmission network with neighbouring countries and tapping of power from the Southern Africa Power Pool and the East African Power Pool;
- (d) Increasing domestic generation through Independent Power Producers ('IPPs') by embarking on reforms that attract more private investment in generation;
- (e) Introduce special tariffs for low income households;
- (f) Introduce electrification of rural villages in addition as opposed to only focusing on trading and rural growth centres;
- (g) Promote research and development of green energy including briquette making equipment for erstwhile charcoal vendors;
- (h) Promote private sector investment in environmentally sustainable charcoal production;
- (i) Speed up the implementation of required power sector reforms such as the creation of the Single Buyer unit to facilitate speedy introduction of IPPs;
- (j) Promote legal and regulatory

- frameworks to support a coal supply industry that is efficient and competitive;
- (k) Universal free connection with connection cost recovery from tariff payments; and
 - (l) Improve financial and operational performance of the utility companies.

2.4 Transformative Social Policy

The provision of social services in Malawi is very poor. Social policy in Malawi has been assigned a residual role in the development process, often assigned the role of poverty reduction. Transformative social policy goes beyond poverty reduction. Social policy is not only a contributor to production through human capital but can be a source of savings through pension schemes.

2.4.1 Health

The Health Sector Strategic Plan II (2017–2022) contends that Malawi has made significant gains under the Health Sector Strategic Plan (2011–2016) in under-five mortality and infant mortality targets, live birth targets, maternal mortality ratios, among others. Despite this, incidences of communicable and non-communicable diseases, child malnutrition, remain a challenge.

The health sector continues to suffer from inadequate funding. Deployment and retention of health personnel and incentives to retain the workers in the public sector and rural areas remain a challenge, resulting in low number of medical doctors, nurses and para-medical staff in the hospitals. The health facilities in Malawi are far removed from the population in the catchment areas they are supposedly meant to serve. The facilities are also short of human resources, basic facilities such as ambulances and equipment. Malawi also suffers from systems challenges including inadequate financing and ineffective medicine supply chain management, particularly lack of drugs and the theft of drugs.

Currently, the health sector has a vacancy rate of over 50 per cent. UTM shall recruit more technical hospital personnel. There are, currently, over 100 medical doctors, over 2,300 nurses, over 1,000 clinical officers and medical assistants who are unemployed and yet they were trained using our own taxes. UTM shall improve the availability, retention, performance and motivation of human resources in the health sector for effective, efficient and equitable health service delivery.



UTM shall improve the provision of health services in Malawi by–

- (a) Strengthening the health system by implementing Health Sector Strategic Plan II, including improvements on access to a health facility, availability of drugs, training and recruitment, supply chain management, health care financing and improving availability and the quality of health infrastructure and medical equipment in health services;
- (b) Rehabilitating central hospitals, district hospitals, health centres and rural clinics;
- (c) Constructing modern district hospitals in Chikwawa, Blantyre, Zomba, Lilongwe, Dowa, Mzimba and Rumphi in order to decongest the existing central hospitals;
- (d) Constructing mental health hospitals attached to Mzuzu, Kamuzu and Queen Elizabeth Central Hospitals respectively;
- (e) Increasing the range of diagnostic tests and super specialised services such as cardiology done by our hospitals in order to significantly reduce referrals to hospitals outside Malawi;
- (f) Improving the referral system by procuring and supporting the ambulance system;
- (g) Increasing the number of technical health personnel, especially doctors, nurses and clinicians, at all levels of the health sector;
- (h) Reviewing the health service delivery areas by catchment areas and geographical areas as opposed to districts;
- (i) Promoting primary health care;
- (j) Supporting maintenance of hospital equipment;
- (k) Improving system challenges, especially to reduce theft in the procurement of medicine, recruiting more hospital personnel, as well as building and rehabilitating health facilities to improve quality

- health services to the people;
- (l) Improving the availability, quality and utilisation of medicines and medical supplies by ensuring that the Central Medical Stores Trust procures drugs directly from manufacturers and not 'middlemen';
 - (m) Improving the testing of the quality of drugs;
 - (n) Increasing the budget for drugs;
 - (o) Improving leadership and governance across the health sector and at all levels of the health care system;
 - (p) Deepening early child development programmes on nutrition such the 1000 days campaign;
 - (q) Introducing palliative care into the mainstream health care system; and
 - (r) Promoting the local pharmaceutical manufacturing industry.

The current average pupil-textbook ratio has remained high at 3:1. The gross enrolment rate for tertiary education in Malawi is among the lowest in the whole world at 0.4 per cent and it has remained less than 1 per cent for the past six years. Teachers are demotivated, often paid late and badly incentivised. Many secondary schools are in poor state. Teachers are not motivated and students, especially in community day secondary schools live in very unsafe hostels. The school curriculum has been sparingly revised. Technical education has not received priority in the recent past.

Public university education standards have gone down. The number of students has grown compared to the available space. It is common to see university students failing to finish their education because of a lack of financial support. Many university students live in difficult insecure environments. Entry into the public university system is not equitable.



2.4.2 Education

The current education system in Malawi has broken down. The early childhood school system is not in a good state. Pupils in primary schools continue to learn in over-crowded classrooms; temporary shelters; under trees or open-air classrooms. The teacher-student ratio is extremely high both in primary and secondary schools.

UTM shall embark on the total rehabilitation and upgrade of all secondary schools and public university campuses in the country, starting with the complete rehabilitation of a minimum of ten secondary schools into state of the art centres of learning in the first year of its Administration.

UTM shall ensure that no deserving child fails to go to school because of lack of school fees at primary level, secondary level or in public universities.

In addition, UTM shall fully utilise the Secondary Education Expansion for Development ('SEED') initiative of the Government of the United States of America to build new secondary schools throughout Malawi. UTM shall ensure that Malawi keeps its part of the bargain to fund training and salaries for teachers to staff the new secondary schools.



Beyond this, UTM shall do the following to improve the provision of education in Malawi–

- (a) UTM shall make Early Childhood Development and Education a priority in basic education and wherever possible a pre-requisite for enrolment in primary schools;
- (b) Ensure that every child learns in a well-constructed class room by 2024;
- (c) Ensure the pupil-textbook ratio improves from 3:1 to 1:1 by 2022;
- (d) Ensure the permanent classroom ratio reaches 60:1 by 2024. This shall be achieved through teacher training, recruitment of additional teachers, redeployment of existing teachers, retraining of officers in support functions and devolution of human resource in Local Councils, and the construction of new schools and additional school blocks to the existing schools, with a target of constructing one double classroom block per school per year;
- (e) Ensure teachers are well remunerated and paid on time;
- (f) Ensure that 100 per cent of disadvantaged secondary school learners are provided with bursaries and university

- loans such that no single student fails to complete his or her education for lack of tuition fees;
- (g) Improve pupil or student progression from one level to another; and strengthen education governance;
 - (h) Re-introduce physical education and competitive sports in all primary and secondary schools;
 - (i) Conduct periodic review of curricula of public universities to align them to areas that are critical for the economic development of Malawi;
 - (j) Promote distant or satellite learning in public universities (open distance learning) and commit to the cause of special needs education;
 - (k) UTM shall immediately embark on the expansion of the enrollment capacity of the public universities and shall also promote PPP in the provision of accommodation in the universities;
 - (l) UTM shall abolish the Quota System for student admission to public universities and replace the system with a merit-based system;
 - (m) Place emphasis and focus on Technical Vocational Education and Training ('TEVETA') and its vocational skills training programmes;
 - (s) Create a national electronic

library to act as a resource for all the preexisting universities. This will also allow access to international libraries and databases as appropriate; and

- (t) Implement a phased rehabilitation of all public universities. This shall include the building of lecture auditoriums, laboratories, computer laboratories and modern libraries.



2.4.3 Women Empowerment

Women account for more than 52 per cent of the population. The economic, social, cultural and political status of women in society has been identified as a major determinant of the poverty status of a country. Women face major challenges in their communities in accessing justice, obtaining social and economic opportunities and seeking overall advancement.

Women in Malawi, and most regrettably widows, face a number of challenges that include–

- (a) Gender-based violence, especially property grabbing;
- (b) Barriers to economic empowerment, especially access to markets, training, finance, infrastructure, technology,

- education, counselling and entrepreneurship development;
- (c) Exploitative or hazardous forms of the livelihood;
- (d) Low education and literacy levels; and
- (e) Low political participation.



Even though the law proscribes these challenges under the Gender Equality Act, the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act, the Deceased Estates (Wills, Inheritance and Protection) Act, and the Marriage, Divorce and Family Relations Act respectively, the implementation and enforcement of the law has been ineffective.

Specifically, UTM shall do the

following:

- (a) Aggressively implement gender related policies, strategies and laws including the Gender Equality Act, the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act, the Deceased Estates (Wills, Inheritance and Protection) Act, and the Marriage, Divorce and Family Relations Act;
- (b) Set up special programmes to support the livelihoods of widows in order to protect them from property grabbing, harmful traditional practices, economic abuse and character assassination;
- (c) Provide adequate budget allocation for women empowerment programmes;
- (d) Strive to surpass the 40:60 ratios under the Gender Equality Act in all appointments to positions of decision making in the public service;
- (e) Economically empower women through the creation of an enabling environment for women led micro, small, medium and large scale enterprises. This will be done through improved access to financing, business development and coaching;
- (f) Help girls and young women realize their full potential by addressing barriers and opportunities ensuring that the Adolescent Girls and Young Women ('AGYW') strategy fully implemented;

- (g) Encourage entrepreneurship amongst women through their participation in cooperatives; facilitating easy access to financing for business.
- (h) Ensure that women are at the centre of benefiting from the provision of 60 per cent business allocation of all government procurement under the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act; and
- (i) Invest in empowering women to actively participate in political leadership by putting in place deliberate initiatives to encourage women's participation.

In terms of discourse on 'the youth', we conceptualise the 'youth' as males and females below thirty-five years of age. We categorise youth development and empowerment in three strands as follows–



2.4.4.1 Unskilled Youth

This group of youth is often engaged in primary economic activities such as agriculture, the construction and manufacturing industry, among other areas. UTM recognises that there are a vast number of citizens in this category that have the potential to undertake sustainable business activities that support a dignified life.



2.4.4 Youth Development and Empowerment



The UTM shall–

- (a) Encourage them to re-enroll into school;
- (b) Establish cooperatives for forestry, sustainable charcoal and briquette production, fisheries, horticultural production, and such similar activities that do not require technical or professional skills. UTM shall support them to access finances for their businesses, including by linking them to Micro Finance Institutions ('MFIs'), and specially arranged instruments with commercial banks. Government shall put

aside funds to support these initiatives either by supporting the special windows by the banks (such as guarantees) to offer loans at affordable rates, as well as other direct instruments to support the youth. We shall facilitate business linkages between youth cooperatives as producers and large-scale business as buyers; and

(c) Provide tailor made training sessions to shape a progressive mindset so that they can see hope and possibility of living a decent life through such economic activities.



2.4.4.2 Semi-Skilled Youth

This group consists of artisans who have acquired on the job training. This group requires support for mobilising them into clusters that may lead to access to financing and markets for their products.

UTM shall-

- (a) Facilitate the formation of small and medium scale businesses, including developing incubation facilities and internships with established institutions;
- (b) Facilitate them to access financing for their businesses;
- (c) Explore foreign markets especially within the region

where Malawi artisanal products and services can be exported; and

- (d) Link local semi-skilled youth with large scale industries nationally and internationally where the youth can assemble products traded by international investors operating in Malawi.



2.4.4.3 Skilled or Professional Youth

This group consists of those who acquired tertiary and technical education, who often look for employment in the formal employment sector. In the case of university graduates, only 11.3 per cent have formal employment because the economy itself is dominated by informal sector. This is because the formal sector has stagnated or shrunk over the years.

UTM shall ensure, where practically possible, that intake into, and curriculum of, tertiary and the technical education in the country is synchronised with the needs of the market. For the skilled youth who have already set up businesses, UTM shall ensure that they have support to access finance, set up their businesses and be linked to the market. Business facilitation institutions such as those that issue licenses and permits shall be given target dates to prove to be

efficient and transparent within one year.



2.4.4.4 Sports

UTM commits to the rehabilitation of dilapidated sports infrastructure in all districts in the country. Further, UTM commits to the construction of new sports facilities in all the districts in the country, especially stadia.

UTM shall–

- (a) Improve sports infrastructure and facilities in schools, colleges and public universities;
- (b) Create an effective National Sports Talent Search System so that extraordinary sporting talent is identified at a very young age. Such promising boys and girls shall be selected for special training;
- (c) Ensure sports training is of international standard by appointing suitable coaches, training of sports personnel and upgrading the skills of existing coaches;
- (d) Consider offering incentives to private businesses that invest in sports through infrastructure development and sponsorship agreements;
- (e) Insist on accountability and transparency in sports administration;
- (f) Eradicate corruption in sports

- (g) administration; and
- (g) Ensure that sports persons are the primary beneficiaries of sports sponsorship.



2.4.5 Protection of Vulnerable Persons



UTM recognises the need to protect vulnerable persons in our society. These include children, women, the elderly, persons with disability and persons with albinism.

UTM shall–

- (a) Fully implement the Child

- (Care, Protection and Justice) Act which is meant to protect children, especially girls, from all forms of abuse;
- (b) Fully develop and implement a national foster home system under the Child (Care, Protection and Justice) Act to provide a safe environment for the development and growth of children, especially orphans and street children;
 - (c) Decisively stamp out the unwarranted and callous brutality against persons with albinism;
 - (d) Fully implement the Action Plan on persons with albinism;
 - (e) Establish "The Elderly Pension Fund" with a monthly pay out of K15, 000 to all people aged 65 years or above;
 - (f) Aggressively implement the National Social Protection Policy;
 - (g) Create an enabling environment for artisanal businesses for persons with albinism; and
 - (h) Ensure persons with disability are supported by operationalising the Disability Act and the National Disability Policy.

dwellers remains sub-standard. High migration from rural to urban centers is on the increase and this has put pressure on the provision of social amenities in cities and towns. Little attention is being paid to the preservation and creation of green parks for recreation or other use.

Our cities and towns suffer from uncontrolled urban development; insufficient supply of clean pipe and portable water; old and dilapidated inadequate water and sewer systems; poor waste management systems; unreliable electricity supply; roads in city neighbourhoods and townships are untarred, of low quality and unmaintained; and inefficient and unorganized public transport systems.

UTM shall–

- (a) Aggressively implement the national decentralisation programme and empower local government authorities;
- (b) Curb political interference in the management of local government authorities;
- (c) Review tax and non-tax revenue policies so that local government authorities retain a proportion of revenue collected to support service delivery;
- (d) Firmly implement environment

2.5 Urban Development

Malawi's cities and towns have been neglected by past Administrations. The quality of life of the urban

management laws in order to empower local government authorities to resolve the challenges in waste management;

- (e) Promote private sector investment in waste management and waste energy;
- (f) Firmly support micro, small and medium sized enterprises at local government level in order to decisively deal with unregulated street vending;
- (g) Empower local government authorities to develop and fully implement physical development plans. In this regard, UTM shall fully support the demolition of developments that contravene city and town planning laws, and other related laws;
- (h) Ensure that physical development plans for towns and cities have open spaces for green parks for recreation or other use;
- (i) Introduce fee-paying car parking in the cities;
- (j) Introduce an urban metro system which shall be piloted in the City of Lilongwe for five years; and
- (k) Commit to the introduction of the 'Smart City' concept, while providing the enabling environment for private investment.



2.5.1 Urban Poverty

There are many people in the country that live in squatter settlement, and are subjected to poor sanitation, poor health services, and other challenges. Improving housing and basic services shall greatly reduce the tremendous health burden that most low-income groups face owing to the poor-quality housing and the lack of basic social services.

UTM further notes that urban poverty is under-estimated. The urban poor, including children and the youth, are food insecure and chronically malnourished. Urban poverty has soared due to a high and unregulated rural-urban migration.

UTM shall–

- (a) Improve provision of basic services, health and nutrition conditions and child growth monitoring in the urban settlements;
- (b) Improve basic infrastructure services such as bus routes in existing and new neighbourhoods;
- (c) Create employment opportunities in rural areas; and
- (d) Support micro-enterprises, entrepreneurship and job

creation in the urban poor settlements of the urban poor.

2.6 Social Housing Policy

Many people in Malawi live in dilapidated housing, including a majority that live in grass thatched households especially in the rural areas. This majority cannot afford building materials for decent housing, nor do they have access to finance. Malawi does not have an affordable and well-functioning mortgage scheme in the country to provide the services more widely.

UTM shall aim to improve housing in Malawi by developing a social housing policy thereby–

- (a) Implementing an open, accountable and transparent low cost building materials programme to address the poor quality of housing among ultra-poor rural and urban communities;
- (b) Constructing affordable apartment buildings in cities, towns, and district centres to address the shortage of decent housing, efficiently use space, and accelerate property ownership among Malawians for first time home owners; and
- (c) Establishing a low interest mortgage facility to finance housing for low income

earners through housing cooperatives or private investment.

2.7 The Environment, Natural Resources Management and Climate Change

Malawi is endowed with diversified natural resources that include natural forests, flora and fauna, vast water resources, rare fish and other marine resources, fertile soils, divergent mineral resources, and more, that have the potential to contribute towards the country's economic growth.

However, these resources are under pressure as the country experiences alarming degradation of the environment. Environmental degradation has been a result of human agency on account of deforestation due to irresponsible logging and fuel wood production; worsening waste management; growing levels of air and water pollution; serious soil erosion, steady land degradation and a threat of natural diversity.

UTM recognises that a critical component of natural resources management is the conservation and protection of rare species of flora. While the country has three botanical gardens in Zomba, Lilongwe and Mzuzu, these gardens

are poorly managed, and the relevant national parastatal is under-resourced. UTM commits to an efficient and effective administration and management of the country's botanical gardens by linking the national parastatal in charge of botanical gardens to the public universities and strengthening the Government Department responsible for forestry through provision of adequate human and financial resources.

UTM recognises that climate change is a planetary emergency. While the country's contribution to greenhouse (GHG) emissions is insignificant on a global measure, her fragile ecosystems means that the country remains vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change. Already, the country experiences incessant flooding and droughts with dire consequences for livelihoods and the economy.

UTM notes that the national legal and policy framework on the environment and climate comprises the Environment Management Act ('EMA'), the National Environmental Policy, 2004 and the National Climate Change Management Policy, 2016. However, the political-economic history of the environment and climate change in this country is that it has been characterised by no or inadequate

human and financial resources.



Further, the State has failed to strictly implement the EMA and attendant policies and, on the other hand, the citizenry (including corporate citizens) have failed to strictly comply with the EMA. Local industries have gotten away with the discharge of industrial waste in water bodies such as rivers and unapproved open grounds without facing any legal sanctions. Secondly, while the country has encouraged investment in the forest sector, the management of such investment has been replete with corruption. There is a blatant disregard of licences in the running of forest reserves such that there is lack of re-afforestation and wanton

burning of forests, among other things.

UTM shall–

- (a) Ensure that the EMA is in force and shall aggressively enforce the strict compliance with the EMA;
 - (b) Aggressively implement the National Environmental Policy and the National Climate Change Management Policy;
 - (c) Provide adequate human and financial resources to the relevant State environmental management and related agencies;
 - (d) Provide adequate human and financial resources to Local Councils to enforce strict compliance of the EMA and related laws; especially lawful waste management;
 - (e) Ban environmentally degrading materials such as thin plastics;
 - (f) Introduce differentiated rates of tax to encourage 'greener products' in the manufacturing, retail or other industry;
 - (g) Aggressively implement the Forestry Landscape Restoration Strategy and Charcoal Strategy;
 - (h) Aggressively combat corruption and improve governance in the natural resources sector, especially the forest sector;
- (i) Implement clean water and sanitation practices, including eradicating open defecation;
 - (j) Empower local government authorities to fully enforce physical development plans;
 - (k) Introduce incentives for green industrialisation such as investment in recycling technology;
 - (l) Scale up investments in early warning systems and response mechanism for climate change;
 - (m) Engage global partners to institute carbon trading market for the local industry as a motivation for a green economy;
 - (n) Strictly enforce the re-afforestation of privately-run forest reserves under licence;
 - (o) Scale up tree planting to become a national priority and a national programme;
 - (p) Link the national agency responsible for botanical gardens to the public universities and the Government Department responsible for forestry; and
 - (q) Provide timely and adequate funding to the national agency responsible for botanical gardens.



2.8 Industrialisation

Over the last 40 years,

Malawi has suffered from de-industrialisation which has resulted in the closure on many manufacturing firms and factories and this has reduced industrial zones into ghost towns. The de-industrialisation has led to urban unemployment and a perverse form of structural change in which the population has moved from low productivity agriculture to low productivity survival strategies.

UTM shall–

- (a) Revive the manufacturing sector;
- (b) Provide adequate infrastructure and human skills to industry;
- (c) Create new industrial zones to attract firms for export production and production for the domestic market;
- (d) Redirect existing large enterprises such as Press Corporation, PLC, towards manufacturing;
- (e) Support the creation of long term financing system in existing commercial banks and other financial institutions;
- (f) Engage the major financial institutions, including the Reserve Bank, and pensions funds in the financing of a new dynamic and competitive manufacturing sector;
- (g) Introduce new industrialisation strategies that shall walk

on 'Two Legs', focusing on establishing a synergetic link between dynamic micro, small and medium scale enterprises, and dynamic large scale enterprises. This shall be achieved by encouraging and facilitating local sourcing by large firms;

- (h) Encourage rural industries to provide off-farm employment, markets for unprocessed farm produce, and sources of inputs for farmers. This shall require roads that link these centres to the national economy and to both national grid and off-grid electricity; and
- (i) Create a regular forum for consultation among the state industrialists, financial institutions, the research community and labour on industrialisation and the way forward.



CHAPTER 3: GOVERNANCE TRANSFORMATION



THE PRESIDENCY

The Vice President shall be in charge of at least one of the three Ministries, out of the first five



THE MEDIA

Ensure that the public broadcaster (MBC) is free from political or other illegal interference

3.1 The Presidency

The President, First Vice President and the Second Vice President (when there is one) form the Presidency. In the case that the President dies; or is incapacitated, resigns or is impeached, the First Vice President shall assume the Office of the President for the remainder of the term.

In post-1994 Malawi, the relationship of the President and the First Vice President has not been cordial, often times, due to petty political shenanigans. The text, spirit and convention of the Constitution demands that there cannot be discord between the President and the First Vice President in the exercise of State authority. At UTM, we note that the Constitutional text, spirit and convention of the country's Constitution provides for dignity and honour in the Presidency. A State President in Malawi cannot dishonour the First Vice President without flouting the Constitution. At UTM, we are committed to strict adherence to the Constitution in upholding the dignity and honour of the Presidency.

At all times, the First Vice President is a President-in-Waiting. In this regard, we, at UTM, shall propose constitutional reforms which make

it clear that the Vice President is not a mere delegate of the President. We shall propose the amendment of the Constitution to introduce new provisions on the following–

- (a) In the temporary absence of the President, at all times, the exercise of State authority shall be reposed in the First Vice President;
- (b) The First Vice President shall be in charge of at least one of the five Ministries with the highest budgetary allocation under an Appropriation Act; and
- (c) Introduction of the designation of the First Vice President as Deputy Commander-in-Chief under section 161 of the Constitution.

We, at UTM, reiterate the point: We shall amend section 91(2) of the Constitution to remove the immunity of the President from criminal prosecution while in office.

3.2 Public Sector Reforms

Within the first 100 days, UTM shall give the public service a new corporate culture characterised by discipline, ethics, hard work, drive to serve, and a focus on results as had been envisaged in the Public Sector Reforms initiated in 2014.

UTM shall ensure the full

implementation of Public Sector Reforms. The UTM shall, among other things–

- (a) Enhance accountability by conducting quarterly progress meetings that the President will chair. They will be broadcast live on public and private media where Ministries, Parastatals and Local Councils will present reports and be subject to questioning;
- (b) Depoliticise the public service by implementing, strictly, the Public Service Act which promotes merit based, transparent and competitive recruitment of Heads of Institutions;
- (c) Review remuneration in the public service;
- (d) Re-open the debate on the Pension Act and its application to public officers, especially the operation of the National Pension Scheme and the types of benefits funds under the law;
- (e) Honour the commitment made to the traditional leadership in the country regarding their remuneration;
- (f) Where the law requires amendment, facilitate amendment to allow recruitment process of Heads of Institutions and other senior public officers through public

interviews;

- (g) Devolve human resources in Local Councils to make them strong and more effective in public service delivery; and
- (h) Review the organisational structure and management of Parastatals to make them more effective and more autonomous.



3.3 National and Internal Security

National and internal security comprises safety of lives, property, natural and financial assets. Key institutions in providing national and internal security include the Malawi Defence Force, the Malawi Police Service, the Immigration and Citizenship Services, the Financial Intelligence Authority, and the Malawi Revenue Authority. UTM shall strictly ensure that these institutions execute their mandate, professionally, under the Constitution, especially the respect for human rights and the rule of law; and under the Laws of Malawi without political or other illegal interference, or corruption.



3.4 The Media

UTM shall adhere to freedom of the press widely construed as such under the Constitution of Malawi and the Laws of Malawi.

UTM shall–

- (a) Ensure that the public broadcaster, the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, is free from political or other illegal interference in all aspects of its operations;
- (b) Trigger the process, and ensure that, the Access to Information Act comes into force;
- (c) Undertake comprehensive reviews of all media laws and policies that are not friendly to press freedom; promote smooth flow of information sharing with the media and the public;
- (d) Ensure that there is high quality infrastructure that supports the production and dissemination of news and information; and
- (e) Hold weekly media briefing on State programmes.

3.5 Civil Society

UTM recognises civil society organisations as a key partner in Malawi's development agenda.

UTM shall–

- (a) Advance a transformative agenda of partnering with civil society;
- (b) Allow civil societies organisations, subject to compliance with the Constitution and the Laws of Malawi, to operate without political interference; and

- (c) Commit to review laws that impede the operations of civil society organisations in Malawi.

3.6 Foreign Relations and the Diaspora

UTM confirms the principle of national policy on international relations under the Constitution of Malawi and reiterates that we shall govern in accordance with the law of nations and the rule of law and actively support the further development thereof in regional and international affairs.

Further, UTM recognizes the well-established principles of peaceful co-existence of sovereign States under international law.

UTM shall–

- (a) Establish a School of Government to offer degree programmes and other tailored training courses for a clear, merit-based path in career national, diplomatic service;
- (b) Ensure that the best qualified personnel take up positions in Malawi's foreign missions; and
- (c) Fully implement the Diaspora Engagement Policy.

Finally, UTM shall explore the issuance of bonds or other instruments to help mobilize resources from Malawians living in the Diaspora.





CONCLUSION

UTM believes in the supremacy of the Constitution of Malawi and we commit ourselves to upholding it at all times. We believe that no institution or person is above the Constitution or any law of this country. We believe in an open, accountable and transparent government. We believe in the fundamental constitutional principle that the authority to govern in this country derives from the people of Malawi.

We believe that all Malawians must embrace the Tsogolo Lathu Culture whereby those exercising State authority must be held to account. We, at UTM, are ready to be held to account in this manner. At UTM, we are convinced that the Tsogolo Lathu Culture requires a strong leadership that is bold. We are that leadership.

UTM shall make the ACB independent from political interference. We are committed to re-opening the debate on the legal and policy reforms that are needed to ensure that the ACB is

independent in all respects of its operations.

In its women empowerment drive, UTM is committed to implementing the prescriptions of the Gender Equality Act.

UTM is also committed to firmly implementing the laws and policy initiatives on youth development and empowerment; the economic transformation of the country through transformative policies on corrupt-free national infrastructure development, a revamped agriculture and food security, health and population, a new education path, revitalised tourism, private sector development, financial services, entrepreneurship, job activation and creation (and we shall create one million jobs in the first twelve months of our Administration), urban development, social housing, fiscal management, energy, and the extractive resources industry.

UTM is committed to an effective Presidency. UTM commits to ensuring the dignity and honour of the Presidency. UTM shall not allow, at any time, pettiness to interfere with the exercise of the legal and political authority of the State. UTM shall remove the presidential immunity under section 91(2) of the Constitution.

UTM shall firmly implement the Public Sector Reforms that this country requires most urgently. We are committed to getting rid of corruption, cronyism and nepotism in the public service. We shall end the quota system of selection into public universities. We shall introduce a School of Government for the training of career diplomats to serve in Malawi's diplomatic service. We shall respect press freedom and, in this regard, UTM commits to legal and policy reforms that unshackles the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation from political or other illegal interference. And we recognise civil society as a key partner in national development and shall ensure that civil society organisations freely operate in Malawi.

At UTM, we are aware that Malawi is not devoid of well-crafted policy documents. However, those we have entrusted with governing the country have been full of talk; they have been prophets of doom. At UTM, we will walk our talk. In this Manifesto, we have spoken. After 21st May, 2019, when we have the mandate to exercise the legal and political authority of the State on behalf of you, the people of Malawi, we shall start the doing.

UTM has taken time to reflect on how it will finance its vision when

it assumes the legal and political authority of the State. The primary source shall be the Consolidated Fund. In the first term of our Administration, we shall reduce the persistent budget deficit and generate a surplus through a revenue mobilisation strategy and expenditure control measures. A review of available data indicates that the State has, over the years, embarked on expansive and unsustainable expenditures underpinned by uncontrollable

fiscal indiscipline resulting in mounting public debt and raising domestic revenue and GDP ratio to unsustainable levels. Hence, by reallocating public spending, UTM can finance its core national programmes from domestic resources. UTM shall engage in radical redirection of government spending to prioritise services that will alleviate poverty, reduce inequality and, ultimately, benefit the people of Malawi.



**TSOGOLO LATHU
LOWALA
LABWINO
LAFIKA**



TSOGOLO LATHU **LOWALA, LABWINO, LAFIKA**