

A NEW BEGINNING



UNITED FOR CHANGE

UNITED FOR DELIVERY

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT MANIFESTO



UDF - PRESIDENT

Atupele Austin Muluzi

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Fellow Malawians, Colleagues and Friends:

Our beautiful Malawi is at a cross roads. Our upcoming elections are part of a significant political transition that provides an opportunity to drive, deepen and embed inclusive reforms and transformation across our society.

The UDF positioned itself well in the 2014 tripartite elections; having made solid gains we were able to position ourselves such that we could better provide solutions for some of the development dilemmas of our country.

The last five years have confirmed that our vision and priorities, as set out in the 2014 Manifesto were sound. Some progress has indeed been made but a myriad of challenges remain. This illustrates the scale and complexity of development in Malawi.

Having reviewed our status today, we stand by our 2014 Manifesto and will stay on course to implement the programme of change that our detailed analysis highlighted, adapted to support the modest progress that has been made over the last five years.

Our 2019 Manifesto builds on a solid foundation and we believe with a strong focus on accountability and demonstrable results that is rooted by a social contract between a government the and its citizens, we can make real and positive development for all in Malawi. I am committed to demonstrating leadership by action not rhetoric.

First, we will tackle three key cross-cutting challenges, which will continue to underpin the UDF's vision and plan for Malawi:

- 1 To do better in listening and hearing the voices of ordinary Malawians who understand what they need and how best to deliver that need.
- 2 To shift our national mindset from rhetoric (and incessantly unpacking the 'what) to action (the 'how). Malawi has 'good enough' policies. The problem lies in the leadership to deliver or implement, monitor and drive real results.
- 3 We will not promise what we cannot deliver. We will ruthlessly prioritise the areas set out in our manifesto in line with what is realistically affordable through a well-managed public purse.

Second, in ensuring that all activity is based on Inclusive Growth, we will:

- 1 Stabilize the economy. We must manage our domestic debt; implement responsible fiscal and monetary policies and maximise the value of our national budget and public resources. Every Kwacha must count.



- 2 Encourage our private sector partners to develop small and medium scale enterprises in a range of growth sectors and improve our critical infrastructure of transport, energy, water and telecommunications.
- 3 Help our young people develop the right skills to take up employment or business opportunities across our key growth sectors.
- 4 Further develop a social protection system that cares for the most vulnerable (especially in cushioning them against the impact of economic reforms) and guarantee them equal access to high quality basic services such as education, health and wealth creation opportunities.

Third, we will support Inclusive Governance, meaning we will:

- 1 Master the discipline of managing the public purse (i.e. sound public financial management, procurement, auditing and monitoring) in a manner that forces the State to better prioritise spending against an agreed development strategy.
- 2 Build and grow effective Malawian institutions to monitor and constrain (rather than reward) the abuse of power and public resources.
- 3 Ensure that ordinary Malawians feel confident that they have appropriate channels to be heard by leaders throughout Government.
- 4 Establish a credible Cabinet that will deliver our development strategy; make tough choices among the ever competing priorities within the national budget and hold itself accountable to the people for delivering against measurable results. Malawi is at the heart of efforts to accelerate progress on the Sustainable Development Goals and meet our national and global targets by 2030. Our Manifesto priorities are geared towards driving this through ambitious and inclusive programmes. We want to position Malawi as a leader of inclusive growth and governance transformation within the region, the continent and the World.

Every Malawian has a role to play in this journey. Every Malawian has a voice and should be given the space to express that voice. Every Malawian should participate in growing our economy through high value jobs while having equal access to high quality essential services.

The United Democratic Front stands committed to working with all Malawians so that we can transform our Malawi together.

I look forward to serving you all and leading our great nation as your President together with FTM as your vice president.

Atupele Austin Muluzi



1. INTRODUCTION: MALAWI AT A CROSS-ROADS



Malawi cannot afford to continue 'business as usual'. The number of our poor, people surviving on less than \$1.90USD a day is growing and inequalities have further distanced our government from those they serve, the people of Malawi.

Access to quality basic services such as education and health has seen only small improvements and the number of unemployed, particularly among the young is greater than ever before. Growth of Malawi's private sector continues to be hampered by expensive finance, weak transport systems, increasing energy costs and punitive tax regimes. The country has developed a plethora of policy reforms and new legislation but they have either been poorly implemented or not implemented at all. Weak leadership has led to inconsistencies and insufficient resource allocation. Mechanisms for Malawians to directly participate and influence the way in which the government is run are fragile. Weak public financial management and public sector systems have allowed for the abuse and wastage of public resources that have been used to cater for needs of the select and privileged few.

Targets to attain macro-economic stability have yet to be realised because of weak public financial management and inefficient spending that is not targeted at growth and poverty reduction priorities. The national budget continues to lack credibility. It is poorly executed with expenditures bearing very little resemblance to policy commitments or public investment priorities. Without fiscal consolidation and controls, Malawi will continue to fail to manage its bludgeoning domestic debt. Furthermore, efforts to stabilize the economy have not adequately balanced with those to improve the business environment. The slow-down in foreign direct investment (FDI) and reduced competitiveness highlights the deterioration to the business environment. Reforms to harness the key enabling sectors for growth (transport and energy) are desolate and yet, Malawi could be a regional infrastructure hub. Energy shortages continue to hamper public and private investments. There is a severe skills gap especially in vital growth areas such as agribusiness, tourism and the construction industry. The extremely fragile human capital base is further hurt by the poor access to quality basic services such as health and education. Ordinary Malawians want a greater role in Malawi's development.

Malawi's public financial management (PFM) systems lack effective external audit, accounting or budgetary credibility. Public sector reforms (including decentralization) to improve monitoring and transparency in the use of public resources and service delivery remain ad-hoc or non-existent. Accountability institutions (such as the Auditor General, Accountant General, Anti-Corruption Bureau, Parliament, Media and Civil Society Organizations) are poorly resourced, nor adequately empowered to be effective. Cabinet continues to be dominated by 'transactional' leaders, who use their power to advance their own positions as their first priority. This lack of strong effective and exemplary leadership has led to increased exploitation of public finances for personal gain and a weakening of security, particularly of the most vulnerable such as those with albinism.

The UDF will tackle the underlying causes and will take firm action on the symptoms:

- The state has failed to create wealth for all Malawians rather than just the few.



- Malawi has a political system that allows the privileged few, to consume state resources for their own use while disregarding the voices of the many.

The UDF believes that Malawi has to be disciplined about what to do and how we want to do it. We need a clear and prioritized 'policy reform package' that is affordable. This must be consistently implemented and championed by Malawi's leaders; who must also be answerable for the delivery of these reforms even in periods of difficulty and uncertainty. The UDF has listened to Malawians and developed two broad focuses: inclusive growth and Inclusive governance.

In delivering inclusive growth, the UDF will:

- Stabilize the economy by managing our domestic debt; implementing responsible fiscal and monetary policies, driving greater efficiencies to do more with what we have.
- Encourage private sector partners to develop small and medium scale enterprises in a range of growth sectors, beyond agriculture through economic incentives.
- Improve our critical infrastructure to include transport, energy, water and telecommunications
- Help our young men and women develop the right skills to take up employment or business opportunities across all our key growth sectors.
- Develop a social protection system that will take care of our most vulnerable (cushioning them against the impact of economic reforms), and improve equal access to quality basic services such as education and health.

In delivering inclusive governance, the UDF will:

- Master the discipline of managing its public purse (i.e. sound public financial management, procurement, auditing and monitoring) in a manner that forces the State to prioritise spending against our economic development strategy.
- Build and grow effective Malawian institutions to monitor and constrain (rather than reward) the abuse of power and public resources.
- Ensure that ordinary Malawians feel confident that they have appropriate channels to have their voice and needs heard.
- Establish a credible Cabinet that will set major policy priorities of government; make tough choices within those competing priorities and the national budget and hold it-self accountable to the people for delivering against measurable results.





2. OUR AGENDA FOR CHANGE IN MALAWI

Following 55 years of independence, Malawi must generate sustainable and positive social, economic and political change for its people.

OUR VISION

We want to change Malawi into an open society that thrives on a fair distribution of resources and opportunities for all.

OUR OBLIGATIONS

We reaffirm our commitment to **economic freedom**, where citizens are free to make economic choices, generate wealth for their own happiness without undue interference from government. We believe in a society that promotes and rewards hard work. We commit to safeguard personal achievements and investments whilst protecting the disadvantaged from exclusion to full participation, generation and enjoyment of individual and collective wealth in our society.

We guarantee **Social Freedom**, recognizing that our country is a multicultural society with diverse view points on numerous social issues. We encourage diverse groups to maintain and promote their cultural uniqueness and celebrate their cultural identity whilst respecting other similar cultural cleavages. We resist any initiative to promote or favour a particular religion as the basis for public policy formulation and strive to achieve inclusivity and unity in diversity. We guarantee we will not discriminate based on race, gender, religion, nationality or disability.

We believe in **Political Freedom** and that all people are born free and are equal before the law. We promote all forms of political rights, including the right to meaningful participation in political processes at all levels to ensure that the power to govern rests with the people through universal suffrage. No- one should be prevented from political participation or be denied anything on the basis of class, ethnic identity, race, political affiliation, religious persuasion, sexual orientation, gender or otherwise. We will uphold principles of transparency and accountability.

We are a **Responsive and Inclusive party**. Our authority to govern is derived from the governed. Our approach to the exercise of authority to govern is guided by the supreme law of the land – The Malawi Constitution. We uphold constitutionalism and endeavour to ensure that the supreme law of the land remains valuable to the governed by protecting its integrity whilst facilitating critically important changes in response to the popular will of the time. We remain loyal to our conviction that Malawi, as a country, belongs to all bona-fide citizens. We reiterate that no one is excluded from social, political and economic life on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, ethnic background, race, religious persuasion, and political affiliation or otherwise



INCLUSIVE GROWTH by stabilizing and growing the economy, whilst protecting the poor and vulnerable.

Your UDF government will:

- Stabilize the economy by managing our domestic debt; implementing responsible fiscal and monetary policies, driving greater efficiencies to do more with what we have.
- Use the national budget to spend public resources on the right priorities and monitor these accordingly.
- Promote agriculture as a priority growth area and employ innovative practices to increase quality yields to increase exports.
- Encourage private sector partners to develop small and medium scale enterprises in all growth sectors, beyond agriculture.
- Improve our core infrastructure of transport, energy, water and tele communications.
- Help our young men and women develop the right skills to take up employment or business opportunities across all our key growth sectors.
- Protect the poor and vulnerable across our society by developing further the equal access to quality basic services such as education and health.

GOVERNANCE through transparency, accountability and making the public purse work for all Malawians.

Your UDF government will:

- Strengthen public financial management, procurement, auditing systems to ensure public resources are used for their intended purpose.
- Provide clear, accountable and transparent leadership across all levels of government.
- Resource accountability institutions so that they can constrain abuse of power and are used by Malawians to hold leaders to account.
- Strengthen forums for people's participation to enable them to play a greater role in our development.
- Set up a strong cabinet that champions policy priorities of government and holds it-self accountable to the people.
- Provide safety and security to all communities, especially vulnerable groups.
- Pursue coherent foreign policy reforms to advance and protect Malawi's domestic and international interest.



3. DELIVERING INCLUSIVE GROWTH



We have identified the core areas where we intend to focus our attention to achieve fast-tracked growth and development.

The Economy: We will further the stabilisation of the economy through greater investment in our agriculture sector and further build investor confidence to drive our development strategy. We will seek to diversify the economy to broaden the sources of growth to include tourism, the creative arts and ICT.

Agriculture: We will help improve productivity and the quality of our agricultural produce to better compete on the global market. Our aim will be to increase the profitability of farming for all, but specifically smallholder farmers. That will mean diversifying to more profitable crops where we can increase value through processing in Malawi. This will increase the depth of job opportunities while also increasing our exports to redress our balance of payments.



Private Sector Development: We will nurture small, medium and large scale enterprises in a range of growth sectors, beyond agriculture. We will improve the enabling infrastructure of power, transport and communications to reduce the costs to business and we will implement the 2018 land legislation to provide greater investor confidence.

Education: Recognising the importance of education to our economic development, we are prioritising the education of ALL children to the age of 15. We will also better link vocational training establishments with employers and industry organisations to include the civil service to ensure that we are training the right numbers of peoples with skills for the numbers of jobs available. We will abolish the university quota system to ensure that the most talented of our country, wherever they may live, have an opportunity to further their education and we will increase the capacity of our existing universities to increase the numbers of students.

Health: We remain committed to the provision of universal health coverage and free healthcare to all at the point of access. This means engaging in a more detailed discussion on health financing and a review of the essential health package. We are also committed to developing district hospitals in each of our cities to relieve the pressure on our tertiary central hospitals while also developing more community health facilities to cope with our expanding population.

Capital Infrastructure: We will expand and modernize infrastructure to match our vision to modernize the economy. Our core infrastructure of transport, power, water and ICT has seen insufficient investment over recent years. Our focus will be to implement the existing national transport strategy, moving freight to our railways and establishing better rail linkages with our neighbours. This will mean investigating the development of new transport nodes and linkages, particularly in the North. We will look to develop public private partnerships (PPP) for our main trunk roads to free up resources to invest more on access to the rural areas. We will redress the monopoly that controls our power sector, establishing regulated competition through more micro grids, harvesting power from sustainable means to ensure that all Malawians have access to reliable power and communications connectivity.

Land, Housing and Urban Development: Having achieved the deepest legislative changes on land governance since independence, we will implement the new legislation to provide real equity on land ownership to all Malawians. Through a digitised land registry, we will drive more comprehensive planning over all land particularly our urban centres that are under more pressure than ever. Our urban development plan will focus on ensuring there is sufficient affordable housing supplied with reliable essential services (power, water and sanitation), zoned industrial development and effective communications networks to link people with jobs to drive our economy forward.

Jobs and Youth Empowerment: Our commitment to inclusive growth is centred on developing real and sustainable jobs for all Malawians. This will mean looking at helping the private sector develop new opportunities in jobs fit for a modern economy. Learning the lessons of India and Kenya we will help the private sector establish an outsourced sector – whether that be call centres, data hubs, affordable centres of medical excellence or ICT.



3.1 THE ECONOMY



THE ECONOMY

With the solid foundation of the economic recovery plan that the UDF led in 2013 and the political stability it brought to the government in 2014, the Malawi economy has seen some improvement to stability and growth. The International Monetary Fund's latest forecast for economic growth is that of 4% in 2019 with the medium outlook, nearer 6.5%. However, a lack of investment in capital infrastructure, particularly irrigation and power, threatens this forecast, as does a recent surge in unprogrammed spending. Inflation rose from 7.1% in 2017 to 9.3% in 2018 because of unsustainably high maize prices and an increase in the power tariffs of 45%. Domestic borrowing remains high, though tight fiscal policies over the last few years has brought the deficit down from 11.1% to 9.3%. The UDF administration realizes that the success of its economic reforms will depend on a continued commitment to financial and fiscal prudence and discipline in managing the public purse. The highest degree of professionalism, integrity, accountability and transparency must be exercised by everyone entrusted with managing the meagre government resources in order to deliver prioritized and targeted essential needs of all peoples of Malawi. Our focus will be 'do more with less!'

To pursue robust economic reforms necessarily to bring stability and grow the Malawian economy, the UDF will:

- Achieve a consistent GDP growth rate of 6% and above in order to achieve a meaningful reduction of poverty.
- Prioritize prudent fiscal management by: maintaining a "balanced budget" while allowing for small manageable fiscal deficits; establishing a cost savings and waste reduction committee, comprising public servants, labour unions, private sector, NGOs and finance and accounting specialists with the target to reducing the indirect costs to Government by at least 20%; managing a tightly managed debt accumulation strategy targeted at the reduction of both domestic and foreign components of the national debt.
- Adopt new measures to improve the level of investment into social and infrastructure development and provide the means for reducing the disproportionate debt stock accumulated by the outgoing regimes. Pursue policies that will lead to a further reduction of interest rates to avoid crowding out the private sector while managing inflation.
- Broaden the tax base by expanding the catchment area and number of tax payers and ensuring that all individuals and businesses eligible to pay taxes become compliant and meet their tax obligations. At the same time, we will increase the lowest tax threshold to MWK100,000 and raise the minimum wage to MWK2,000 a day.
- Pursue deeper integration in the SADC and COMESA Economic Unions and more effective participation in international markets, to reposition the country to seize on emerging trade and economic development opportunities. Pursue smart partnerships with other regional and global interest groups/investors.



3.2 AGRICULTURE



Agriculture remains to be the engine of Malawi's economy. It is the major contributor to domestic food and nutritional security, exports, employment and foreign exchange earnings. Our agriculture sector remains very narrow though, with burley tobacco accounting for over 80% of Malawi's agricultural exports. This means we must diversify in order to better stabilise our economy and the success of any diversification is dependent on improvements in education or understanding, marketing and transport infrastructure. Under the UDF administration, the agriculture sector will continue to play a critical role in Malawi's economic recovery, growth and transformation. Key areas for reform include: food security/risk management; commercializing agriculture, agri-processing and market development; sustainable agricultural land use and water management.

In promoting sustainable Agricultural reforms, the UDF will:

- Develop a prioritized strategy for agricultural sector transformation which will be nested within MGDS3; focus on diversification to more profitable crops; elaborate cross-sectoral linkages, especially with other core public sector services and undertake the review of relevant key legislation including the Tobacco Act (following adoption of the Framework Convention on tobacco).

- Strengthen physical infrastructure particularly irrigation infrastructure to improve yield, quality and access to new markets.
- Work with the private sector partners on the feasibility of establishing an agriculture development finance facility to better support smallholder farmers.
- Evolve the Farming Inputs Subsidy Programme (FISP) into a social protection programme that improves yields for the very poorest farmers to better deliver food security.
- Ensure that, with appropriate incentives, Malawi achieves a high level of self-reliance in the production of safe, wholesome and affordable fruits, vegetables, root crops, eggs, poultry, fish, meat, etc. while at the same time ensuring access through imports to other important food in households' food basket.
- Build 'community nkhotwe's' managed by local communities as social protection initiatives
- Work with the major agribusiness and buyers to ensure farmers are able to access effective seeds and the necessary agronomic knowledge to diversify away from tobacco and maize.
- Foster private sector investment, especially small and medium scale enterprises to better develop the agri-processing such that where value can be added, it is Malawians that profit most. We will build mechanisms for cohesive private sector dialogue, representation and participation in decision making aimed at building private sector business relations and investments.
- Build a critical mass among the large number of small producers, through clustering and cooperative approaches, to maximize benefits from incentives programs, economies of scale and market opportunities.
- Retain and retool our valuable human resources, particularly our women and youth to build the capacity, expertise and skills sets required to create a productive, profitable, competitive and sustainable agriculture sector.
- Reform ADMARC to become a viable entity for the commercialisation of agriculture. This will entail a reorganisation to focus wholly on commercial activity that seeks to achieve the best profits for Malawian farmers with the crops at the right price.
- Establish a new organisation to work with farmers to support diversification to the most appropriate crops for their farms to achieve a real profit and effective food security.



UDF'S VISION FOR FISHERIES

Traditionally, the fisheries sector has played a central role in Malawi's food and nutrition and food security. More recently with the onset of climate change and other environmental influences, activities in the sector have broadened to include marine protection and the management of marine resources.

The UDF Government will:

- Develop and implement statutory arrangements for the management and development of the fisheries industry in Malawi;
- Develop and enforce a fisheries products regulations for quality control and preservation of fish for local consumption;
- Clarify roles and strengthen coordination of key stakeholders such as the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, the Ministry of Energy, fishing companies, artisanal fishermen and other conservation groups to improve management of marine resources
- Roll-out comprehensive training and advisory programs to build human resource capacity and increase the levels of knowledge, skills and expertise in the fisheries sub sector
- Encourage more private sector investment in the fisheries sector.



Malawi's business environment dropped in 2018 ranking it 111th out of 190 countries in the 2018 ease of doing business. Reforms in this sector have been minimal, especially in the last five years; worsened by poor macro-economic management. The private sector continues to be characterised by a few big companies and many small and micro businesses. Malawi's financial sector remains under-developed in comparison to its peers, with very limited access to finance for SME's (that make up the largest number of private sector actors). Malawi's competitiveness continues to be affected by poor infrastructure, weak private sector support institutions, limited skilled work forces, corruption and onerous bureaucracy and legislation. Malawi's trade performance has worsened over the last decade, with a growing trade deficit with the rest of the world, an average of -14% of GDP from 2007-2017. Malawi has a trade deficit of \$1.49 billion USD.

The UDF will:

- Pursue fiscal policies that lead to a reduction to interest rates to improve affordability of finance for investment and avoid crowding out of the private sector.
- Promote productive investment aimed at import reduction and increase export with special initiatives such as removal of import duties over raw materials.
- Simplify business legislation, facilitate access to credit, improve public-private dialogue and remove unnecessary barriers to trade especially non-tariff barriers to include implementing reciprocal tariffs at national borders.
- Undertake robust financial sector reforms to minimize risks associated with the market segment and implement key legislation central to the business environment.
- Support the expansion of banking services to include mobile banking to all Malawians.
- Further the banking reforms (including legal framework for Bank resolution/restructuring) and robust implementation of key Acts such as the Micro-finance Act and Retirement Funds bill to regulate various informal pension funds in operation.
- Reform the export framework through: meeting standards, addressing non-tariff measures through trade facilitation and customs modernization, simplifying and streamlining trade and customs procedures.
- Ensure and encourage the participation of the Malawi Diaspora in investment activities back home by offering incentives and preferential treatment in contrast with other foreign investors in certain areas including taxation, business registration requirements, property registration and access to land.



3.4 TOURISM





If Malawi is to really benefit from the floundering tourism sector, we must be bold in our review and implementation of our associated policies. The current strategy lacks a real masterplan for investment. Tourism operators are not provided adequate support to compete on what is a global market with little investment in promoting our beautiful country internationally and offering a consistent brand that our tourism operators can support. We continue to lag behind competing countries in the region due to lack of leadership, promotion and effective networks for the sector to work in partnership with each other and with Government.

UDF will:

- Actively promote domestic and regional tourism with a strategic view of the brand that we seek to promote, using all the tools available to us.
- Provide incentives and affordable tourist packages for Malawians to travel within the country.
- Establish a financial support such as sovereign guarantees to underpin infrastructure development by the private sector in-order to accelerate growth of the industry. Initial focus will be on existing resorts and establishments who would be given support and advice on potential growth areas.
- Invest in domestic and regional tourism, private sector investment especially in water tourism, partner with the East African Community and SADC members to pursue multi-destination activities, establish wild-life reserves that preserve the environment.
- Continue to develop our wildlife reserves and national parks and develop a workable compensation scheme for economic losses due to wildlife conservation throughout the country.



3.5 EDUCATION



Although primary education is free in Malawi and enrolment rates are close to 100%, only 55% of boys and 45% of girls finish primary school. Gross enrolment rate for secondary education has steadied at around 35% however only 17% of girls stay in education to 15 while 25% of boys get to the same level. This makes Malawi's scores on student learning among the worst in Southern Africa.

The education sector continues to face inadequate school infrastructure, financial constraints, a growing teacher-pupil ratio's that negatively impacts the quality and access to education. Approximately 70% of Malawi's learners lack the basic literacy or numeracy necessary to positively develop our economy. There has been a piece-meal approach to education sector reforms which have largely side-lined other key line Ministries with little or no coordination of donor led projects that has led to significant wastage. Malawi is unlikely to meet its Millennium Development Goals of universal access to primary education and ensuring gender equality & empowering women.

The UDF will:

- Will direct national and district level governance together with our supporting development partners to work more closely together and with other projects and government ministries, departments and agencies to drive more efficiencies and do more with less.
- Streamline and rationalise the education policy and implementation framework to re-organize the education sector and generate a holistic and multi-sector approach to Education sector reforms.

- Increase and protect budgetary allocations to recurrent and development spending, equitable distribution of resources across and within districts/schools along with expenditure tracking and other oversight mechanisms.
- Ensure more teachers are available, better trained and in the right place, especially in rural areas.
- Seek to keep all children in school till at least 15 years of age with a focus on girls to mitigate the challenges of early pregnancy and marriage.
- Involve parents in their children's education through School Governing Bodies such that they have a voice in their school's development and they better appreciate the value of keeping their children in school.
- Develop early childhood development centres to support and protect the poorest children particularly with regards appropriate nutrition that is so vital for their early year's development.
- Make the decentralized education system work to ensure that every child has a text book, a trained and motivated teacher and enough time in the classroom to learn and comprehend.
- Invest in M&E systems to measure and monitor learning outcomes. Strengthen capacity of MoEST to set norms & standards and provide leadership.
- Develop a strong forum for vocational training establishments with employers and industry and professional bodies to ensure that we are training the right numbers of people for the right jobs with the right skills. This will also provide an opportunity to better focus vocational training to roles fit for a modern economy such as IT and engineering.
- Work with our development partners to establish a means tested subsidy programme for our young people to attend university.





HEALTH



The UDF is committed to continuing to strive for full universal health coverage that remains free to all at the point of access. This has stood Malawi aside from many other countries in Africa and has enabled Malawi to make real progress in key health indices such as child mortality rates, HIV, TB and Malaria infection rates and maternal health. However, this does come at a cost and that cost grows year on year with our rapidly growing population. Our budgetary allocation is one of the most generous in the region, but this is still insufficient to adequately resource the number of healthcare workers to properly support our health service. We must have a more honest and detailed discussion about health financing that takes a more comprehensive view of the whole sector.

The Malawi Health Sector Strategic Plan 2, offers a credible roadmap to further improve the health of Malawi. The UDF will continue to implement this plan with a focus on three core priorities; driving further efficiencies through better coordination and streamlining of health programmes such that we can derive more value from what is already committed, identify further savings in our health budget to allocate more resources for healthcare workers, particularly nurses and midwives and identify a sustainable solution to increase our healthcare infrastructure.

The UDF will:

- Develop district hospitals in Mzuzu, Lilongwe and Blantyre as well as additional local health facilities to cope with the growing population.
- Pursue a robust e-health programme to improve the management of patient care and improve the efficiency of managing the health service.
- Implement the power for health strategy that has been in development to deliver reliable, sustainable power to all healthcare facilities.
- Identify additional resources to increase the health care worker establishment, particularly nurses and midwives to a level that supports our growing population.
- Increase focus on family planning services and maternal healthcare support.
- Invest in public health behaviour change programmes to reduce the burden of preventable illness and diseases on our health service. There is an opportunity to develop a centre of excellence for behaviour change in health for the region given the depth of understanding that we have of our population following the recent census.
- Maintain our commitment to the implementation of the latest Health Sector Strategic Plan together with the supporting focussed plans for individual health issues. The focus be to further the coordination of programmes to maximise efficiency and derive maximum value from the investment made.



3.7 INFRASTRUCTURE

Malawi's economic performance over the last decade has meant that there has been insufficient resources to wholly support the levels of investment required on our critical national infrastructure, particularly transport, power and communications. That means that any investment must be carefully prioritised against a plan. The third Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS3) offers a reasonably robust plan but instead we have seen our precious resources spent on projects for political gain or for vanity purposes rather than the development of our economy. What investment that has been made has been poorly spent, with little engagement with the private sector to wholly understand what they need to support an investment.

We will expand and modernize infrastructure to modernize the economy based on the priorities laid out in MGDS3. Our focus will be to implement the existing national transport strategy, moving freight to our railways and establishing better rail linkages with our neighbours. This will mean investigating the development of new transport nodes and linkages, particularly in the North. We will look to develop public private partnerships (PPP) for our main trunk roads to free up resources to invest more on access to the rural areas. We will establish a national water management plan to establish an investment plan for irrigation across the country, making use of all our water resources.





The UDF will:

- Strengthen the development of the national rail infrastructure to increase the capacity for both freight and passengers, particularly along the Nacala corridor and the North to Tanzania to connect with the TAZARA network.
- Investigate the commercial viability of new transport nodes to better connect Malawi with the region.
- Implement the National Transport Strategy that has received strong support from our development partners.
- Address poor governance, bureaucratic red tape and financing constraints.
- Finalize the institutional framework for irrigation services and develop potential high-return small-scale irrigation schemes.
- Develop public private partnerships for the main trunk roads across Malawi.



3.8 LAND, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT



Having led the most significant changes to land legislation since our independence we are committed to seeing their implementation. The changes they will bring will ensure that women will have the same rights as men in land ownership, it will mean that smallholders will have the opportunity to own the land that they have toiled so hard over and will ensure that we can attract real investment for capital projects in the country.

To support these legislative changes, we must invest more into planning, particularly urban planning. This needs to be based upon an accurate understanding of land tenure, meaning an effective digital land registry that identifies land owners properly. This land registry and tenure will then provide investors with the confidence they need in the land that they seek to invest in.

Our housing stock must be improved, not through expensive and unequal subsidy projects that only benefit a few, instead, we will work with the Malawi Housing Corporation to develop public private partnership projects with secured returns. This will mean reviewing the sectional titling legislation to improve the development of multi-use and multi-site facilities such as apartment blocks and will provide security of tenure for the residents and a marketable product for investors. Concurrently, we will review the Landlord and Tenant Act, and enact a Rent Act to ensure that rents are paid in Malawi and not abroad, to ensure that revenues are properly captured and that rents are more effectively governed; this to protect the most vulnerable from exploitation by inscrutable or irresponsible international landlords.

The UDF will:

- Implement all of the new land legislation acts to establish equal rights to land for all Malawians.
- Develop a digital land registry to establish an accurate understanding of land ownership and tenure across the country.
- Develop further our capacity for planning, particularly urban planning so that we make better use of the land that we have.
- Make the dream of household ownership a reality for Malawians by underwriting capital market development financing purposes for onwards lending to middle income groups in the public and private sector.



Malawi's growth potential remains constrained by the lack of reliable power, particularly in attracting international private sector investment. Electrification is inextricably linked to economic development and poverty reduction; with only 11% of our population electrified, of which 60% live in urban environments we have a long way to go. Recent investment from the US Millennium Challenge Corporation has increased our generation capacity to 439MW, unfortunately peak demand regularly exceeds this by almost 100MW. Outages and load shedding in Malawi are far worse than our neighbouring countries. Almost half of formal sector enterprises have a back-up generator which double the share found in other similar African low-income countries.

We believe that power must be affordable, but we need to look differently at how we support the generation and distribution of power. Relying on state monopolies only feeds inefficiencies and constrains competition, meaning that prices are adversely affected. We now have an opportunity to leapfrog technologies, much as we did with cellphone infrastructure. We will break up the monopoly of power generation and distribution through regulated competition and will exploit the efficiency of micro grids, new battery technology and the full blend of renewable energy sources to include waste to energy, wind and solar.

Malawi's mining resources are largely mapped but high costs and low returns mean that efforts need to be undertaken to develop the sector further to ensure it becomes an element of our economic growth. However, we support further studies of existing sites to identify any credible sources of new technology metals or minerals.

The UDF will:

- Ensure that electricity generation covers local demand reliably with affordable and sustainable power.
- Upgrade transmission and distribution systems to reduce energy losses and improve both energy efficiency and transmission interconnections to the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP) to diversify supply sources.
- Reform the monopoly of power generation and distribution through regulated competition.
- Establish the necessary regulations to allow for micro grids while ensuring that consumers pay a fair price.
- Stay on course to meet maximum demand of 600MW and cater for needs of domestic customers expected to rise by at least 1 million by 2030.
- Reform power tariffs and address inefficiencies such as by ensuring 100% collection of bill payments, better recovery of costs, maintenance, distribution losses and capital budget execution.
- Implement the revised mines and minerals act 2019.



3.10 JOBS AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT



Inclusive growth means developing our economy for all, that includes developing real jobs for everyone. We, as a country must change – we must recognise that we are competing globally. We have a fantastic foundation from which to build on and that is our people. We must harness this young, energetic and motivated resource by ensuring that there are real jobs that maximise the skills, interests and energy of our people, particularly the youth where unemployment is so rife.

Our young people, those aged between 10 and 29 make up 45% of the populace. The Census 2018 stated that an estimated 51% of the population is below the age of 18 years with only 9% having completed secondary/tertiary education. Over 70% of young Malawians aged between 15 and 29 are employed in the informal sector with very little opportunities for developing valuable skills or a trade. An estimated 80% of secondary school leavers return to their villages every year as they can neither find jobs nor employ themselves. This lack of relevant qualifications has been cited by the private sector as a major hindrance to increasing productivity (only 14% of our young people are in white collar or professional jobs).

We should be the next big location for outsourced talent, replicating the success India has had in marketing its educated populace. Call centres, data hubs, engineering and maintenance hubs and responsible tourism are all opportunities we should be aspiring to grow. The more jobs we create at each level of our economy, creates further wealth through the secondary economies; a middle-class household may be able to employ a cook or a driver, a household may look to buy a bicycle or use a taxi to get to market. As the economy grows, we will ensure that the wealth spreads!



The UDF are passionate believers of entrepreneurship. We must build the confidence of our young people such that they are able to develop their own enterprises. We have some amazing creative talent across the country - fashion designers, musicians, artists and digital developers. We must look to showcase this talent nationally and internationally. At the same time, we will develop robust forums for our vocational training establishments, employers and the civil service to ensure that we are training the right people in the right skills and the right number to support the number of jobs available.

The UDF will:

- Strive to create sustainable and meaningful jobs particularly for the youth.
- Increase access to finance and provide enterprise development skills to the youth.
- Expand technical skills training, especially to females, as we further develop the vocational training establishments created over the last five years.
- Reform the tertiary education system by making training accessible from primary school and introduce practical curriculum.
- Roll out mass participation and opportunity development centres, to offer sports, cultural and recreational facilities after school hours.
- Encourage the participation of the youth in sporting activities as a means of further developing individuals to be ready for the workplace. We will adequately resource the football and netball national teams such that they will better offer an example of dedication and professionalism to our young people.
- Establish Opportunity Centres which offer integrated services for youths, to include information on private sector opportunities, access to education and training opportunities, assistance in writing CV's and applying for jobs, placement in apprentice schemes/internship programmes and support programmes for small businesses and informal traders.
- Harness youth political participation and leadership: through political debates in both formal and informal institutions, especially within their communities, nurture pro-active youth organizations and give them space to influence policy and shape dialogue.
- Invest and provide space for state and non-state actors to groom leaders: leadership courses/mentoring for transformational (and not transactional) leaders.
- Further develop a working bursary system for tertiary education.



3.11 YOUTH AND SPORTS DEVELOPMENT



The UDF understands the role of sport in Malawi's democracy, especially in shaping and influencing our identity as a nation as well as the youth. Sports can also empower, uplift and bridge divisions within our society, provide healthy living and excellence for those with talent. Sport will be our priority social development and mobilization tool-to galvanize Malawians into a proud and unified nation.

UDF will:

- Establish youth centres, to provide sports, especially to girls including victims of domestic violence, empower young people with one stop shop on a range of issues- literary, business development skills and recreational facilities.
- Develop the sports industry through formulating a sports industry policy and developing the sports market, set out general norms and standards and bolster sports infrastructure also as part of revenue generation.
- Establish a legal framework to govern the sports market.
- Develop a coherent approach to seeking private sector financing for the sports sector and encourage more robust private sector engagement in the sports market.
- Support competitive athletes so that they can become sports ambassadors, develop a pipeline of sporting excellence and promote participation in recreational sport and unite the nation.
- Conduct audits of sports facilities and use information from the audits to develop plans to assist under-resourced areas and develop sport infrastructure.
- Promote school and student sport as a mechanism to develop healthy lifestyles among youth, discourage anti-social behaviours and develop a pipeline of sporting talent for national teams.
- Invest in sporting facilities, especially for people with disabilities.
- Develop an effective and integrated sports academy system that will develop a pipeline of sporting excellence through national corps of talent scouts, coordinated sports science and medical support, assist competitive athletes in entering professional sport careers, coordinated support to sport coaches.
- Ensure participation of grass roots communities in sport rather than artificially manipulating composition of elite sporting teams.
- Improve the governance of sporting bodies by supporting sporting federations through training in financial management, corporate governance, and engagement with Parliament.
- Build a Football Academy in the Central Region which will be a school of excellence for talented young boys and girls.
- Identify and secure sponsorship for the most successful and popular football clubs.
- Build strong grass-root football development programs in all the districts to identify and groom talented football players.



3.12 SOCIAL PROTECTION



Malawi has high levels of poverty concentrated in rural areas - our human development index is at 0.418, ranking Malawi 170 out of 187 countries. Poverty levels are at 50.7%, along with high income inequality with a Gini-Coefficient of 44.7 which reflects extremely high levels of inequality and marginalization. An estimated 50% of the population is classified as vulnerable and yet Government spending on social investments in FY 17/18 was only at 5% and mainly from donors. Malawi's social protection interventions, including the Social Cash Transfer Programme, are not coordinated, are marred by operational anomalies related to beneficiary identification, sustainability and significance. Most interventions, except for public works programmes, have limited coverage leading to further inequalities within the country, often based on local political allegiance. They also have different targeting mechanisms, which can lead to duplication or worse, missing vulnerable households. Although the Social Support Policy was adopted in 2012, implementation has been poor and Malawians continue to face very real challenges with the stabilization reforms and the state of our economy. Women's participation remains weak and sadly, Malawi will not deliver on all of its female related MDG's. Efforts to address gender inequality are constrained by poor enforcement and monitoring of gender strategies, cultural bias, inadequate resource allocation to deliver on gender targets. The recently launched Adolescent Girls and Young Women Strategy which is meant to take a holistic approach to gender issues has yet to be properly implemented.

The UDF will:

- Adopt and legislate a nationally agreed working definition of poverty as “the inability to meet minimum basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, livelihood and employment, education, primary and reproductive health care, basic utilities, energy and power”;
- Review the National Vulnerability Assessment and Poverty Mapping Framework to identify and map those persons and communities most in need and develop a database that will guide, in a coordinated way to inform implementation of social protection programmes.
- Implement the Adolescent Girls and Young Women strategy, evaluating learnings for further policy and legislative change across government.
- Ensure that parents or caregivers of every child born into poverty, are able to provide the child with the nutrition, health care and education they need to grow.
- Set out a clear and coherent strategy for operationalizing, implementing and monitoring the National Social Protection Policy through a package of well linked permanent, predictable and scalable programmes. Focus will include cost effective social welfare and care to marginalized groups (including women, vulnerable children and the disabled) and support to employment creation/labour market programmes.
- Ensure a pool of well-trained social service professionals who will ensure effective delivery systems for social support-including community based targeting (especially of marginalized groups including women), management information systems, and unified registry of beneficiaries, enhanced monitoring and evaluation systems.





- Increase number of women in the financial sector, especially in rural areas and provide deliberate focus on skills building of female entrepreneurs and leaders.
- Set out a new vision and strategy for nutrition and community based development programmes to prevent and control nutrition disorders, particularly among vulnerable groups. Increase access to nutrition information and services and prevent growth faltering in early childhood.
- Support active labour market and employment programmes.
- Develop clear linkages between impact of stabilization programmes with initiatives to cushion the most vulnerable, especially the legacy of inflationary pressures and economy rebalancing.
- Targeted support to rural and urban households (labour intensive public works programmes) and poor farming communities (rural livelihoods through irrigation) to increase incomes, enable them to manage shocks better and build household assets.
- Strengthen community oversight to monitor potential abuse of social safety nets and intervene where this is the case.
- Support people with disabilities through increased access to education and job opportunities, to ensure that they can access all the support required and promote their economic and social inclusion.
- Establish a Village/Community Nkhokwe's managed by the community to overcome food shortages.
- Develop new programmes to better protect vulnerable groups, particularly those with albinism so that all Malawians can enjoy safety and security to develop.
- Reform the pension system, guided by a review of public and private sector systems to determine strengths, weakness and specific strategies to ensure future protection of livelihoods of pensioners and their dependents.
- Implement the new land legislation that provides for women and child headed households. Assurance of transfer of ownership of land, property, livestock, and all other movable/immovable assets in their names, rather than permitting their titles to pass on to the next male heir in the extended family.
- Enhance access to insurance against risks, guided by a comprehensive review of the National Crop Insurance Scheme to assess the contribution cap, the fund management and the level of equity among contributors;



Corruption and weak governance are holding back our growth and development. Unfortunately, it is a culture that has been normalised at every level of our society. Corruption has become acceptable in some way.

If we are to deal with corruption, we must challenge the symptoms and the culture that has been established. We need to understand what the drivers are, weaknesses in the systems and be robust in how we deal with them. This takes leadership at every level of our society, but particularly at the very top. There cannot be any hiding places, if you are in a position of leadership, or supporting that leadership then you must accept that you are an example for all Malawi. Any allegation must be properly investigated by a wholly independent body and any guilt must be prosecuted fully.

We have identified core areas where we will focus our attention to strengthen an accountable, transparent and responsive government across all strata of society:



Public financial management, procurement, auditing and accounting: We will reform and strengthen systems that secure and guarantee the integrity of the public purse so that it benefits all Malawians. We will ensure these systems limit the scope for abuse of state resources for corrupt practices. We will increase the efficiency and transparency of revenue collection.

Public Sector reforms: We will transform the public service into a world-class institution by 2025, extending to local government by 2030. We will build the capacity of the public sector to implement informed policy and regulate service delivery. We will make the public sector accountable to Malawians.

Decentralization: Decentralization has been enacted; we must now ensure it works so that all Malawians can benefit from more local governance. That means supporting civil servants so that they have the knowledge and skills to manage the new responsibility they have. It means developing more open and louder channels for citizens to engage with Government. We will continue the transformational reforms and further build systems to better deliver decentralized government. This will include improving leadership of district councils and improve regional representation within Cabinet.

Monitoring and Results: We will build a results driven culture across the public service and Malawian society. We will establish a government-wide monitoring and evaluation framework, championed by Cabinet, to assist the public sector to better evaluate performance and improve the reporting of progress to citizens.

Accountability institutions and public participation: We will strengthen accountability bodies (both formal and informal) to provide appropriate oversight of all branches of government. We will ensure that leaders/public servants are responsive and answerable to the demands raised by these accountability institutions. We will provide opportunities for ordinary Malawians, especially the youth, community/voluntary associations, to engage with public office holders, while also encouraging freedom of association and expression.

Safety and Security: We will reform laws that discriminate against ordinary Malawians, poor people and vulnerable groups and ensure that all Malawians are aware of their legal rights. We will set up modern policing approaches and help the police to better serve communities. We will strengthen partnerships between law enforcement agencies, civil society and local government.

Cabinet: We will establish a strong cabinet that champions policy priorities of government and holds it-self accountable to the people.

Foreign Policy: We will develop a long term and coherent foreign policy agenda that is grounded in our domestic, regional and international interests. We will further build a credible cadre of diplomats to implement this agenda. We will review the efficiency and effectiveness of diplomatic missions to ensure that they deliver value for money.

4.1 PUBLIC FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT, AUDITING, PROCUREMENT AND ACCOUNTING



Wweak financial management, auditing, procurement and accounting systems underpin Malawi's failure to use its public purse for the best interest of all Malawians. The country continues to suffer from weak fiscal discipline, inappropriate allocation of resources to sub-optimal priorities and resultant dismal service delivery. Government leadership in strengthening these systems has been weak with multiple reforms that have been largely driven by external partners. The implementation of robust legislation already in place (the Public Procurement Act and PFM Act and Public Audit Act) has been ad-hoc and disappointingly patchy. The public sector faces real capacity constraints in financial management, auditing, procurement and auditing with vacancy rates as high as 44% across these specialized skill areas. Monitoring the efficiency and effectiveness of public finance systems has been weak and as a result they have been prone to grand abuse and corruption.



UDF will:

- Determine the causality of corruption and address these issues as a priority.
- We will establish zero tolerance on corruption, this will not be business as usual, corruption will be prosecuted when discovered and proven.
- Initiate a stock take of public financial management, procurement, accounting and audit systems and reforms to date, to ascertain key pressure points and prioritize areas for reform.
- Ensure that 100% of contracts are awarded on the basis of open and fair competition.
- Ensure that 95% of vacant posts are filled in with credible professionals.
- Raise public awareness and establish systems to ensure transparency in public procurement. Establish an e-procurement system, website to display tenders, tender plans and awards. Review processes for large procurements.
- Establish a single-point centre of excellence for grooming and building capacity of financial management, procurement, accounting and auditing professionals to cater across all institutions and specialized sector training e.g. in health and education.
- Further develop performance audits and ensure annual financial audits are made publicly available to scrutiny.
- Review and strengthen the roles of key stakeholders in financial management and accounting systems: Accountant General, Ministry of Finance, Line Ministries, National Audit Office and Internal Audit Department.
- Review and strengthen the role of the Financial Intelligence Unit and empower it to investigate cases, monitor suspicious transactions and maintain an overview of commercial bank electronic payment system for international payments.
- Establish a system to monitor large contracts and establish islands of excellence especially in top spending Ministries. Reinforce M&E in procurement, complaint handling systems for all procurement entities, contract management, monitoring by CSO's, community procurement.
- Review and strengthen the role of the PERMU (Public Enterprise Reform and Monitoring Unit) to enforce financial accountability, transparency and corporate governance on parastatals.



Malawi's weak public sector continues to function with extremely stretched human resource capacity. In the absence of robust leadership, a coherent policy and strategy for the sector, reform efforts have been fragmented and have yielded dismal results. The sector is fraught with high vacancy rates, serious skills gaps, recruitment bottlenecks, pay and allowance issues and poor performance management. Good people are not well managed. This has been exacerbated by poor leadership at the centre. There is also an unhealthy gap between civil servants and political leaders. Importantly, there have been no concrete attempts to make the public sector more accountable to ordinary Malawians. Malawi's leaders have deemed public sector reforms as politically costly given the focus on long term change that such reforms demand. As a result, the public sector has not served Malawi well, rather, it has become a mechanism for distributing public jobs and targeted benefits to the privileged few.



UDF will:

- Set out a coherent policy and strategic approach for whole of government public sector reform and administration, based on a rigorous evaluation of previous initiatives, building on fresh thinking from an esteemed panel of Malawian experts.
- Strengthen the legal framework governing the efficiency and effectiveness of the public service by consolidating, establishing basic laws, rules and processes for public sector management.
- Develop a public sector leadership cadre, equipped with leadership and management skills, organizational representation, strategic policy/management and results.
- Institute policies and practices to protect staff from vulnerability to infection and support staff living with HIV/AIDS and its associated impacts.
- Review and strengthen the human resource planning capacity, including reform of HRMIS. Modernize human resource management policies and practices across all levels of government.
- Institute Service Delivery Pacts, which will constitute the basis of accountability relationships between the public service and ordinary Malawians and commit the state to become a model employer and an employer of choice for all those committed to serving people.
- Rationalise government departments to eliminate duplicity of functions and other operational challenges related to multiple uncoordinated government ministries, agencies and departments.
- Review and harmonise conditions of service for the entire public service to ensure that remuneration is commensurate with performance.
- Institute a performance-based recognition and award system in the public service that will ensure and enforce sanctions on individual non-performance and individual accountability for misconduct.
- Promote education and training of all public servants. We will establish a skills development initiative to turn every public sector workplace into a training space and develop conscientious public servants.
- Place explicit focus on implementation and change of institutional and managerial arrangements and behaviour of public servants. We want to change both formal institutions and behaviours towards delivering results.
- Establish a merit-based promotion system that destroys elements of patronage that have become entrenched in the system.

- Partner with the private sector, to adopt strategies/practices to improve efficiency and effectiveness of the sector.
- Establish quality, motivation, recruitment and promotion systems and performance management.
- Improve service delivery through a public service that is of the right size and skills mix, with the requisite motivation, professional ethos, client focus and accountability. Increase the number of women in middle and senior levels. Institute leadership development programmes, including for women with understanding of political context and are collaborative.
- Review pay policy to give adequate compensation for skills, responsibilities and experience. Where required, provide salary supplementation to encourage servants to work in districts.
- Introduce client charters with formal feed-back methods between communities and public servants.
- Establish a “Civil Service Reserve Pool” for retired civil servants as a reservoir of experience that the Government may call upon when required. Members of the pool will be required to attend refresher courses organized by MIM to keep them abreast.
- Reform the Civil Service Commission.
- Use life-style audits to account for all politicians and public officials sources of wealth.





4.3 DECENTRALIZATION



Malawi has struggled to develop effective decentralization across government or realise the projected benefits of this major reform in how we govern Malawi. Efforts to decentralize have been transactional rather than transformational.

Local accountability structures remain weak. Political leaders have influenced the shaping of the process negatively, demonstrating that it has been to further interests of the ruling elite rather than ordinary people. Although the law provides that 5% of the net national revenue should be transferred to local assemblies, most are fraught with chronic financial problems. This in turn means that critical public services, particularly health and education suffer.

Aside from the poor financial support to local government, little or no effective training and education has been given to the civil servants charged with the significantly increased responsibilities that they have found themselves with.

Leadership of district councils have failed to appreciate the importance of their role and our four cities lack representative leadership. We will review the leadership of district councils and their relationship with central government, we will also improve representation of each of the four regions at Cabinet level and establish an elected mayor for each of our four cities to lead the city councils.

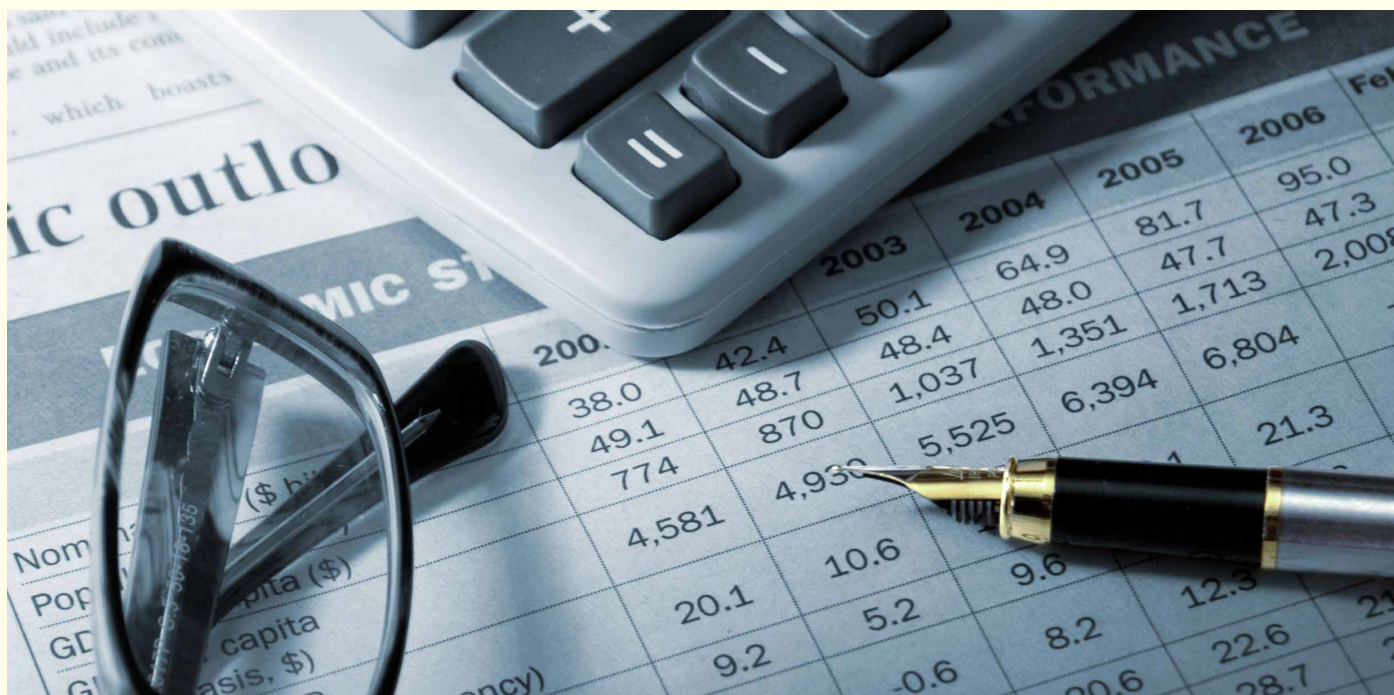


The UDF will:

- Re-orient the focus of decentralization reforms to include not just technocratic reforms but also accountability and empowerment of Malawians.
- Reform the system of local governance to empower local communities and ensure that local elections are held routinely and on time. This will enable the transfer of power to communities with strong democratic and accountable local level governance structures. We recognize that ordinary Malawians ambitions are thwarted by authoritarian micro-management, corruption and centralization of our central government structures.
- Establish a framework for even and equitable development of all the regions of the country.
- Decentralize the implementation of grass-root development programmes such as MASAF and OVOP to Regional Administrators.
- Focus on getting the basics right: staffing and capacity of assemblies to ensure that the right staff are recruited to do their job, shared sector devolution strategy, rationalize sub-district participatory structures, develop community capacities and devolve responsibilities.
- Strengthen open and competitive local level procurement processes to foster PPP's. Support creation of PPP environment. Develop a framework of engagement between local assemblies and private sector as partners in service delivery.
- Strengthen the inter-governmental fiscal transfer mechanism, including the role of the National Local Government Finance Committee in overseeing local government finances and resolve chronic problems.
- Strengthen local government supervision capabilities (especially of CBO's), to improve their effectiveness.
- Pursue political decentralization-encourage empowerment of councils and training of elected officials to deliver on their mandates effectively.
- Build functional and modern market places for vendors in all the three regions (Mzuzu, Blantyre and Lilongwe).



4.4 MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF RESULTS



Malawi's poor track record of delivery has been partly due to its inability to infuse a culture of monitoring and evaluation of results across all strata of society. The systems that do exist are focused on inputs and are not tailored to demonstrate progress in a clear manner. An improved culture of monitoring and results will help Malawi's leadership to better review policy priorities, finance them and successfully track activities while focussing on achieving planned outcomes. The monitoring and evaluation of results will provide the necessary evidence to better allocate resources based on demonstrable success and reducing wastage, a core element of our focus on deriving more value from every Kwacha spent.

The UDF will:

- Develop a government-wide monitoring and evaluation of results strategy (championed by the President and Cabinet).
- Build the demand for data by civil servants across government, along with empowering the National Statistical Office to generate more valuable data to support the evaluation of success.
- Strengthen district and community level monitoring frameworks and shift focus from inputs to outputs and outcomes.
- Publish monitoring and evaluation of results reports that show progress across each and every strata of government and develop mechanisms to empower citizens to hold government to account for areas where results are poor.
- Strengthen the capacity of Ministry of Information and Civic Education to disseminate information on results through government mediums.

4.5 ACCOUNTABILITY INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION



Malawi's accountability institutions are weak. Most Malawians feel powerless. They lack political influence, and feel that they do not have a voice that will be heard. Malawi's political elites feel responsibility only to their own groups rather than to society as a whole and they govern in the interests of that group. Many Malawians excluded from power find it difficult to seek redress. Key institutions meant to bring the necessary checks and balances on the executive, such as Parliament, the courts, the media, political parties, civil society etc. are not empowered to do their job, nor does the public demand these institutions to address these checks and balances. Further there is little engagement among these entities and are themselves undermined by corruption and violence. Malawi ranks 120 out of a 180 countries (a fall from 97 in 2013) under the corruption and transparency index. Malawi ranks 64 out of 179 countries on the Press Freedom Index, an improvement from 75 in 2013.

UDF will:

- Set up mechanisms and structures that provide all Malawians a voice that will be heard, with the right to receive information and explanation for actions and we will enforce sanctions if the response is not satisfactory.
- Develop a road-map to Constitutional Review and ensure that process is impartial and completed within agreed timelines.





- Nurture a free and effective media to transmit messages and information to and from ordinary Malawians with Government and to hold government to account. This includes providing a regulatory environment for media that is free of political control.
- Recognize the role of active civil society and encourage its focus on key issues of concern to Malawians including environment, personal security, women's rights, and youth empowerment.
- Institute quarterly dialogue forums between Government and civil society to discuss issues of national importance.
- Strengthen the representation of women, especially in political leadership positions across key accountability institutions.
- Strengthen the role and autonomy of Parliament, in approving legislation, controlling the budget process and influencing policy making. By encouraging greater participation, requiring ministers to answer to questions honestly and efficiently and ensure that its decisions are implemented.
- Enhance transparency of information on resource flows to citizens on budgetary transfers to key service delivery units, outline obligations and commitments of government and what citizens should expect and actual performance of front-line service delivery units.
- Encourage CSO's to undertake independent budget analysis, make the budget more transparent, and deploy citizen's charters.
- Roll out citizen report and community score cards to generate Malawians experience with public services and publicise the results to ensure any issues are addressed.
- Strengthen mass media development-ability to ask the right questions. Improve credibility of media (independence from private and political interests). Redress the issues of 'fake news' and provide better governance of social media to protect all Malawians.
- Strengthen the mandates and increase the budgets of the Anti-Corruption Bureau, Auditor General, Accountant Generals Offices, Parliament.
- Establish an independent, effective and highly specialised, anti-corruption unit to ensure that corrupt persons in both the public and private sector are held to account.
- Prohibit public servants and public representatives from doing business with the state.



Malawi's security and justice sector is fraught with a myriad of challenges which include: illegal immigration, drug and human trafficking and illegal cross border trade, slow and compromised judicial processes, costly/delayed and denied justice, police brutality alongside small arms proliferation and armed crime, a disempowered citizenry and inequitable access to security services. There is severe over-crowding in prisons. The justice system suffers from chronic lack of state-funded representation. A majority of Malawians cannot afford a private lawyer with approximately 33 Legal Aid lawyers in the country. Access to information on basic legal rights is also patchy.

UDF will:

- Strengthen the criminal justice system, capacity of police, prosecutors, legal aid and courts.
- Establish a total of 100,000 community safety committees and forums across the country, along with financial and material support to community policing forums and neighbourhood watches.



- Tackle incidents of domestic violence and abuse against women and children and undertake a multi-disciplinary approach to tackling violence against women and children.
- Strengthen border controls to improve security, manage immigration effectively and promote regional cooperation on border security.
- Strengthen the Malawi Police Force: recruit and train an efficient police service ensure that they are all equipped with vehicles and other equipment to perform their duties, remove service members who abuse their power/participate in corruption, strengthen cooperation between communities and police in preventing crime.
- Establish specialized crime units for Narcotics, Gangs, Sexual Offences and Rural Safety.
- Regularly monitor police stations compliance with Domestic Violence Act and establish a register/system for monitoring domestic violence.
- Make all courts free from political interference and properly resourced to handle all cases through the system.
- Develop an integrated system for crime statistics which highlights the number of reported crimes against arrests made, cases referred to the Director of Public Prosecution, number of prosecutions carried out and number of convictions sourced.
- Strengthen legal aid services, expand use of community courts and improve the efficiency of the court system.
- Reduce prison over-crowding by building additional facilities, improving management of remand prisoners and making better use of alternative sentences.
- Establish a strong independent Inspectorate of Correction Services to collaborate with civil society organizations to monitor conditions in prisons, prevent prisoner abuse, combat corruption in prisons and improve prospects for successful rehabilitation.
- Strengthen the national defence force to keep Malawi safe. Increase number of troops protecting our borders and clear guidelines in circumstances where the defence force maybe deployed to assist in public violence.
- Closely monitor defence procurement as transparently as possible and ensure it is not prone to corruption.
- Establish a regional stand-by brigade and greater intelligence collaboration through early regional warning centres.



Malawi's cabinet and its underpinnings have been shrouded in a culture of secrecy. Cabinet provides the single most important structure for providing direction and guidance to government and must lead by example. Malawi's leadership, through its Cabinet, has to be at the centre of infusing a culture of transparency and accountability across state and society. A credible Cabinet must set major policy priorities of government, make the difficult choices between competing priorities through its national budget and be accountable for the delivery of measurable results..

UDF will:

- Establish a strong cabinet that champions policy priorities of government and holds itself accountable to the people.
- Include the best and brightest minds with proven records in their field, it will not be a Cabinet based on cronyism. It will include the best men and women in their field, irrespective of political affiliation.
- Empower Cabinet to collectively lead, providing oversight of the development and implementation of the annual budget.
- Build a culture of collective decision making and strengthen the dialogue between Ministers to deliver more comprehensive governance.
- Make cabinet accountable to the people by publishing cabinet decisions and communicating policy decisions.
- Streamline procedures for planning, execution and follow up of Cabinet meetings, including the preparation of an up to date and robust Cabinet Manual to direct and guide Cabinet Ministers and ministerial secretaries.





4.8 FOREIGN POLICY

Malawi's approach to foreign policy has been ambiguous, fragmented, and lacks a coherent strategy. We need a foreign policy that supports our development strategy, bolsters trade and improves our standing on the global stage. Government officials have been reactive rather than pro-active; with vague official stated policy goals, with implementation reliant on the intuition of the executive rather than directed by a motivated and trained diplomatic corps. Our foreign policy has been highly personalized based on whims those who are in power and has resulted in a tendency to look only at itself rather than project a planned and guided image to our neighbours, allies and partners.

Our national security has weakened because of a weakened relationship with our security forces. We believe we should once again show pride in our Malawi Defence Forces and rebuild mutual respect with the Malawi Police Service. The MDF has gained a hard-earned reputation as one of the most capable peacekeeping forces on the continent; that is demonstrated by the sacrifices paid by our forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Our MDF needs greater investment to improve their effectiveness, and better protect our servicemen and women when they are on operations, particularly as the risks grow in ever more challenging environments. Our reputation as a peaceful, moderate democracy should not be misunderstood. Yes, we have a warm heart to our friends, but that heart is that of a lion and we will not tolerate any threats to our national security.

UDF will:

- Develop a long term objective and coherent foreign policy for Malawi that is grounded in economic priorities that serve our domestic agenda of inclusive growth and governance, while also increasing our international economic competitiveness.
- Increase our investment in technical analysis to take advantage of opportunities in international trading systems, bilateral relations and better attract foreign investors.
- Use our positioning at multi-lateral forums such as United Nations, SADC, AU and other strategic forums to contribute to a safer world and further our national objectives.
- Contribute to the African agenda for industrialization and regional integration for sustainable and inclusive development. We will support the AU with the Africa wide free trade agreement.
- Continue to contribute to peace keeping and humanitarian operations in various African countries and broaden our defence partnerships with allies to enhance specialist training and to better benefit from mutual integration.
- Groom a competent cadre of foreign policy technocrats. Set up an academic centre that will support the development of foreign policy, trade negotiations and diplomatic leaderships.
- Re-orient missions to ensure they deliver value for money and attract foreign investment and better promote Malawi as open for business.

- Promote cordial and friendly relations with all our neighbours in the spirit of good neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence.
- Pursue sensible policies that will promote cooperation with our neighbours and enhance peace, security and development while protecting and maintaining territorial integrity and protecting lives and property of the Malawian people.
- Pursue constructive engagement and diplomacy in instances of conflict with state and non-state actors who share our understanding on the need to promote peace and security.
- Strengthen existing bilateral relations and forge new ones that offer opportunity to promote faster economic growth for Malawi
- Pursue deeper integration in regional bodies including SADC and COMESA and engage in more effective participation in international markets in order to reposition the country to seize on emerging trade and economic development opportunities
- Continue to be involved in multi-lateral issues, particularly those that have a strong bearing on the interests of Malawi.
- Boost trade and business relations both regionally and globally and explore partnerships in emerging economies in Asia, Europe and the Americas.
- Uphold the fundamental human rights with regard to the values of the Malawian nation and not discriminate on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion etc.





4.9 CONCLUSION

The UDF stands ready to deliver a new beginning for Malawi. This Manifesto sets out our vision and intended actions to deliver this change.

It is underpinned by a sense of clarity that we as Malawians must own and drive our path and destiny because:

- We have no option but to respond to domestic political imperatives which beg us to really listen to what Malawians want and need.
- Politicians have no choice but to shift their focus from short term imperatives which are largely driven by the need to secure another term in office to a long term approach which is about leaving behind a legacy of having delivered public goods which are at the heart of positive change for Malawi.
- Collective action is the only basis for resolving most of our problems, and that it is possible to reach out across the broad political spectrum to deliver on these objectives.
- Ownership is part of our efforts to build Malawi as a nation with an identity and proud citizens.



**A NEW
BEGINNING**



REAL CHANGE FOR **MALAWI**

