

It's impunity to say 'only God will remove me from power' MATALE LECTURES **GREEDY POLITICIANS** Love for material wealth enslaving our leaders

By Julia Malunga says politicians never learn | always desire "more and more" REVEREND Suzanne Matale and never have enough as they wealth.

Covid-19 deaths near 300

Bill 10 will be tabled in next Parliament sitting - Clerk

By Julia Malunga CLERK of the National Assembly Cecilia Mbewe says

the Constitution Amendment to the Order Paper in the next be resuscitated and restored

Sishuwa pinpoints Lungu's leadership weaknesses

By Julia Malunga A LEADER with the will to fight corruption should grow or strengthen these institutions,

Levy Mwanawasa public lecture, Friday, Dr Sishuwa said corruption undermined good governance. Story page 4

Bill Number 10 of 2019 will parliamentary session which resumes on September 18, 2020.

> In a brief interview, Mbewe said like any other Bill that lapsed due to the abrupt adjournment of Parliament, Bill 10 was no exception. When asked if Bill 10 would

be tabled in parliament, she responded in the affirmative.

"Yes, like all other Bills that lapsed due to the abrupt adjournment..." Story page 4

And Rev Matale savs politicians think that once they are elected into office, citizens give up their rights to life.

Meanwhile, the Rev says the church needs to go back to its moral consciousness of speaking out.

Speaking during the virtual Levy Mwanawasa public lecture, Friday, Matale,

the former general secretary of the Council of Churches in Zambia, said the political system in Zambia only taught people to value power, material wealth and individualism.

"55 plus years of political independence with the wealth that God has bestowed on us in this country at a time such as this, the country

could simply draw from the emergency reserves without going begging. The state of begging defeats the idea that Zambia has leadership rather than politicians. The question is that whatever happened to the US\$5 billion that President Mwanawasa left in the coffers. Unfortunately, I have learnt ... "

Story page 5



not undermine them, says University of Zambia lecturer Dr Sishuwa Sishuwa.

And Dr Sishuwa says transformative leaders holding public office should demonstrate competence to resolve the health challenge at hand instead of worsening it in times of disruptions.

Speaking at the virtual

Kanganja calls for professional policing of by-elections

By Julia Malunga INSPECTOR General of Police Kakoma Kanganja has cautioned police officers against involving themselves in politics during the course of policing elections, saying all those wishing to do so should resign and hand over the police uniform. Story page 4



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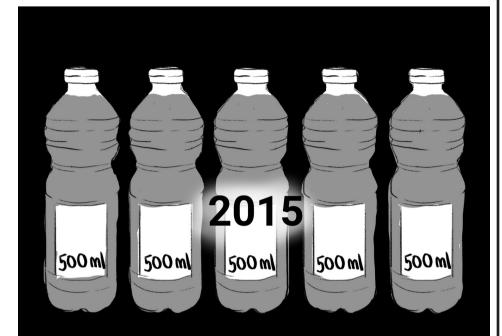
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WHAT'S YOUR GUT FEEL ABOUT ANOTHER 5 YEARS OF PF RULE?



K36.23 OF COOKING OIL THEN & NOW



By Julia Malunga PRINCE Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika says the key problem that Zambia continues to face is personalisation of state leadership.

Speaking at the virtual Levy Mwanawasa public lecture, Friday, Akashambatwa said there was a need to reexamine the political culture which allowed personalised leadership.

"I noted in the clip you played with the voice of Levy that he used the word 'we'. One of the things that distresses me in watching Zambian news is that a minister saying 'my government' or our President says 'my government', they hardly say that 'we' When Levy said 'we rejected GMOs'... it was not a personal decision and in fact, it was one of those decisions made in an exemplary, consulted national decision making. There were absolutely open public forums in which this issue was debated and it is out of that public forum that committees were made to start and spearhead moves towards that decision. I say it is very important to mark this 'we," Akashambatwa said.

"John (Sangwa) was talking about the fault line of

Our leaders have personalised state leadership – Aka

Zambia, from the beginning is that from independence, the Constitution of Zambia was very specifically unconsciously based on faith in one individual. And the debate in the British parliament leading to the Zambia independence act makes that very clear. So the whole Constitution is based on faith in a person, personalised leadership. The key problems we continue to face from the beginning is the personalisation of state leadership, the licensing of the ruling party to seize and capture the state."

He said the people in power today should take a leaf from Mwanawasa's legacy by running a collective government.

"So even as we praise Levy, I would like us to please not defile his name by assuming that he was a personal leader. He was a collective leader and that was the example we have to take from his legacy. The example of GMOs is one of them and I think that it is very important that the struggle continues. Levy stopped the deterioration in reverse of the struggle and managed to move it a little bit forward, but the struggle must continue because the fault line of the Zambian Constitution and political culture of Zambia continues as it was in the beginning," said Akashambatwa. "And if we are to follow his footsteps and build upon his legacy, we have to re-examine the Constitution of Zambia from beginning to end. We have to re-examine our political culture which allows personalised leadership. There was a discussion just now about 'let's choose a leader who has a character', all that is well and good but if it is within institutions that do not have collective leadership, then we will continue to be doomed."

Reduced value of suspicious deals in 2019 FIC report doesn't mean less corruption - economist

By Diggers! Reporter

THE Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC) must be well-funded to ensure it vigorously investigates all suspicious cases of money laundering to fulfil its mandate, says Public Financial Management (PFM-G) Consult senior economist Bright Chizonde.

Meanwhile, Chizonde says Zambians must not be mistaken to think that corruption has reduced in the country following the reduction in the value of suspicious transactions recorded in the 2019 FIC Trends report.

Commenting on the latest FIC Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Trends Report, which revealed suspected losses due to financial crimes last year valued at K984 million, compared to K6.1 billion reported in 2018, Chizonde observed that the sharp decline in monetary value was a demonstration of insufficient funding the Centre had received to execute its mandate.

The 2019 FIC Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Trends Report reported a sharp decline in the overall number of suspicious financial transaction reports, but with a record high loss of money from laundering activities.

Data from the just-released report revealed that the Centre disseminated 44 intelligence reports to law enforcement agencies with suspected losses valued at K984 million compared to the K6.1 billion reported in 2018 from 80 intelligence reports. "The long-awaited Financial Intelligence Centre's 6th Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Trends Report for the year 2019 indicates that financial constraints limited the Centre's investigations. The reduction in the number and value of intelligence reports analysed has been attributed to unpredictable funding, which affected the Centre's ability to verify Suspicious Transactions Reports (STRs) and Spontaneous Disclosure Reports (SDRs). This situation is unacceptable, considering the critical role of the FIC in exposing cases of money laundering and corruption in Zambia," Chizonde said in a statement, Friday. "The Public Financial Management Consult notes that despite the increase in STRs from 724 in 2018 to 748 in 2019, the FIC was only able to investigate 101 cases compared to 176 in 2018. Consequently, the Centre disseminated only 44 intelligence reports to Law Enforcement Agencies

(LEAs) with suspected losses valued at K984 million compared to K6.1 billion reported in 2018, from 80 intelligence disseminated reports. Furthermore, most of the disseminations in 2019 were of low value relative to those in 2018 and related more to individuals than corporates."

But the former Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD) researcher added that the reduced overall financial losses should not be misconstrued to mean that corruption had reduced last year.

"The Zambian general public should, therefore, not mistake the reduced value to mean that there has been a reduction in money laundering and corruption. In 2019, the FIC was limited by financial constraints and, thus, analysed fewer and lower-valued cases involving individuals. The FIC should be adequately funded in order to improve operational efficiency," urged Chizonde.

The Centre reported six cases of money laundering worth an unprecedented K450 million last year compared to just K195 million in 2018.

"During the period under review, the FIC disseminated six intelligence reports bordering on money laundering compared to 12 in 2018. However, the value of the disseminations increased from K195 million in 2018 to K450 million in 2019. The major predicate offences that contributed to the generation of proceeds of crime were tax evasion and corruption," the Trends Report disclosed in part. Outgoing FIC acting Director-General Clement Kapalu told News Diggers! in an exclusive interview in Lusaka that the FIC received funding amounting to between 65 to 70 per cent of its requirements last year, which directly affected the institution's ability to do verification of the suspicious transactions reports it received from reporting entities, such as commercial banks.



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Kapalu, however, added that funding had improved for the current financial year, 2020, raising hopes of improved operational performance for the Centre to execute its mandate ahead of publishing this year's Trends Report.

PFM-G Consult is a private research and capacity building institute specialised in public financial management.

It conducts research and offers training around government budgeting, fiscal responsibility and transparency, among others. www.diggers.news

Local News .3

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By Julia Malunga JUSTICE Minister Given Lubinda has begged Lukashya residents not experiment when voting for a candidate in the forthcoming by-elections.

Speaking when he drummed up support for George Chisanga, Saturday, Lubinda, who knelt down when addressing the residents, also asked them to vote for President Edgar Lungu in 2021.

"Ngamwasala ра George bwato, mwasala Chisanga mwasala Edgar Lubinda begs for votes in Lukashya Chagwa Lungu, mwasala ubuvantanshi. Nga mwasala pambi ninshi mulefwaya ma experiments. Nomba ino nshita bola tulefwaya ukuingisha. Kuti mwaingisha umuntu ushaishiba ukuteya? Ngamulefwaya uku wina kubikamo umuntu uwakutila namwishiba ati uyu alaingisha. Pa 17th September mukebukishe ukutila ati minister wa

justice ukufuma alisa ukutali ku Kabwata ukwisa kutufukamina. Nafukama uku mipela umunchinshi uwu kalamba ukutila please pa 17th September mwikalaba. Ukwamba lelo ukufika 17th ilyashi yakulanda kulanda palyashi ya George Chisanga. Kulanda palyashi lya PF (If you choose PF, you choose George Chisanga, you choose Edgar Chagwa Lungu, then you have

choose development. When you vote for another person, you will be experimenting. So this time we want to score. Can you select a person who you don't know would score? So you have to choose a candidate who you know will score. On September 17th, you should remember that a Minister of Justice came all the way from Kabwata to come and kneel down for you. I am kneeling

down because I am giving you respect and pleading that come 17th September do not forget. Starting from today you should talk about George Chisanga and PF)," said Lubinda.

"After 17th September tekuleka iyo, ku twalilila mu 2021 tukabwekeshepo Edgar Chagwa Lungu. Ngatwapanyaa apa mwishibe ati twailetelela fwebene. Ine nkesa mweba

Ndesubila namwumfwa. Fwebalipano muli banono sana teti tuwine ama votes kuli imwe mweka. Abashele mumayanda ebengi. Nomba mufwile mwaishiba nangu yesu abashimikwa bakwe bali 12. Koma lelo alisula isonde yonse. Pantu abantu bakwe abali 12 taibakele tondolo. Nangu elyo afuminepo yesu balya 12 ama disciples baliya twala imbila konse. Ine neka, nabanandi na Edgar Lungu teti tukumane abantu bonse iyo, koma ukupitila muli imwe natwishiba twalasanga abantu bonse twalabeba amashiwi ukutila ati pa 17th September ni George Chisanga. (After 17th September you should still ensure that you also vote for President Lungu in 2021. If you make a mistake you will have yourselves to blame I will come and remind you. I am assuming you have heard. There are just a few of us here we can't win the elections those that have remained in their respective homes are a lot. You should also know that Jesus a only had 12 disciples but the good news was spread everywhere because his disciples did not keep quiet. Even when Jesus left the world, the disciples remained to spread the good news. In the same vein, my friends, Edgar Lungu and I can't meet all the people but you can help us to spread the news that people should vote for George Chisanga on September 17th."

Anyone who doesn't want to be accountable should quit politics

By Julia Malunga

RAINBOW party general secretary Wynter Kabimba says people seeking to assume public office must be accountable to the people instead of complaining that they are being persecuted.

And Kabimba says the Anti-Corruption Commission has become a ridiculous institution.

Speaking when he featured on Radio Phoenix Let the talk programme, People Friday, Kabimba said it was the responsibility of anyone seeking a leadership role to answer people's questions until they are satisfied.

"I think we have to take the issue of accountability in public life very seriously because it defines the quality of leaders that we would like to have to lead this nation. Is it a partisan issue? No. it should be a non- partisan issue. And immediately we try to take the dimension of partisanship, then we will not correct the moral values that are demanded of leaders, then people will not feel accountable as they are getting into public office. And public office does not mean just becoming President of the nation, it doesn't mean becoming a minister in government. It means those of us who are in opposition," Kabimba said.

"When you happen to be in a situation where it has been zeroed on you, don't raise the red flag that you are being persecuted, don't divert the attention. And I want to start this by talking about myself. You will recall that at the beginning of this year there was a news headline on ZNBC and the second item, and I believe they line up those items in order of importance. I think the first one was as usual about President Lungu, the second one was about NAPSA taking me to court because I owed them money by way of rent default. So whoever structured those news items thought that it was important that the public knows that Wynter Kabimba owes NAPSA by way of rent by default the sum of so much. I was not the only one I am sure that had defaulted there were many others but I was probably the only leader. And they wanted to hold me to account. Did vou hear me climb to the high heavens that 'Edgar has set NAPSA on me?' No! Did you hear me complain that Joyce Nonde as Minister of Labor has set NAPSA on me? No! I knew that I must be held to account as a leader and lead by example. What then did I

do? I went to NAPSA to discuss the matter and we settled it. I didn't cry victim...You can answer a question many times until the public is satisfied that you haven answered the question you are not the judge. If I don't want that, I should quit politics."

He said it was a case of fraud if someone did not declare interest when discussing a bid involving his company.

"I don't think anybody is saying somebody sold the mines as an individual. The issue is on conflict of interest not on the sale of the mines. Because the rules that govern conflict of interest are totally different from the rules that govern the sale of state enterprise. The rules are if I am in a meeting and there is a bid on the table and I am one of the committee members to consider that bid and I am interested or my company has also submitted a bid, I must be able to say to my colleagues in the meeting that 'company X is my company, it is participating in the bid, can you record me that I have declared interest to enable you my colleagues to debate this matter without looking at my face and independently? So what will happen is that they will ask you to get out of the meeting, they will debate the bid and the bid from everybody and whatever they have debated and made a conclusion if you are still around then they will ask you to come back. Now, that part must be recorded in the minute that you did declare interest if you don't, you pretend you don't know company X and you are even debating that company X is the best. And you are bulldozing others to go your way and it is discovered that your wife or child is the director in this, then you have life. If we are talking about privatization there are many people that should answer questions there. For example in this particular case Sun International must answer at what stage did they give the directorship or shares. I have done legal consultancy for the World Bank. Their rates are very low...Even here, how many consultancies have you seen, come to tell us that 'we are World Bank consultancies' they just walk with a laptop they can't even afford a car," Kabimba said.

"There's is a myriad of questions that must be answered by everybody before we talk about an individual. You can blame Edith for bad judgement and I do blame her that she had a bad judgment getting into a pact with somebody she thought had an albatross around his neck. Does it deviate the purported issue? You can blame Edith for being in a bad marriage whatever that means but does that deviate from the issue of what X did? The answer is no. You can tell Edith your sausage business has collapsed and you are broke. Let us separate the issues and deal with the issues one by one."

And Kabimba said ACC had become a shame to the nation.

"ACC has become a ridiculous institution in our country. I hope they are listening. They have become an extremely ridiculous institution to this country. And they have become a



shame to this nation. I can't think of any other institution that can beat ACC in terms of incompetence. And maybe that must be attached to the National Prosecutions Authority. I can't imagine how they can arrest a citizen, give us the charges publicly against this citizen, take him to court, get their own witness to go and support those charges and the witness ends up saying nothing if anything, they end up saying everything favorable about that person. What nonsense is that? If those men and women at ACC had morals they should all resign because they are not worth serving the people of this country," said Kabimba.

Use Parley address to apologise for messing up

By Ulande Nkomesha

MMD president Nevers Mumba says President Edgar Lungu should apologise to Zambians for being the cause of the country's economic downfall as he addresses the nation next Friday during the opening of the final session of Parliament.

In an interview, Mumba urged President Lungu to use his last Parliament address ahead of next year's polls to apologise to citizens because the PF government had failed to live up to their promises of improving the economy.

He insisted that the PF had failed to run the economy and that there was no purpose for the ruling party to be on the ballot paper in the 2021 general election.

"I think the economy of the country has gone to levels where it is actually inescapable. Ever since the PF came in government, they have just taken away from this economy and from the future of the Zambian people in comparison to what they found when they took over office. The history of our economy is clear for all Zambians that the MMD left a very healthy economy and ever since PF came, it is the depreciation of the kwacha; it is the pice increases; ioblessness; no money in the economy; all the economic indicators have fallen and that is not what will elect the government. You elect a government in order to improve where you are," Mumba said. "He needs to lead the way, first of all, an apology

economy, Mumba urges Lungu

to the Zambian people, reset the whole process. This is not what Zambians expected from PF when they removed MMD. They hoped that their lives would be better, their freedoms will be better; they hoped that the taxes would be less; they hoped that they would have money in their pockets; they hoped that jobs would be available and none of that has come! This is the right time for an apology, none of those things that this government had promised has come out. The question remains: why does PF even want to stand in 2021? For what purpose? I think without an apology, there is no reason for PF to put its name on the ballot next year. It would be really unfair unless there is an



government expenditure, improving the fight against corruption to ensure that discipline comes back and ensure that we get forgiven our debts," Mumba observed.

"This debt that this President is carrying is unsustainable and we have been telling this government for the longest time. I don't agree that the President will have any idea on how to take a hold of the economy. I think the best way to do that is something that we have not seen from his team and that is fiscal management, feasible fight against corruption, we are not seeing that, therefore, the economy doesn't stand a chance to be improved by rhetoric, it can only be improved by action." And Mumba said President Lungu should also apologise for the failure to manage COVID-19. "The President must speak to the issue of COVID-19. If I were sitting in his place, I would pepper my speech with an apology. An apology that the COVID-19 fight was mishandled and that we could probably have saved a lot of lives if we had responded earlier by shutting down the country for some time to limit the movement of the virus. If I was sitting in his place, I would not play politics in opening Parliament, I would look into that camera and apologise to the Zambian people that 'we went the wrong way but we are willing to work with the Zambian people to try and find out our path back to the restoration of the country," urged Mumba. "If the President does not touch the soul of the Zambian people in his last opportunity he has, he must kiss government goodbye because Zambians are not going to respond to politics, they will respond to a sincere, honest and repentant President, who would wish to make things right moving forward. If that doesn't happen, the hearts of Zambians will continue to beat further away, not only from him, but from the Patriotic Front."

obtained that decision by way of fraud," Kabimba said.

He said people should not attack former finance minister Edith Nawakwi but respond to the issues she raised on privatization.

I have been seeing the reaction against Nawakwi in the last three four days nobody is focusing on the issue she raised. What do we hear? 'No you are not properly married' what is a proper marriage anyway? There are people that live as boyfriend and girlfriend and they are happier than those that have a marriage certificate. So if the people of Zambia want a person who failed to declare interest in a business transaction, they will vote for you but the others must also ask the question, that is public

He urged President Lungu to explain how he planned to improve the country's ailing

apology."

economy.

"You don't say, 'I will take over the economy, the economy responds to the government in place, and not in the hands of the Zambian government. If government has no fiscal discipline, which we have not seen, government has done very little to deal with corruption and the perception of it; those people who are supposed to be answerable are being excused. These are the issues that have caused the economy to collapse, it is not (Dr Denny) Kalyaya. The only way a government can control the economy is through reducing

Bv Julia Malunga

A LEADER with the will to fight corruption should grow or strengthen these institutions, not undermine them, says University of Zambia lecturer Dr Sishuwa Sishuwa

And Dr Sishuwa savs transformative leaders holding public office should demonstrate competence to resolve the health challenge at hand instead of worsening it in times of disruptions.

Speaking at the virtual Mwanawasa public Levv lecture, Friday, Dr Sishuwa said corruption undermined good governance.

"Corruption also undermines good governance, especially when you have a leader who undermines watchdog institutions or investigative wings of the state like the Anti-Corruption Commission. A leader with the will to fight corruption should grow or strengthen these institutions, not undermine them. There are two ways this can be achieved. One is by developing a much more open and transparent process of appointing the leadership of these institutions. Vetting should be encouraged so that the public can have a direct say in the appointment of, say, judges or heads of the ACC. It is not simply about the legal qualifications. It is also about the integrity and moral wealth of character," he said.

"How do you have а corruption-accused magistrate presiding over the case of the accuser and both the magistrate and the head of the judiciary in Zambia do not see this as a conflict of interest issue that undermines judicial integrity?"

Dr Sishuwa also wondered how a politician was appointed

Sishuwa pinpoints Lungu's leadership weaknesses Central Bank governor, a challenge at hand in a way

position that he said required independent judgement and professional independence.

"How do you appoint a politician as a central bank governor, a position that requires independent judgement and professional independence? How do you retain in your government a permanent secretary who lies that they have a PhD from Princeton and another one from Oxford?" he further wondered.

Dr Sishuwa said anticorruption institutions must be accountable by ensuring that they report to Parliament.

"It is important to create the necessary rules and safeguards that would let the public have a direct say in scrutinising some of these appointments to public office because some members of the public know the weaknesses that the appointees exhibit even before they assume office. The other way is to make the anti-corruption institutions more autonomous and accountable by ensuring that they report to parliament, not the executive, and that they enjoy security of tenure in their jobs. In many cases, the executive is the bedroom or site of many thieves," he said.

And Dr Sishuwa said President Edgar Lungu had been facilitating the spread of COVID-19 and also sacrificing citizens in an effort to get re-elected.

"In times of disruptions, transformative leaders, especially those holding public office, should demonstrate competence to resolve the that does not worsen it. Now competence involves wisdom in judgement, dignity in action, soundness in decision making, ideally founded on the best knowledge available at the time and capacity to effectively communicate what their vision is about how they hope to carry others along in getting past the issue. Let me illustrate this point with an example of how leaders in Zambia and the United States have responded to the coronavirus pandemic. At a time when physical meetings were restricted or banned, both Lungu and Trump were not averse to holding mass gatherings at a time when their governments advertised social distancing as an effective response to containing the spread of covid-19," Dr Sishuwa said.

"The problem here is twofold: first, the leader is not only facilitating the spread of the disease but also sacrificing citizens in order to make an effort to get elected. Second, the leader is effectively undermining the government's health guidelines or policies by communicating conflicting messages to the public against what they are doing. This is the highest form of irresponsibility. In the case of Zambia, we have also seen how leaders have used COVID-19 as an instrument to deny other people their rights to organise or meet. What is required in moments of crisis is the resolve to provide high quality leadership, even in instances where you are facing a major health pandemic like now. And a leader can do that through speech, regular updates that communicate hope and resilience, and demonstrate leadership through action," And Dr Sishuwa said

leaders should unite the people in times of disruption. ... unite people, especially in ethnically diverse or fragmented societies. They build social inclusion. In times of serious divisions, be they political or ethnic, effective leaders respond by seeking to build an inclusive society, one where no one feels

marginalised or denied any opportunity that ordinarily should be available to them because of their ethnic identity or political choices. There are at least two ways this can be achieved. One is through a change in legislation. Constitutions can influence behaviour in multi-ethnic societies," he said. "Let me illustrate this

point using the example of Kenya. At one time, Kenya felt that it had a particular problem of ethnicity, where more ethnic groups were overly represented in certain public service jobs while others were excluded or only had tokenistic representation. To ensure diversity, the Kenyans enacted a constitution that recognises, respects and promotes ethnic inclusiveness, and which allows citizens to challenge the government or private sector if they note that a department or unit is not ethnically representative. What we see here is the making of ethnic inclusivity in the public and private sectors as a deliberate constitutional value."

Dr Sishuwa said freedom to appoint people should not only be limited to members of one's ethnic group.

"In the same way that we reflect gender diversity in our statutes, we should do the same for ethnic inclusiveness. There is a bit of this value in Zambia's Constitution, but it is couched in very broad terms that make it difficult to enforce especially in the absence of a progressive judiciary, which itself lacks ethnic diversity among its judges, a problem separately created by the appointing authority. Of course, someone might say, 'but the president has the discretion to appoint'. That is true, but the freedom to appoint does not mean only appointing your friends or members of your ethniclanguage group or those who come from the regions that support your party," he said. "It is easy to see the absence of a woman from a workspace, but much more difficult to regard the absence of a member of another ethnic group from a board or department as a problem. No one is born into

any position in government."

Meanwhile, Dr Sishuwa said it did not make sense to procure a presidential plane costing millions of dollars at a time the country was almost drowning in debt.

"Does it make sense for instance for the leaders in government to procure 42 fire trucks at a cost of US\$1 million each at a time when public sector employees have gone several months without pay, when public universities are no longer the sites of research and making critical knowledge about the country's fate because of poor funding, and when thousands of citizens are dying from hunger, the poor state of public roads and the lack of basic medicines

in public hospitals?" asked Sishuwa.

"Does it make sense to procure a presidential plane costing millions of dollars at a time when a country is almost drowning in debt; to invest in expensive crowd control equipment when citizens are yearning for the fulfilment of basic aspirations that can prevent them from taking to the streets a job, a roof over their head, respect for their civil liberties including the right to assemble, associate with anyone and express themselves freely either as individuals or media institutions? Leaders must exercise their minds on these issues and act ultimately in the best interest of the public."

Kanganja calls for professional policing of by-elections



By Julia Malunga

INSPECTOR General of Police Kakoma Kanganja has cautioned police officers against involving themselves in politics during the course of policing elections, saying all those wishing to do so should resign and hand over the police uniform.

In a statement issued by the Police Public Relations unit, Sunday, Kanganja said the role of the police was to ensure that law and order prevailed.

He said police officers policing by-elections in Mwansabombwe should be professional in executing their duties.

"Kakoma Kanganja has implored Police officers involved policing in

duties. Mr Kanganja cautioned officers against involving themselves in politics, saying all those wishing to do so should resign and hand over the Police uniform. He said the role of the Police is to ensure that law and order prevails. "The Head of State has always said that he does not condone political violence. Be diligent and professional as you discharge your duties." He advised officers involved in policing elections not to

take sides but ensure that the law is applied fairly," read the statement. And speaking when

elections in Mwansabombwe

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Constituency

Kanganja paid a courtesy call on him, Chief Mwata Kazembe of the Lunda people said the police presence in the area should not instil fear in the voters but ensure peaceful campaigns and elections.

Chief Mwata Kazembe said he will not condone any political violence ahead of the forthcoming Parliamentary by- election. The traditional leader says Mwansabombwe is a peaceful constituency which all political parties must respect. He says all political parties taking part in the byelection should conduct only issue based campaigns and not engage in violent activities. He called on the Police deployed in the area to police the by-election slated for 17th September, 2020 to ensure peace prevails before, during and after the by-election. He said police presence in the area should not put fear in voters but instil hope for peaceful campaigns and elections." read the statement.

Covid-19 deaths near 300,

By Sipilisiwe Ncube

ZAMBIA has recorded 67 new COVID-19 cases and three facility deaths in the last 24 hours, bringing the total number of deaths to 295.

And Health Minister Dr Chitalu Chilufya says the cumulative number of confirmed cases now stands at 12, 776 and cumulative recoveries at 11, 674.

Speaking at the daily COVID-19 updates in Lusaka, Sunday, Dr Chilufya observed that cases of people being brought in ill for Covid-19 were on the rise.

"In the last 24 hours, 67 new cases of COVID-19 were recorded out of 1,112 tests done. Three facility deaths. We need to note that those who come in very ill are on the rise. Secondly, we lost three patients and these three that we lost at the Levy facility, one is a 35 year old young man who was hypertensive and in with less blood pressure and quickly succumbed before a lot could be done. Secondly we saw a 50 year old diabetic who also has respiratory distress and succumbed; and thirdly we had an 84 year old patient who had underlining diabetics. Now, we also see old age on the one end and young age on the other end being infected. We need to protect the elderly and keep them home. They succumb to COVID-19. We also had kidney failure in patients where one of them quickly succumbed. The whole bottom line for you and me is ensuring that we protect ourselves," Dr Chilufya said.

with 25 patients on oxygen

And Dr Chilufya said six patients have were discharged in the last 24 hours.

"If you look at the cases recorded, again its geographic wide spread, Mpika, Ndola, Chilanga, Lusaka, Kalomo, Mazabuka and this picture continues to show the generalized infection in the country. At Lusaka's Levy Hospital, we now have 29 patients out of which 18 are on oxygen, six critical and in the ICU. On the Copperbelt, Nothern, Muchinga, and Southern Province combined, we have a total of 16 patients with seven who are on oxygen. We have discharged six patients in the last 24 hours. And therefore when you look at our cumulative numbers, we have 12, 776 out of 123, 346 tests conducted so far. Recoveries continue to be high and these are 11, 674. And we have 295 deaths where 100 are classified as COVID deaths and 195 AS COVID associated deaths," said Dr Chilufya.a

Parliament sitting - Clerk

Bill 10 will be tabled in next

By Julia Malunga

CLERK of the National Assembly Cecilia Mbewe says the Constitution Amendment Bill Number 10 of 2019 will be resuscitated and restored to the Order Paper in the next parliamentary session which resumes on September 18, 2020.

In a brief interview, Mbewe said like any other Bill that lapsed due to the abrupt adjournment of Parliament, Bill 10 was no exception.

When asked if Bill 10 would be tabled in parliament, she responded in the affirmative.

"Yes, like all other Bills that lapsed due to the abrupt adjournment of Parliament, Bill 10 will be resuscitated and restored to the Order Paper in accordance with Standing Order Number 126 of the Standing Orders of the House," said Mbewe.

Parliament adjourned sine die on July

21, 2020, ahead of schedule due to escalating cases of COVID-19 at the time, which saw 15 members of parliament and 11 staff of the National Assembly testing positive to the novel Coronavirus.

And on July 23, 2020, justice minister Given Lubinda had clearly indicated that Bill 10 would return to Parliament, whether opposers liked it or not.

"Standing Orders of parliament do not provide that no, because Parliament has been adjourned, therefore, the business of the House has been killed, no. Whether they like it or not, when Parliament resumes, whatever was on the Order Paper and whatever should be brought to Parliament shall be brought. Whatever was on the Order Paper the time of Parliament adjournment will be brought back on the Order Paper when Parliament resumes," Lubinda had said.

The love for material wealth has enslaved politicians – Matale

By Julia Malunga **REVEREND** Suzanne Matale says politicians never learn and never have enough as they always desire "more and more" wealth.

And Rev Matale says politicians think that once they are elected into office, citizens give up their rights to life.

Meanwhile, the Rev says the church needs to go back to its moral consciousness of speaking out.

Speaking during the virtual Levy Mwanawasa public lecture, Friday, Matale, the former general secretary of the Council of Churches in Zambia, said the political system in Zambia only taught people to value power, material wealth and individualism.

"55 plus years of political independence with the wealth that God has bestowed on us in this country at a time such as this, the country could simply draw from the emergency reserves without going begging. The state of begging defeats the idea that Zambia has leadership rather than politicians. The question is that whatever happened to the US\$5 billion that President Mwanawasa left in the coffers. Unfortunately, I have learnt over the years that politicians never learn and they never have enough and they want more and more. In the end, the love for material wealth enslaves them not by force but by selfishness. This phenomenon is self-defeating because Jesus says 'what does it profit a man to gain the whole world and yet forfeit his

soul?' Politicians do not think about what they were before elections, they were merely ordinary people like everyone else, alas they soon forget once in office, they become super powers, each with a kingdom and territory to protect," Rev Matale said.

"That is why the impunity is there when one leader says 'only God will remove me from power'. The political system we have only teaches people to value power, value material wealth and individualism. I am so sorry for the young people in this country who do not know any better. Politicians have never heard of being in business for common good; this is not in their manifesto... Power is a double edged sword, it can do good for humanity or harm humanity."

She said many politicians

claimed they were Christians when they acted contrary to the principles and values of Christianity.

"Politicians do not understand that their titles of minister of this are derived from a Latin word called servant, assistant attendant to the people. They say once in power, let us make hay while the sun shines. They do not even pretend or hide that fact and this is a sign of insecurity. And then, no one asks questions for some reasons some politicians are insecure. When leaders are insecure, they live in fear of the unknown and in the process, alienate themselves from people. A secure leader's first point of call will be to develop potential in others, motivate, train, empower, groom people for service, you cannot lead

alone," Rev Matale said.

"...And also, most politicians are comfortable with deceit; they effectively use this to exploit innocent people. Give them a little here and there, they say 'because they are just God's simple people, they accept the little in return for a vote, they don't know any better. They cannot begin to see the deceit and exploitation, they have no experience for a better life, they accept life just as it is. Give them a little and they will be fine until the next elections."

And Rev Matale said there was a difference between politicians and leaders.

"I want to submit that leadership is not incidental. In fact, good leadership must manifest at its best in moments of crisis. Coming from a faith background, I am tempted to

state the hypothesis that God bequests leadership to human beings for the purpose of carrying out the crucial task of redeeming people from the batterings of the world and to lead them to peace, justice, dignity and prosperity and so my thoughts on this subject of leadership is that it is very unlikely these days to have a leader like our late president Levy Mwanawasa, very rare," Rev Matale said.

When asked how the church could be fully involved in the affairs of the country without bias, she said church needed to go back to the drawing board.

"We have a very huge challenge here in Zambia for the church to get involved in the affairs of the country because of what has transpired over the years. You have

seen how the church and the politicians or leaders have narrowed the gap, it is very difficult to see the divide between the government and the church as it was before when the church was strong, the Church spoke, it was the moral conscious of the nation but we don't see that anymore," said Rev Matale. "It looks like the church is also having its own challenges and the church needs to deal with that because we need to go back to the drawing board and see where it has gone wrong. We are the ones with moral consciousness, we must be the ones that must look and speak the truth to power. That is not happening anymore. The church has to work very hard to get back to its position of being a moral consciousness of the nation."

Bowman donates K120,000 to Luanshya marketeers

By Daniel Chansa

PATRIOTIC Front Copperbelt Mobilization Committee Chairperson Bowman Lusambo has donated K70, 000 and K50,000 cash to Roan and Mpatamato marketeers in Luanshya respectively.

And Lusambo has launched the PF Copperbelt party campaign and mobilization activities ahead of the 2021 general elections.

But Roan NDC member of parliament Joseph Chishala says no amount of money from questionable

sources will make voters change their minds about kicking out PF in 2021.

Addressing party officials from the mobilization committee at Buteko school, Lusambo, who is also Lusaka Province Minister and Kabushi PF member of parliament, said President Lungu was headed for a morning victory.

"My coming here is to start the mobilization of the party. What we have come to do is to unveil the District mobilization team for

Luanshya district. We are not here to get positions for those on structures, because we know they can't be in everything area. We need to work together. The bigger picture is for Edgar Lungu back to State House. Our campaign is on issues. Edgar Lungu has worked things that [were] never seen in Zambia," Lusambo said.

"Edgar Lungu today walks with his head high because he has done what others failed to do. If you come to Lusaka, you can even get

lost. Edgar Lungu wants to see that all Zambians change their lifestyle. Edgar Lungu will not come here to give you money, but will ensure that there is more money in people's pockets. [Our role] as government of Edgar Lungu is to create an environment that will prosper the people. So we don't have enough time to keep talking. We need to get down to the people from ward to ward. This is the time that we have."

Continues on P7





2021 budget expectation-Agriculture and Trade with Dr Simon Manda

N THE next few weeks, the Minister of Finance will be back to his long tradition: delivering his budget speech. Expectations are mixed in part because of the current troubling economic situation facing Zambia with recent social commentators preaching recession. Yet, Zambians must still find the positivity in themselves and look forward to the Budget speechat least for the fact that this affects every Zambian in all sectors. The budget helps citizens to assessGovernment's internal logic in terms of domestic priorities towards stimulating the economy - a fittingly relevant theme that underpinned the 2020 budget. This seriesconcentrates on the centrality of public expenditure in driving agriculture transformation - what others characterise as unlocking the sector's potential. The series will focus on specific achievements as well as perceived gaps, and most importantly expectations of the 2021 budget vis a vis trade and agriculture. Through these series, i hope to re-ignite national conversation around budgeting and agriculture in Zambia and where efforts might be needed in order to unlock the potential in the sector as well as help in building livelihood resilience in the face of COVID-19. Agricultural trade will likely be affected depending on export destinations such as South Africa and China.

Broadly speaking, releasing the powers of agriculture and ruraldevelopment will greatly contribute to theachievement of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). SDGs brought optimism around the roleof agriculture in national development, enhancing the prominence of agriculture across many of the 17SDGs. However, the generic nature of SDGs means that the onus is on national governments to provide adequate funding for transforming the sector. Indeed, recent reports show that agriculture is widely supported by the public sector through institutional backing, extension services, the marketing of commodities, inputsupply and legislation on land use. And that both theory and practiceshow that the formal and informal institutional systems havea decisive influence on fiscal performance, includingaggregate fiscal discipline; the allocation of resources according to strategicpriorities; and the effective use of resources for strategic priorities. In thiscontext, the quality of public expenditure budgeting is therefore acritical factor for agricultural and rural development.Yet, in most developing countries such as Zambia, public expenditure onagriculture has stagnated or declined in the recent past.

sectoral development approach. Efforts have been made to re-organise agriculture sector in Zambia from FISP, to extension services and market linkages including crop diversification. The introduction of the E-voucher feeds into these efforts aimed at driving crop diversification, efficiency in input distribution, drive wide private sector participation in agriculture and most importantly engender efficient use of public resources more broadly. Crop diversification has ranked high on the agenda on agriculture with crops such as soya bean being on the rise, driving rural income disbursement with private companies encouraged as off-takers. A clear private sector dynamic is unfolding which can drive commercialisation of agriculture. Not only that, there has equally been a drive towards promotion of out-grower and irrigation schemes across the country around marketed linked value chains, with efforts aimed at agricultural marketing and financing. Elsewhere efforts are being made at reviewing the Food Reserve Bill and Agriculture Act, redefining roles and functions.

However, as with other countries, Zambia's budgeting for agriculture has been low and fluctuating. In the past three years, the share of the national budget has moved from 9.4%, 8.3%, 6.1%, 3.7% in 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 respectively. In 2020, this has been about 25% decline in public expenditure on agriculture. In monetary terms, the 2020 budget present a decline from ZMK5.3 billion in 2019 to ZMK 3.97 billion. More widely, the Africa Development Bank reports: Real GDP growth slowed to an estimated 2% in 2019, down from 4.0% in 2018. Economic activity is expected to remain weak, with growth rebounding moderately to 2.4% in 2020 and 2.9% in 2021. Fitch Solutions report whilst net exports will increase in 2020, lower domestic consumption and investment due to COVID-19 will push the economy into recession, with a forecast that GDP will return to growth of 3.1% in 2021 - below historical averages. Overreliance on no concessional external borrowing since 2012-to finance large-scale infrastructure projects-has resulted in large fiscal deficits since 2014 (going from 6.5% of GDP in 2013 to 12.1% in 2015, 10.5% in 2018, and 7.7% in 2019). Large domestic payment arrears have also accumulated (9.7% in 2019). The rapidly increasing public debt (80% of GDP at the end of 2019, up from 35% at the end of 2014) places Zambia at a high risk of highlight what I believe would be the ideal frame debt distress (\$11.2 billion by February 2020). Inflation rose from 7.5% in 2018 to 9.2% in 2019 and is expected to remain at 9% in 2020-21, pushed by large exchange rate depreciations and food price increases. The current account deficit is expected to widen to 2.8% of GDP in 2020–21 due to increased public investments

and mining sector imports, and higher debtservice payments reduced foreign reserves to 1.6 month of imports at the end of 2019.At issue here is the political dimension of actual spending in the sector that relates to the duo social objectives specifically, the fertiliser input support program on the one hand and strategic grain serve drive under the Food Reserve Agency. Any changes to the sector budgeting will thus have resource implication and the wider economic situation might be constraining rather than promulgating.

To understand this, there is need to locate this conversation in the wider context such as through the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) Compact to which Zambia is a signatory since 18th January 2011. CAADP's objectives include the need to enhance investment finance, both public and private, to agriculture, committing countries to allocate at least 10% of public expenditure to agriculture, and to ensure its efficiency and effectiveness. Recent assessment of Zambia's commitment to CAADP and through public expenditure in Agriculture on the one hand and enhancing access to finance on the other shows a very poor performance of the country. Underpinning such poor performance has been poor economic performance and failure of budget systems in the country, some of which are defined at constant prices. Recent reports show there is lack of political linkage between planning andbudgeting, contributing to poor budgeting outcomes on the macro, strategicand operational levels. The argument is that policy development, planning and budgeting in agriculture occur independently of each other. In Zambia, we have seen annual budgetsbeing relegated narrowly to allocating donor resources, nationally funded investment projects and the non-wage portion of the operating budget.

This background means key questions abound: what do we need to see in the 2021 agriculture budget? How does the wider poor economic performance affect prospects in the agriculture sector? What will be related budget composition be like? And tax incentives if any? In the next article I will attempt to address some of these elements in order to highlight key elements that can be deployed nationally in order to transform and most importantly drive processes of commercialisation in the agriculture sector amidst the pandemic. I will

The centrality of the agricultural sector in Zambia points to policy attention by the government in the recent past. The 7th National Development Plan for instance departs from sectoral-based planning to an integrated multifor public expenditure in agriculture.

About the Author:Dr Simon Manda is a Senior Researcher for Trade and Development at CTPD. He is also a Lecturer at the University of Zambia Department of **Development Studies.**



Local News .7

By Sipilisiwe Ncube LUSAKA lawyer Joseph Chirwa says UPND leader **Hichilema's** Hakainde decision to take his FDD counterpart Edith Nawakwi to court will not solve anything.

And Chirwa says the debate about privatisation is a political issue which Hichilema should address with political answers.

Hichilema has sued Nawakwi for libel following her repeated statements that the UPND leader had illegally personally benefitted from the privatization process in the 1990s.

However, Chirwa said in addition to the explanation he gave on Hot FM, Friday, Hichilema should do more to retrieve documents from Patents and Companies Registration (PACRA) and have them published for all to see.

"I sympathise with Mr Hichilema. The issue of privatisation came in 2006. Mr Hichilema should remove his advisors and replace them with people who are capable of giving him proper advice. Let's say

Taking Nawakwi to court won't solve anything, lawyer advises HH

the court tomorrow says Ms Nawakwi should pay US \$3 million to Mr Hichilema, is it going to clear his name? It will not. Mr Hichilema should do what Michael Sata did. Right now, Mr Hichilema should have reported himself to the ACC so that his name is cleared. So, whether or not Mr Hichilema is guilty is not an issue. But going to court and suing Nawakwi is not the answer to the question because it is not only Nawakwi who has those questions," Chirwa said.

"Mr Hichilema is vying for presidency and he is just a heartbeat away from being president. Let him provide answers to the questions that have been asked about him. Taking Nawakwi to court will not resolve anything. [In that interview on Hot FM], he asked me a citizen to go to PACRA to go and check the records there. Do you think citizens from Bauleni can go to PACRA to go and check the records? The interview was on point but he should go a step further. He should go



and retrieve those forms from PACRA and publish them for Zambians." He said the debate around

privatisation was a political issue which needed political answers. "There is no legal answer to the questions on

By Diggers! Reporter THE Chitimukulu of the Bemba speaking people of Northern Province and several other traditional leaders who are shareholders in Luapula Hydropower Corporation Limited (LHCL) are facing arrest for not surrendering two water rights.

Luapula of Directors Hydropower are also facing arrest for not surrendering the water rights despite them appealing the Water Resources Management Authority (WARMA)'s order that their 25-year water permits over the Kabwelume and Kundabwika waterfalls for a power project be surrendered because they had

privatisation. It is a political question and we all know that. The question on privatisation started a long time [ago], but why has it come today? It is politics. So, Mr Hichilema should have a political answer to the issue at hand. Quite alright, Mr Hichilema has a right as a citizen to protect his integrity by suing for defamation but that is just

one per cent of the solution. What I am going to tell Mr Hichilema is that he should do more to clear his name, so that all of us who are voters are able to get a perspective," said Chirwa. "As long as he keeps the truth swept under the carpet, there will always be suspicions. In as much as it is unfair to Mr Hichilema, I believe a lot should be done for Mr Hichilema to clear his name. And this issue cannot be put to bed by taking people to court."

Chitimukulu, others face arrest over water rights

been cancelled.

Luapula Hydropower raised funding for the whole project through Berkeley Energy, which is funded by ADB and CDC but WARMA is seeking prosecution of the directors and shareholders for refusing to surrender the water rights under contention.

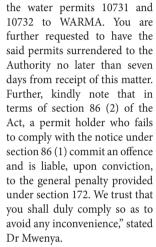
The Chitimukulu is a shareholder on behalf of the Bemba Royal Establishment (BRE), together with Chief Mukupa Katandula, Chief Kapena (Nchelenge), Chief Mumpolokoso, Chief Mushota (Kawambwa) and the Mwata Kazembe of Luapula Province.

The directors and shareholders of LHCL have since been issued with summons and are expected to appear in the Lusaka Magistrates' Court today (Monday).

In a letter dated August 6, 2020, WARMA board chairperson Dr Wilson Mwenya stated that authority, in its meeting held on the same date, had established that the two water permits number 10731 and 10732 issued to the company were in contravention of the provisions of the WARMA Act No. 21 of 2011.

He explained in his letter that the two permits issued to Luapula Hydropower were not granted by the WARMA Board of Directors, which was the only entity mandated by the Act to grant water permits.

"The Board of Directors was not in place at the time of the grant. Therefore, in terms of Section 86 (1)(c) of the Act, this serves as a notice for



you to forthwith surrender

However, Luapula Hydropower stated in response to WARMA's letter that the reasons for cancellation of the rights were flawed and said the decision was illegal as there was a consent judgment entered into between itself and WARMA on the same water rights.

Luapula Hydropower further appealed to the Minister on September 2, 2020, seeking nullification of the cancellation of the water rights.

The company stated that WARMA's decision was unfair "as well as clothed in unquestionable malice, illegality and unreasonableness".

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Bowman donates K120,000 to Luanshya marketeers

From P5

He said the mobilization committee would not interfere with party structures.

This committee is not for causing confusion. We are all PF so we need to just work together. So just know that 2021, it's Edgar Lungu 'dinda', and the opposition will know. Luanshya should be a no go area for opposition. Let us mobilize those that are not PF. Let us market the good that President Lungu has done," said Lusambo.

Later, Lusambo toured market Mpatamato in Luanshya where he donated K50,000 cash to the marketeers, before donating another K70, 000 to Roan market.

PF Copperbelt Chairman Nathan Chanda said the PF would deliver all the Parliamentary seats.

But in a comment posted on his Facebook page, Chishala wondered where PF was getting such kind of money to bribe voters with.

"It has come to my attention that those people who came to cheat you during the 2019 Roan bye election campaigns which made me victorious sneaked in to my constituency yesterday. Roan constituency is my constituency and I expect any government official who comes to my constituency, I must be the first one to know, but I

wonder the continued trend by some government officials sneaking in to my constituency dish out monies and off they go. Yesterday a group of government officials namely Lusaka Province Minister Honourable. Bowman Lusambo, Chifubu Member of Parliament Honourable Frank Ngambi & Ndola Mayor his worship Amon Chisenga trespassed in to my constituency without my knowledge, this is cowardice of its worst kind by PF and only God knows what their intentions were," Chishala

wrote.

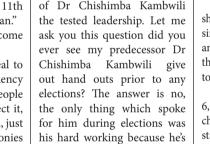
"As for Lusaka Province Minister Bowman Lusambo he has lamentably failed in his constituency in Kabushi and he wants to come and show off in Roan by dishing out monies what kind of nonsense is that? The above people visited Mpatamatu and Roan Markets where they dished out colossal sums of monies. I want to challenge the ruling party to tell us were PF is getting all the monies they are dishing country wide. PF has got no business as a party and we wonder how the party has become so rich to an extent that even a nobody is able to donate monies in communities. Zambians can't be fooled any more, Zambians know very well that the current schemes of PF in dishing out monies

across the country is to buy a sympathy vote come 2021 and Zambians have vowed to teach PF a lesson come 2021 just like they did it during the 11th April 2019 elections in Roan." He said PF had become

very desperate. "I want again to appeal to

my people in my constituency that whenever such people brings money please collect it, that money belongs to you, just like you collected the monies prior to the Roan bye elections, the ruling party has become so desperate and seeing to it that they have failed to deliver according to the people's expectations they have resulted in dishing out monies with questionable sources 'aikona man' eat the monies, but come 2021 let's show these corrupt chaps that 'ukutumpa washya kumushi' PF kuyabebele come 2021. If the monies they came to give is genuine these people would have informed me about it, but now you know them I don't even need to explain this to you my people," said Chishala.

"Let's vote out these people come 2021 and vote in the National Democratic Congress Party under the leadership of Dr Chishimba Kambwili a genuine leader. The same with me you gave me the mandate to represent you my people in parliament and you have seen for yourselves what projects we have undertaken in our constituency with the little money left on the 2018 Constituency Development Funds and I and my office have promised to undertake more projects with the 2020 CDF. Let me also take this time to warn the unreasonable leaders in PF that the next time you decide to enter my constituency without informing me, I will have no option but to charge you for



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he period we are now entering is very crucial to the democratic process of our country. We are very close to another decisive election. This is a process when the state of our so-called democracy is put to the test. It is a time for the electorate to evaluate the performance of the leaders and also to analyse the vision of would be leaders.

Unfortunately. our evaluation of the current leadership makes sad reading. Here we are as a country with a leadership that, instead of slowing down with its abuse of state power, is rather escalating its authoritarian streak and pushing towards a prolonged stay in government.

We know that Zambians know how to use their electoral moments very well when they can and that it is the young people of this country who determine the electoral outcome, but we are worried to observe that during this period, authoritarian regimes always attempt to subvert electoral choices. They do not do this on the day of elections, but way before. They use various methods of manipulating the voters' roll and thereby deterring the will of the people.

African dictators have become so sophisticated from country to country because they are now copying ideas from each other in

ew ders Ear to the ground

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Don't leave the fight against tyranny to politicians alone

manipulating democratic provisions of the Constitution. In almost all elections, there are external partners, there are foreign powers that are investing technology and financial support to authoritarian leaders to help them subvert the people's electoral choices.

This is what we see happening in Zambia. Our leaders seem to know that the number of the youth population that is unemployed, that is languishing on the street, that is capable of influencing the electoral outcome, is overwhelming. But they are not ready to go without a fight, so tyranny is also organising itself in a

manner never seen before. It is worrying when a country reaches this level of desperation because it means our tyrannical leaders will do everything in their power to defeat the very tenets of democracy.

It is almost a uniform action by all tyrannical regimes to establish means of watering down the Constitutions in their favour, while claiming to be doing so on behalf of the people. They deploy the coercive apparatus of the state to suppress alternative voices and shut down free speech and so on. Again, this is what we see happening in our country.

When you look at the speed at which the PF

government has moved with their so-called statutory self-regulation of the media, it speaks to the ruling party's agenda of narrowing further the operating space for critical private media. The timing of this calculated intervention fits very well into the narrative that this regime is preparing for a long stay in power, with or without a legitimate mandate from the people.

We want to urge all institutions of governance in this country to take the side of the people. It is time all the people employed in ministries, parastatals and all strategic state institutions such as the **Electoral Commission**

of Zambia, the Judiciary and law enforcement agencies to begin to think about their future and the future of their children. They need to ask themselves what kind of a Zambia they want to leave behind.

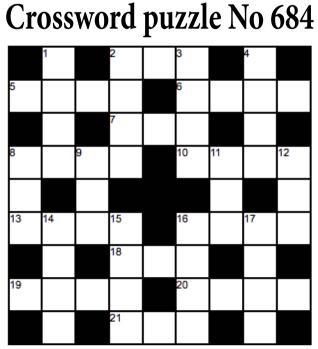
Tyrannical regimes are nothing without these institutions agreeing to be compromised, and it starts from the choices that individuals make. No leader of these critical institutions can deliver the wishes of their oppressive appointing authorities if the workforce on the ground refuses to bend the rules of democracy. These are the foot soldiers we are appealing to. You are the hope and the future of this country and it is time

you began to embody the revolutionary spirit, giving no chance to those who wish to subvert the will of the people in the electoral process.

Authoritarianism, state capture and tyranny cannot be fought by the opposition because they are just as much an interested party in the electoral process. While we appreciate the fact that the opposition has the responsibility to provide checks and balances and to demand political and fiscal accountability, we believe that they, too, need to be carefully examined. Therefore, it is a heavier responsibility on the common man to decide who must lead the country and how they must lead.

This common man is the bus driver, the doctor, the teacher, the farmer, the junior civil servant in a ministry, the judge and the lawyer, the investigator at ACC, DEC, FIC, ZRA, and the employees of the **Electoral Commission** of Zambia, among others. You have the power to change the course of this country. Don't surrender the fight for mother Zambia to the political leadership of the opposition, don't leave the fight in the hands of machete wielding and gun-toting cadres. It's your country, play your part in retrieving it from the jaws of dictatorship.

"There is no disgrace in being knocked down, there is only shame in not getting back up; never quit!" - Ken Poirot



Across	Down
2. Wee drink	1. Pooh, for one
5. Spill the beans	2. Close a door loudly
6. "My bad!"	3. Survey
7. Everything	4. E-junk mail
8. Bleak	8. Pump it into cars
10. Floor or table light	9. Summer cooler
13. Small storage structure	11. American Automobile Assoc.
16. Rouse from sleep	12. A dessert
18. Make do	14. Leader
19. Volcanic flow	15. Unhearing
20. British title	Garden intruder
21. Passing fancy	Small motor vehicle

Crossword puzzle No 683





HH's demand for \$3m, public apology from Nawakwi

Editor,

"HH is smart am sure he has done all the calculations as to how much legana makes! Then made that charge! I think these are the brains we need in Zambia we need him as president!" - Hon Steward Manenga

"Those saying it's a wrong

move may I ask this question.. Which one is a right move? Because the only place legal matters are to be solved is the courts of law not Media houses!" - Hanif Badat

"He has done well so that all the accusers can bring out the evidence of how a private citizen can privatize a mine". -Noritah Mwanza

ZICTA's fine of K5.4m to all 3 mobile networks for poor service

Editor,

"This WILL NEVER **IMPROVE** Quality of Service (QoS). As long as ZICTA keeps impose this style of fines, when those *impacted by the lack of it* are consumers, Direct fines should be appropriated by reaversing and rewarding consumers with the very service denied. Punish them by providing Free Data and On Net Minutes by Calculated Volume. Sorry ZICTA but this just makes sure your employees are paid while the consumer continues to suffer!!!" -Sydney Gondwe

"These fines should result in that money paying refunds to customers for loss of service, not just a source of income for whenever Zicta is broke!!!" - Mweemba Mubita "This money should come to us in form of talk time as opposed to giving government. We the subscribers are the ones affected not ZICTA, so why should ZICTA get the money without doing anything? We will be thinking it's a way of raising money for campaigns". - Joseph Tembo

"Let ZICTA send K100 worth of talk time to each subscriber of those mobile providers fined because it's not ZICTA who lost out but we, the consumers!" -Barnabas Maka

"They take pride in fines which results in increase on their revenue. This has nothing to do with service improvement nor compensation to affected customers!" - Okwonkuo Ahmadinejad Mwanawina "That's the way to go. Nawakwi must learn to respect other peoples rights. The law is clear, if you have suspicious allegations against an individual better you report to law enforcement agencies for possible action. All Zambians are protected by laws enshrined in the constitution". - Chanda Pochoko

Good move. If Ms Nawakwi has evidence let's hear it in court, so that we know the truth and settle this issue once and for all. If she has no evidence, I fear. Someone will dance because in court they don't play". -Daka Harrison

R

"Ms Edith Z Nawakwi should have calculated the cost of working as President Lungu's 'Chikolopo". -Christopher Kalima

"The begining of the downfall!" - Richard Chalwe

"This is the only way settling this. Lets get verified facts!" - Saulo Simpasa

"Challenge is the Zambian court system as it is is already compromised by the same regime". - Ben Linx



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Lungu on Cabinet to consider creating Office Dear editor. of Procurement General

"Mwanawasa managed to use the same already existing offices to procure reasonable things..a lazy man blames the tools!!!" - Muyundah Muyu

"He can come up with hundreds of new positions but as long as he does not address the underlying issues like his own incompetency and his cadres, he will continue to fail. He came up with new ministries, what value have they created apart from increasing consumption?" -Sandwe Simate

"Really run out of ideas, that's no solution. Consult that woman campaigning for vice presidency, she had some acceptable ideas". - Bauze Zimba "So why can't ZPPA's work expand to that and change the legal franework? Do we need to have another organ?" - Della Nila

"Creating such an office will carry with it unecessary expenses in an ailing economy such as our. Instead, let's make amends within the current Zips to avoid unnecessary expenses and any future untransparancy". - Kazela Moonga "There's no need, that will be another conduit for corruption!!" - Chris Waluu Mubiana

"Iyeee! Unbelievable! The solution just simply lies in strengthening the ACC. Simple". - Mike Phiri

"Doesn't matter, you'll be out of office by the time that ever sees the light of day". -Jackson Thompson

'Police should reduce fines instead of introducing POS machines'

Editor,

"That won't solve anything mwami, the solution is in reducing the fine prices so people cannot be motivated to bribe the officers". - Peter Saint

"Cases would go high if they reduce fines". - Samson Silweya



"It is sad that you dont understand why motorists bribe your officers!" - Sydney Mapalo

"Mr Kanganja are you being real on this one?" - Jombo Sapato

"Police officers are not trained to handle money. Why is it that hospitals, schools and other departments got employed accountants yet the police collect money without training. Remove them from handling cash. Don't give a machine, employee accountants in all stationed operation points". - Maila Ukwete

"Does it even mean traffic police officers will have them on the road? And how is it going to improve revenue collection?" -Muhammad Nawaz

We need to find a way of making everyone who was involved in privatisation to explain – Kampyongo

By Sipilisiwe Ncube HOME Affairs Minister Stephen Kampyongo says government needs to find a way of making everybody who was involved in privatisation to explain.

And Kampyongo says police will not spare any political grouping that will cause violence during the ongoing Lukashya parliamentary by-election campaigns.

Reacting to claims by UPND leader Hakainde Hichilema that the privatization debate is a deliberate ploy by the PF to have him arrested and kill him while in prison, Kampyongo said the opposition leader shouldn't accuse PF of being after him when the ruling party did not start the debate.

He was speaking when he featured on Kasama Radio in Northern Province, Saturday.

"What started this debate? It's not us the PF. He featured on a radio programme like this one and a caller called to ask him on the privatization of mines. Then he said 'vou cannot be asking me about privatization. And that was not the first time he was saying that, he also said that on BBC radio, on a South African radio and even on that programme, that caller asked to say 'can you also explain to me how you acquired your wealth so fast?' he explained to say it is because I went to school. But if it is

school, are you the only one who went to school? That is what the gentleman who called asked him," Kampyongo said.

"That same day when he said that, that's when he said why are you asking me about privatization? Why can't you ask those who were in government at that time like Nawakwi and Alexander Chikwanda?' now, I don't know why he did not mention on the side of commerce and industry where the ZPA was falling under. So, he mentioned those two former ministers. That is how Ms Nawakwi said no, let me clear my name. That is how they started displaying things in public. Now, how does the PF fall in?"

He said as Home Affairs Minister, he had never come across a thief who willingly confesses.

"And me as Home Affairs Minister, I have never seen a thief who comes in the public and says 'I stole this and that.' That has never happened. His plan of wanting to make it look as if people are trying to bar him from standing for presidential elections next year will not help him. Even saying that can you arrest him and put him in prison, that's not how this issue can end. That is a very big issue. We need to find a way of making all those who were involved to come and explain. It is not about arresting someone. Us we want that when someone is accused, the way Hon Chitotela was accused of corruption, we said 'go and explain yourself'. He went to court and he was cleared. Dr Chitalu Chilufya was also accused of corruption, the President said go and clear yourself," Kampyongo said.

And Kampyongo said he wanted violence free elections in Lukashya constituency.

"Sometimes when there are elections like these, a lot of wrong doings are done. And it is important that we do our campaigns very peaceful. Those who will try to disturb the peace or cause violence, we have sent the police. Commissioner Mweene and his team are here and they are supported by mobile unit and paramilitary. And we recently bought them more equipment so that they do their work professionally and without any difficulties just to make sure that there is peace in this country. I heard some people say 'what have you done?' the reason why our officers could not do their job well was because they did not have the tools," he said.

He warned anyone that will try to cause havoc in the area would not be spared.

"Therefore, I am pleading with our members, those from the PF to take the front lead in being peaceful. Even when you are provoked, immediately run to the police. I have seen on social media where people are posting pictures of people



On Tuesday last week Sudan's ousted President Omar al-Bashir appears in court at the start of his trial over his connection with the 1989 coup.



Home Affairs Minister Stephen Kampyongo

saying these are the ones that the PF are sending from other towns to come and cause noise here. And I know that it's the work of the opposition. It won't help you because people in Kasama know each other, those in Lukashya also know each other. Even those in Kasama Central know each other and even those who are coming in to help should come peaceful," said Kampyongo.

"So, if you come here with noise, we will finish you as law enforcers. Even if you are my members, hear me clearly on this one, that if I decide to involve myself in bringing peace in this country, I don't choose. If you become a problem you will be the first one to be arrested. I will tell the police to say arrest them because they are disturbing our peace. My appeal is that let there be peace."

We won't blink first on Brexit - UK warns



BRITAIN will not blink first inwillBrexit trade negotiations withoutthe European Union and is notquscared of a no-deal exit at theend of the year, the country's topBrexit negotiator warned the blocstaton Sunday.th

Britain left the EU on Jan. 31 but talks have so far made little headway on agreeing a new trade deal for when a status-quo transition arrangement ends in December.

"We came in after a government and negotiating team that had blinked and had its bluff called at critical moments and the EU had learned not to take our word seriously," negotiator David Frost told the Mail on Sunday.

"So a lot of what we are trying to do this year is to get them to realise that we mean

what we say and they should take our position seriously," he was quoted as saying.

Talks are due to resume in London on Tuesday but they have stalled over Britain's insistence that it have full autonomy over state aid and its demands over fishing.

Britain says the EU is dragging its feet in talks and has failed to fully accept that it is now an independent country.

"We are not going to be a client state. We are not going to compromise on the fundamentals of having control over our own laws," Frost told the Mail. "We are not going to accept level playing field provisions that lock us in to the way the EU do things."

"That's what being an independent country is about, that's what the British people voted for and that's what will happen at the end of the year, come what may," Frost said.

British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab said the week ahead would be a wake-up call for the EU.

"We've got to a position where there's only two points really that are holding us back," he told the BBC's Andrew Marr programme.

UK fisheries had been "pretty much decimated" as a result of EU membership, he said, and the bloc wanted to keep British access to its waters "permanently low".

"That can't be right," he said.

On state aid, Raab said Britain had led the charge against government intervention since the 1980s, but the issue was "an absolutely critical element of policy making".

At heart, Britain is pressing one of the EU's most sensitive buttons – the fear that a post-Brexit Britain could become a much more agile, deregulated free-market competitor on its border by using selective state aid.

'The world could look like 1900 again

THE former head of the World Bank has warned the world could look like it did in 1900 if countries don't work together to tackle the current crisis.

Robert Zoellick pointed to the rift between the US and China as a serious threat to the global economic recovery.

Mr Zoellick, one of America's most senior public officials, has advised six US presidents during his career.

He told the BBC co-operation was "the only way the global economy will emerge from the recession".

Mr Zoellick, who was also the US deputy secretary of state, said his biggest concern was the escalating tensions between the US and China.

"I think [the relationship] is in freefall today and I don't think we know where the bottom is, and that is a very

k dangerous situation," he told the BBC's Asia Business Report.

Mr Zoellick warned that "the world could look more like the world of 1900 when the great powers were in competition" if countries start to pull back from globalisation and pursue nationalist interests.

Financial crisis

Mr Zoellick served as the president of the World Bank between 2007 to 2012, the years that encompassed the global financial crisis.

As the head of the organisation he worked closely with the International Monetary Fund and world governments to tackle the financial meltdown.

"The 2008-09 financial crisis was a very serious event but we had the G20, [and] central banks co-operating. President Bush and then President Obama were part of international efforts with [then UK prime minister] Gordon Brown," he said.

"Frankly, even China had a very strong stimulus programme and also co-operated in various ways. We don't have that sense of co-operation today."

Mr Zoellick called for the US to work closely with China in finding a solution to the pandemic, rather than "indicting them for it".

Trump 'flawed'

The person he blames for causing much of the damage is US President Donald Trump.

Mr Zoellick served under previous Republican Presidents George W Bush and George H W Bush. But he is clear about his dislike for the current

t Republican in office.

"I've been opposed to Trump from the start... not only because of his policy positions but also because of what I think are flaws in his character.

"I was worried about what he would do with institutions and the constitution and we're seeing that borne out, and in the pandemic, we're seeing another dimension, which is a question of competence."

He believes that President Trump's scepticism about US alliances and protectionism has added to Asian anxieties at a time when China's power is starting to overshadow the region.

It is a topic he explores in his new book America in the World: A History of US Diplomacy and Foreign Policy. BBC "More and more people have come to the conclusion that Brexit ideology trumps Brexit pragmatism in the UK government," said one EU diplomat.

"If the UK really wanted to jump off the Brexit cliff edge for ideological reasons, there would be no way for the EU to stop this," the diplomat said. "If, on the other hand, the UK's approach became more pragmatic and realistic, there would probably be a good chance to save the negotiations and agree on a deal."*Reuters*

'Joining Real Madrid would've been a disaster for Van de Beek' - Former coach supports Man Utd move

DONNY van de Beek made the right career call in linking up with Manchester United, claims his former Ajax youth team coach Ruben Jongkind, with the 23-year-old told that joining Real Madrid would have been a "disaster".

The Netherlands international has revealed that he had an agreement in place with the Blancos prior to the outbreak of Covid-19 causing many plans to be ripped up.

Van de Beek feared that a high-profile switch had passed him by as Real were forced to walk away, but the summer transfer window has delivered a £35 million (\$46m) move to Old Trafford.

Jongkind believes the Red Devils will prove to be a better fit for the talented midfielder, with Ole Gunnar Solskjaer having shown that he is prepared to show faith in youth as part of a project that has less pressure on it than one at Santiago Bernabeu.

"He will be challenged, the average age in the Premier League is probably around 26 or 27, but I think he has shown in European campaigns that he has

enough skills to play at the highest level," Jongkind told the Manchester Evening News.

"He likes a challenge and he has this mindset that he wants to go further every time. I think this is a better time than, for example, [Justin] Kluivert to AS Roma, that was too early.

"It is also a good club to move to. United have a history of bringing in youth players, I think it's a great choice, much better than Real Madrid, I think that would have been a disaster.

"The playing style is

more akin to Donny at United than Real Madrid as well."

Jongkind is convinced that Van de Beek will reach the very top of the game, with his potential having been noted by some iconic figures in Amsterdam over a decade ago.

"It must have been in 2008 or 2009, I think he was playing in the Under-10s at the time," former Ajax academy coach Jongkind added.

"He did a trial for Ajax, back then we had the arrangement that children could come for trials once or twice a week for three or four weeks.

"I was also involved with the younger age groups. He ended up being selected for Ajax and he was in the team of [Dennis]

Bergkamp. After a short while we talked about him and Dennis said 'this player is going to be big so you have to work with him individually now'.

"His coordination of movement wasn't great back then, he had the

Donny had an ability to see spaces and intelligence as a young player to naturally see where he should be."

Van de Beek proved to be a useful source of goals and assists for Ajax and is being backed to offer similar qualities to United

strength but not the finesse, alongside the likes of Bruno we worked on that. Fernandes and Paul Pogba. "Dennis that GOAL.COM saw Kangwanda, Tembo

land dream moves

By Tim Zulu

EDEN University National Division One League golden boot winner Albert Kangwanda and powerful left back defender Gilbert Tembo have landed themselves dream moves to Zanaco and Zesco United respectively.

Kangwanda, the former Kafue Celtic hitman and FAZ/Eden League top scorer with 12 goals, says the move to super league glamorous side sensational Zanaco was "one sweet dream".

Meanwhile, Tembo, the Zesco Malaiti Rangers' stylish left back defender, says his move to Zesco United was "the best thing ever to have happened" in his football career, something he was hoping to happen one day.

The duo, who were speaking during a phoneShown Bizz program on Joy FM, could not hide their excitement and praised the Eden league as the best platform to market oneself while encouraging their colleagues never to

give up on their dreams. The 21-year-old Kangwanda said he could never think of any better opportunity before his eyes than a dream move to Zanaco.

"Every young player always dreams to play for bigger clubs, be it local or abroad and my journey towards that goal begins with my dream move to Zanaco. I am so excited and it is not a secret that I am joining one big team in the Zambian premier league in the name of Zanaco. At first, I could not believe my eyes when I saw a text message that I am heading to Sunset Stadium," said Kangwanda months contract with the Chris Kaunda-coached side.

"Now that it is true, I am ready for my next challenge. Yes, I know I am young and still growing in my game and it may not be that easy for me to break into the first team, but the fact that they (Zanaco) signed me on is an indication that I have something that fits into their bill. I'll go there with a positive mind and do what I am known for scoring goals."

And Tembo, the Zesco United-bound left back attractive defender, said he had waited for close to six vears in the lower division to have his super league dream come true.

"Finally, my time has come and I, cannot wait to get going with my new team. Actually ever since

I joined Zesco Malaiti



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in Eden Saturday Football who signed a one year, six

Zesco reinforces squad

By Abraham Kalito ZESCO United is looking to make more additions to its squad, following the acquisition of the services of Red Arrows forward Bruce Musakanya on loan.

Musakanya was the first signing of the summer for the club but has now been joined by Lazarous Phiri of Green Eagles who has equally signed a one-year loan deal with the former super league champions.

George Lwandamina seems to be increasing his option and

challenge for silverware next season.

Club public relations manager Desmond Katongo stated that the club was delighted to make the additions.

"Zesco United Football Club is delighted to confirm the arrival of Lazarus Phiri from Green Eagles. The former Kansanshi Dynamos winger has signed a one-year loan contract subject to completing medicals. ZESCO United Football Club Technical Chairman, Peter Mutale described Phiri as an exciting prospect who will add value to the club," Katongo stated. He quoted club technical chairperson Peter Mutale as saying that the club intended to get the best players on the market such as Phiri, whom he described as an exciting winger.

"Lazarus is a young player who has a bright future ahead of him. He is an exciting winger who will bring speed to our game. This is also a great opportunity for him to shine

at the biggest stage of the Zambian game," said Mutale, according to Katongo. "He has joined us on a one-year loan spell with a chance to extend. As a club, we want to get the best on the market."

And Phiri said it is rare that one gets such an opportunity to play for a big club like ZESCO United.

'This is an important moment for me to prove that I am worth playing for this club. My focus now is to work hard and help the team win trophies," said Phiri.

Rangers in 2014, one of my targets was to play for a bigger club in Zambia and given my performance last season in the tough Eden league, I had a strong feeling something big was coming my way this year and thank God, my wishes have finally come true today."

The 26-year-old Tembo who has two goals to his name in the previous season says he knows the pressure that came with playing for renowned teams like Zesco united.

Tembo left for Ndola yesterday to finalize his deal.



By Ngosa Chalwe HAVING helped Paston | Daka to flourish under his charge at Power Dynamos, Malawi-based coach Dan | Kabwe says the striker has

some attributes of French and Arsenal legend Thierry | Henry.

Daka may be the people's favourite at the moment but it has not

always been the case in the past as the player's initial struggles at the national team, Nchanga Rangers and Power rendered him among the most vilified in

the country.

Between 2014 and 2016, Daka featured for all national sides and had little or nothing to show for it in terms of finding the back of the net.

Following the appointment of Kabwe at Power in 2016, the coach appeared to polish Daka, helping the player score 13 league goals for the Ndeke club.

Daka's exploits continued in 2017 where he helped Zambia to its first ever Africa Under-20 Cup of Nations on home soil.

His career hit new levels when he switched to Austria to turn up for RB Salzburg.

Kabwe said in an interview, Sunday, that he was not surprised at Daka's recent rise in prominence to the level that clubs like Liverpool and Manchester United were courting him.

"When I saw Paston Daka at Power, what came into my mind is that this guy is the next Thierry Henry and in no time, he has proved it, he is a player who when a scout set his eyes on him and looking at the specific qualities that he has, the boy is already swimming in the deep end and he is managing," Kabwe said.

He said Daka had the ability to make it in any of the top five European Leagues.

^wWhere he is at Salzburg, it is a stepping stone. He has the potential to even go further and meet other challenges, he is capable of making it. He is an intelligent boy and full of talent. If the boy is already swimming in the deep end, why limit him?" wondered Kabwe.

Bad advice let to Messi U-turn

LIONEL Messi was left with no choice but to reverse his decision to quit Barcelona due to bad advice from his father and agent Jorge, according to former Real Madrid player Hugo Sanchez.

The six-time Ballon d'Or winner sent shockwaves through the football world last week by informing Barca of his intention to leave.

However, La Liga disputed Messi's claim that he could leave on a free transfer courtesy of a clause in his contract, meaning any potential suitor would have to negotiate with Barca or pay his €700million release clause.

Messi announced to Goal on Friday he will

"Messi has had no choice but to stay at Barcelona due to bad advice from his father and the law firm, because they could have saved that burofax. That has caused weakness to his image within the team.

"Coincidentally, Messi had the lawyers who had previously worked with Barcelona, but due to a conflict of interest, the Catalan club changed its strategy.

"If Messi and his father already had the decision to leave Barcelona, they should not have waited in time.

"But before the end of the term agreed in the contract, they had to tell the club that they at the end of the 2020-21 season with Inter, Paris Saint-Germain and Manchester City possible destinations should he finally leave the club he has represented since the age of 13.

"He has no choice but to drink several garlic and water teas in these next eleven months," Sanchez said.

"Messi likes to win titles p

and will need to look for another team where he can win championships and prove that he is the best player ever.

"The whole problem with Barcelona is going to distract him next season, in such a way that there will be doubts both about his behaviour and the fact that he is not the same young man who ran all over the pitch." **GOAL**



now remain at Camp Nou because the financial demands made by the Barca board for a transfer to happen rendered such a prospect "impossible".

And Mexico icon Sanchez, who has been critical of Messi during the saga, blamed the 33-yearold's failed exit strategy on his representatives.

"That untimely burofax only strengthened the image of the president of Barcelona and gave him time to weaken Messi's decision," he told ESPN. wanted to leave at the end of the season and on a free, without paying any compensation. If they had it planned, it should have been done that way."

He added: "Messi's second problem was to send that burofax without certainty and guaranteeing that they had a team that would pay the €700m, which, due to the pandemic, no team in the world that can invest that amount." Messi is now expected to re-evaluate his future



