

Canada - Africa
Parliamentary Association



Association parlementaire
Canada - Afrique

**Report of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation
respecting its Bilateral visits to Botswana and Zambia**

Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association

**Gaborone, Botswana and Lusaka, Zambia
February 14 to 19, 2010**

Report

The Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association was represented by the Honourable Mauril Bélanger, P.C., M.P., Co-Chair of the Association; the Honourable Raynell Andreychuk, Senator, Co-Chair of the Association; the Honourable Mobina Jaffer, Q.C., Senator, Vice-Chair of the Association; Ms. Yasmin Ratansi, M.P., Vice-Chair of the Association; Ms. Johanne Deschamps, M.P., Vice-Chair of the Association; Ms. Lois Brown, M.P., Member of the Association; and Mr. Randy Hoback, M.P., Member of the Association. The delegation was assisted by Mr. Michael Dewing, Analyst for the Association, and Mr. Maxime Ricard, Secretary of the Association.

OBJECTIVES

The Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association undertook bilateral visits to Gaborone, Botswana and Lusaka, Zambia from 14-19 February 2010. The visits had the following objectives:

- to strengthen bilateral relations and parliamentary cooperation;
- to engage parliamentarians on democracy, governance, and economic issues;
- to strengthen relations with regional organizations, most particularly the Southern African Development Community (SADC);
- to acquaint parliamentarians of Canada's activity in the region, through contacts with parliamentarians, government officials, civil society groups, and businesses;

To meet these objectives, the delegation met with Botswana and Zambian parliamentarians and government officials, representatives of political parties, Canadian representatives, business representatives, and members of non-governmental organizations. It also made site visits.

Key Issues

Botswana is a stable and relatively prosperous country. Thanks to diamond production and sound economic management, it has gone from being one of Africa's poorest countries to a middle-income country. The government realizes that diamond production will eventually cease and is working to diversify the economy. Unemployment and poverty – particularly in rural areas – remain challenges, however, and the country's HIV/AIDS infection rates are the second-highest in the world. The government has taken a leadership role in combating the epidemic, but progress is slow.

Zambia is a stable democracy that has been ruled by the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy since 1991. During the 1990s, there were allegations of wide-spread corruption. In 2002, Levy Mwanawasa was elected president, and he took measures to fight corruption. However, since his death in 2008 there have been concerns that these efforts are not being pursued with the same vigour. Zambia is a major copper producer, and rising international prices have boosted copper mining in recent years. Despite this, Zambia is one of the poorest countries in the world. It suffers from poor infrastructure, as well as from HIV/AIDS and malaria.

Botswana and Zambia have different development issues. Though Botswana has many of the development challenges associated with least developed countries – such as rural poverty, high unemployment, and high levels of HIV infection – its middle-income status limits its ability to access assistance from donor countries. Zambia has had a history of economic mismanagement and though it has taken steps to address this, there is the perception that it could be sliding backwards.

Both Botswana and Zambia are members of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The former is a body of the African Union, while the latter is a 15-member regional economic community which aims to help the countries in the Southern African region harmonize their political and socio-economic policies. In addition, Zambia is a member of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), a 19-member regional economic community whose headquarters are located in Lusaka.

Canada has historic ties through the Commonwealth with both countries. Commercial relations with Botswana are growing, and Canada is represented by the Canadian Mission in Harare, Zimbabwe. Although the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) does not have a bilateral development assistance program, it does provide support through other channels. In Zambia, Canada is represented by the Office of the Canadian High Commission. Although Zambia is no longer a country of focus for CIDA, it continues to benefit from a bilateral program that aims to strengthen its health care system.

The Association's earlier African trips focused on the evolution of regional cooperation in Eastern Africa, in North Africa, and in the SADC region, as well as on developing relations with the PAP. On this trip, the Association was interested in seeing how Botswana and Zambia are cooperating with their regional partners through organizations such as SADC. It was also interested in exploring opportunities for enhanced Canadian engagement with these two countries.

BOTSWANA

A. Background

The Republic of Botswana is a landlocked country in southern Africa. Its population is 1.9 million. A former British protectorate, it has been ruled by the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) since independence in 1966. The BDP faced little opposition until 1989, when the Botswana National Front (BNF) first won seats in the National Assembly.

During the 1990s, reforms to the democratic system introduced an independent electoral commission and set a limit of two terms for the president and provided for the vice-president's automatic succession to the presidency. In 2004, the number of elected seats in the National Assembly was increased from 40 to 57. In 2005, the advisory body known as the House of Chiefs was renamed the Ntlo ya Dikgosi and its membership increased from 15 to 35. In the October 2009 elections, the BDP won 45 seats, the BNF took six, while the Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and an allied party took five. An independent candidate was elected for the first time.

President Ian Khama, the son of Botswana's first president, Sir Seretse Khama, was elected in 2008. He has been a strong leader on issues of human rights and governance, and has taken a tough stance on the governance situation in Zimbabwe.

Botswana's economic success is due largely to the diamond production and to the country's good governance. Over the years, the government has invested in diamond revenues by building infrastructure and developing health and education systems.¹ Unfortunately, high levels of poverty persist, particularly in rural areas, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimates that during the 2002-2007 period, 49.4% of the population lived on less than US\$2 a day.²

Part of the poverty problem in Botswana is related to the influx of Zimbabweans into the country. Their numbers range from 200,000 to 300,000. The government arrests illegal Zimbabwean immigrants and returns them to Zimbabwe, but many soon return.³

However, the most serious problem affecting Botswana's development is that it has the second-highest HIV/AIDS infection rate in the world. The HIV prevalence rate among adults aged 15–49 years is estimated at 24%. In 2007, some 300,000 people were living with HIV/AIDS and about 11,000 people died of AIDS. There were about 95,000 orphans aged 0–17 due to AIDS.⁴ The government of Botswana has shown strong leadership in response to the epidemic. For those with HIV, an estimated 120,000 needed antiretroviral therapy in 2007, and some 93,000 people were receiving it.⁵

Botswana's foreign policy focuses on economic and political integration in Southern Africa. The headquarters of SADC are located in its capital, Gaborone, and Botswana hopes to leverage its strategic position at the geographic centre of the region.

Within the region, however, Botswana's relations with Zimbabwe are strained. The crisis in that country has led to the influx of Zimbabweans into Botswana, and this is one reason why Botswana has criticized Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe's policies.

Like many African countries, Botswana has a growing relationship with China. The two countries established ties 1975, and their bilateral trade has grown substantially since

1 World Bank, "Botswana: Country Brief," September 2009, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/BOTSWANAEXTN/0,contentMDK:20183107~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:322804,00.html> (accessed 11 March 2010).

2 United Nations Development Programme, "Population living below \$2 a day (%)," Human Development Report 2009, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/103.html> (accessed 3 March 2010).

3 Council of Foreign Relations, "Botswana: An African Success Story Shows Strains," 10 January 2008, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/15108/> (accessed 4 March 2010).

4 UNAIDS/WHO Working Group on Global HIV/AIDS and STI, Epidemiological Fact Sheet on HIV and AIDS: Botswana, October 2008, http://apps.who.int/globalatlas/predefinedReports/EFS2008/full/EFS2008_BW.pdf (accessed 17 March 2010).

5 Ibid.

then, going from nearly zero to some \$156 million in 2007. China is also involved in construction in Botswana.⁶

Canada established relations with Botswana when it obtained independence in 1966. Relations are based on Commonwealth ties, similar outlooks on many issues, and growing commercial links. However, Canada does not have a High Commission in Botswana, but is accredited from the Canadian Mission in Harare, Zimbabwe. Canada is an active player in Botswana's education sector, and about 200 students from Botswana are studying in Canada. As well, Canadian companies are increasingly active in Botswana's mining sector.⁷ Bilateral trade between Canada and Botswana is modest, but growing. In 2009, it amounted to \$34.3 million, compared with \$7.3 million in 2005.⁸ CIDA does not have a bilateral programme with Botswana because of its middle-income status, but provides assistance through other channels, including Canadian partners, a local initiatives fund, and multi-country projects in areas such as health care and combating HIV/AIDS.⁹

B. Meetings and visits

1. Visit to SOS Children's Village, Tlokweng

SOS Children's Villages is an international non-governmental organisation that focuses on family-based, long-term care of children who can no longer grow up with their biological families.¹⁰ The SOS Children's Village in Tlokweng, a small town about 12 kilometres from Gaborone, has 16 family houses and is home to 238 children.¹¹ The children – who are orphans, abandoned children, or destitute children -- live as a "family" and are brought up by social workers until they reach the age of 18, at which point they are expected to live independently. Many of the children are AIDS orphans and 160 of them are HIV positive. Thanks to antiretroviral (ARV) drugs and the good nutrition provided, there have been only two deaths in the past five years. SOS Children's Villages receives some government funding, but must raise much of its funds itself. The SOS Children's Villages in Botswana are a partner of the World University Services Canada's (WUSC) internship program called "Students Without Borders". The delegation met with the Deputy National Director of SOS Children's Villages, Mr.

⁶ Anna Ying Chen, "China's Role in Infrastructure Development in Botswana," Occasional Paper No. 44, September 2009, South African Institute of International Affairs, http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/China_s_Role_in_Botswana.pdf (figures in US dollars) (accessed 17 March 2010).

⁷ Government of Canada, "Canada - Botswana Relations," June 2009, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/zimbabwe/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/canada_botswana.aspx?lang=eng&menu_id=79&menu=L (accessed 17 March 2010).

⁸ Industry Canada, Trade Data Online, http://www.ic.gc.ca/sc_mrkti/tdst/tdo/tdo.php#tag (accessed 17 March 2010).

⁹ Government of Canada, "Canada - Botswana Relations," June 2009, op. cit.

¹⁰ SOS Children's Villages International, "What we do," <http://www.sos-childrensvillages.org/What-we-do/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed 12 March 2010).

¹¹ SOS Children's Villages International, "SOS Children's Village Tlokweng," <http://www.sos-childrensvillages.org/where-we-help/africa/botswana/tlokweng/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed 12 March 2010).

Motshwari Kitso, and the Village Director, Mr. Bikie Morebodi. The delegation was touched by the warm reception it received from the children and impressed by how well-run the facility was.

2. Visit to World University Services Canada (WUSC) offices and meeting with Uniterra staff

WUSC is a network of individuals and post-secondary institutions whose mission is to foster human development and global understanding through education and training.¹² Active in Botswana since 1980, WUSC focuses on education and health, sustainable livelihoods, and governance. WUSC's volunteer cooperation program, known as Uniterra which is supported by CIDA, places Canadian and southern volunteers with local organizations working in HIV/AIDS and private sector development. WUSC also administers the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives in Botswana on behalf of CIDA. The Fund provides support to strengthen the capacity of local development organizations.¹³

The delegation was welcomed by WUSC's Regional Director, Ms. Kathy Stiles and the country coordinator, Mr. Nlisi Chillie Motshusi. They gave an overview of WUSC's activities in the country. The delegation also heard Canadian volunteers recount their experiences working on gender issues at SADC headquarters, training teachers, and working at the Baylor Children's Clinical Center of Excellence.

3. Meeting with the National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA)

NACA is charged with coordinating and facilitating Botswana's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The delegation met with Dr. Batho Molomo, the National Coordinator of NACA, who explained NACA's mission and discussed its current priorities. These include the prevention of new infections; strategic information management; and the scaling up of treatment, care and support. He said the response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic has been moderately successful, but that more work needed to be done to cover the entire country and to reach all population groups. He also talked of the need to change peoples' behaviour regarding multiple partners, to provide preventative measures such as circumcision, and to scale up ARV therapy.

In discussion with the delegation, Dr. Molomo discussed the steps being taken to prevent mother-to-child transmission, the lack of physicians and health care staff, the situation in rural areas, and efforts being made to get people tested. He also noted that, because Botswana is a middle-income country, donor countries do not provide it with the same level of resources they provide to low-income countries. He said Botswana needs more assistance to sustain its HIV/AIDS strategy.

4. Visit to the Diamond Trading Company (DTC) Botswana

The DTC is the rough diamond sales and distribution arm of the De Beers Family of Companies and is the world's largest supplier of rough diamonds. DTC Botswana is a

¹² World University Service of Canada, "About Us," http://www.wusc.ca/en/about/about_us (accessed 18 March 2010).

¹³ World University Service of Canada, "WUSC in Botswana," <http://www.wusc.ca/en/overseas/africa/botswana> (accessed 18 March 2010).

joint venture with the Government of Botswana.¹⁴ DTC Botswana has a capacity to sort and value 45 million carats per year, making it the largest sorting and valuing facility in the world. It also sells diamonds to cutting and polishing companies in Botswana.¹⁵

The delegation was highly impressed by the modern and very secure facility. It heard how Botswana is a strong supporter of the Kimberley process, the international certification scheme aimed at stemming the flow of conflict diamonds. It also heard about the problems posed by the mining of diamonds in Zimbabwe – where there are human rights and smuggling issues – and the risk for these problems to spill over into Botswana.

The delegation was also encouraged to learn that Botswana is creating a more diversified diamond industry through the licensing of 16 diamond cutting and polishing companies. These so-called downstream industries add value to the diamonds, and Botswana hopes to eventually establish a jewelry manufacturing industry. The delegation remarked that the diamond industries in Canada and Botswana face similar challenges.

5. Meeting with the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition, and Members of Parliament

The delegation met with the Speaker of the National Assembly, Honourable Dr. Margaret N. Nasha, MP; Honourable Pono P.P. Moathodi, MP, the Deputy Speaker; Honourable O.M. Gaborone, MP, the Leader of the Opposition; Honourable D. Kwelagobe, MP, the Chairman of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Honourable B. Arone, MP; and Honourable M. Pheto, MP.

Speaker Nasha gave an overview of the Botswana's parliamentary system and the recent elections. She noted that the number of women in parliament had been reduced from seven to three and she talked about the reforms that might remedy the situation. She also discussed parliament's oversight role and its ability to reject bills. In addition, she also raised the lack of financing for political parties, and the ways in which this makes it difficult for women to run for Parliament.

In dialogue with the delegation, the parliamentarians discussed the situation of community radio, the resources available to parliamentarians, the challenge of serving remote constituencies, the involvement of youth and women in political parties, the funding of parliament, the role of back-bench MPs, and process for private members' bills.

The meeting was reported in the press the following day.

6. Working Lunch with Civil Society Groups

The delegation hosted a working lunch with the following civil society groups:

1. Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO);

¹⁴ Diamond Trading Company, "Home," <http://www.dtc.com/> (accessed 18 March 2010).

¹⁵ De Beers, "Diamond Trading Company Botswana (DTCB)," <http://www.debeersgroup.com/en/diamond-trading-company/Diamond-Trading-Company/Diamond-Trading-Company-Botswana/> (accessed 18 March 2010).

2. SOS Children's village Botswana;
3. Habitat for Humanity;
4. Botswana Network of HIV&AIDS Service Organizations (BONASO);
5. Botswana Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS;
6. Lifeline Botswana;
7. Botswana Family Welfare Association (BOFWA);
8. Kagisano Women's shelter;
9. Botswana Retired Nurses Society (BORNUS);
10. Botswana Christian AIDS Intervention Programme (BOCAIP);
11. Botswana National Youth Council (BNYC);
12. Emang Basadi Women's Association;
13. Women's Finance House Botswana;
14. Botswana Exporters and Manufacturers Association (BEMA)
15. DITSHWANELO – The Botswana Centre or Human Rights

Each group gave an overview of its work. The issue that came up the most often was that there were insufficient financial resources, and that Botswana's middle-income status made it difficult to raise funds. The delegation was impressed by the dedication of the activists.

7. Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

Honourable Phandu T. C. Skelemani, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, gave an overview of Botswana's development strategy and its relations with Canada. He reviewed the challenges facing the country, including the credit crunch, the finite supply of diamonds, and the recent drop in demand for diamonds. He also talked about the government's response to the economic slowdown.

In response to questions, Minister Skelemani said that with the failure of the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, both developed and lesser developed countries will have to contribute to a resolution. Regarding the situation in Zimbabwe, he said that SADC's power-sharing solution had not worked and that another election was needed. On the subject of the Sudan, he discussed the possible ramifications if Southern Sudan were to separate. Minister Skelemani also talked about the importance of pursuing infrastructure projects despite the global downturn.

8. Meeting with the Minister of Health

Reverend Dr. John Seakgosing, the Minister of Health, discussed Botswana's approach to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. He said Botswana was one of the first African countries to face the problem publicly. Its main problem is the lack of funds. Although Botswana is ranked as a middle-income country, he said it still faces many of the problems associated with low-income status. Outside the major cities, the peoples' lives have not changed. The country needs assistance with research, treatment, and obtaining drugs.

In dialogue with the delegation, Minister Seakgosing talked about the efforts to eradicate malaria, the country's high maternal mortality rate, and the provision of health services.

9. Meeting with the Executive Secretary, Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Dr. Tomaz A. Salomão, the Executive Secretary of SADC talked about the region's peace and stability, saying that people can travel safely by road throughout the region, whereas this was not possible 15 years ago. The SADC region still faces challenges, however, such as economic development, poverty eradication, and the development of human and financial capacity. He pointed out that in many countries, democracy has been in place for less than 20 years. Nevertheless, the half-dozen elections that took place during 2009 went well, and the parties that lost accepted the results.

Dr. Salomão identified a number of on-going challenges, including the humanitarian situation in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the crisis in Madagascar, and the unresolved problems with the power-sharing agreement in Zimbabwe. He said the best way to resolve problems is for opponents to sit down together, like Nelson Mandela had done with his former prison guards. In the effort to find negotiated solutions, Dr. Salomão urged the international community to not take sides, to show no emotion, and to support both sides to come to the table.

10. Meeting with Journalists

Members of the delegation met with journalists for a round-table discussion on press freedom in Botswana. It was attended by Bome Matshaba, from the Department of Information Services, the government department that publishes the *Daily News*; Sello Karabo Motseta from the independent *Tswana Times*; and Thapelo Ndlovu and Mpho Mothabani from the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), a media watchdog.

The main concern raised by the Mr. Motseta and the MISA representatives is the *Media Practitioners Act*, a law passed in 2008 which sets standards for those who wish to publish. Although the law has not been implemented, they said it could be used to muzzle the press. They said because the law is very general, any journalist could easily be in violation. Also, it sets out harsh penalties and requires newspapers to publish an aggrieved person's reply to an article in full, no matter what the length of the reply. They were also concerned that other countries in the region were preparing similar laws.

11. Meeting with the Chair of the House of Chiefs (Ntlo ya Dikgosi)

The delegation met with the Chairman of Ntlo ya Dikgosi, Kgosi (Chief) Puso Gaborone of Batlokwa, and other members of the Ntlo ya Dikgosi. Kgosi Puso gave an overview of the Ntlo ya Dikgosi. The Ntlo ya Dikgosi offers advice, but it is not binding. It considers bills that deal with amendments to the constitution, the designation of chiefs, customary courts, customary law, and tribal organization. Government ministers may also consult the Ntlo ya Dikgosi on any matter. Because chiefs are chosen through primogeniture, most of the members of the Ntlo ya Dikgosi are men, but there are also three women members.

In discussion with the delegation, Kgosi Puso pointed out that people still relate to the traditional system, in which the chiefs were the government. This has evolved into a system in which the chiefs have an advisory role. For instance, whereas the chiefs used to allocate land, now they sit on the selection committees of land boards. Kgosi Puso also discussed the chiefs' on-going role as magistrates in customary courts.

This meeting was reported in the press the following day.

12. Meeting with the African Conference of HIV/AIDS Partnerships (ACHAP)

ACHAP is a country-led, public-private development partnership between the Government of Botswana, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, and Merck & Co., Inc./The Merck Company Foundation dedicated to supporting and enhancing Botswana's national response to HIV/AIDS.

In his overview of ACHAP, Dr. Themba Moeti, the Managing Director, said that because development assistance was not forthcoming as a result of Botswana's middle-income status, a way had to be found to provide assistance in fighting HIV/AIDS. In particular, Botswana had no national treatment program, and there was a high mortality rate, especially among youth. ACHAP was able to raise US\$100 million for a five-year program and Merck donated two ARV drugs. The government determines ACHAP's priorities, which are aligned with the national strategic framework.

Dr. Moeti elaborated on the ARV program, the prevention program, and the high incident rates among young people. While these rates are dropping, ACHAP will continue to invest in programs that focus on empowering youth to negotiate safer sex.

Dr. Moeti also addressed the lower birthrate associated with prevention measures such as condoms. He said that while this was a concern, the reduction in economic activity would have been greater without the treatment programs. However, he said that the long-term sustainability of such programs was a concern, and that this required a strong prevention program. Once the epidemic has been stabilized, population growth should resume.

13. Meeting with the Minister of Trade and Industry

The Minister of Trade and Industry, Honourable Dorcus Makgetho-Malesu, described the challenges Botswana faces in diversifying its economy. He also talked about the opportunities that Botswana offers in areas such as glass, beef, and leather products, and reviewed Botswana's institutions and laws intended to encourage trade and investment. He also said he was looking at signing a foreign investment agreement with Canada.

Minister Makgetho-Malesu discussed the relationship with South Africa and regional organizations such as SADC, saying that it was working toward deeper regional integration. He said Botswana could serve as a gateway to South Africa and noted its strategic position at the geographic centre of SADC, a market of 220 million people.

14. Meeting with the Minister of Minerals, Energy and Water Resources

The Minister of Minerals Energy and Water Resources, Honourable Ponatshego Kedikilwe said that it is important for countries to know each other better if they are to solve their trade problems. He gave the example of Botswana culling elephants to

prevent overpopulation, but not being able to sell the tusks as a result of the international ban on the trade of ivory. He also said that Botswana has developed to the stage where its energy needs are increasing, but that concerns over global warming limit its ability to use coal to produce energy. Minister Kedikilwe also discussed corporate social responsibility, Botswana's laws that deal with foreign businesses, efforts to diversify the diamond industry, and potential solutions to Botswana's energy shortage.

15. Visit to the Baylor Children's Clinical Centre of Excellence

The Baylor Children's Clinical Center of Excellence provides state-of-the-art care and treatment to approximately 1,000 HIV-infected infants and children and 200 families from Gaborone and surrounding areas. The Center was made possible by a US\$6-million grant from the Bristol-Myers Squibb Foundation. The Center is supported by additional funding from the Fogarty International Center of the US National Institutes of Health and the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Global AIDS Program.¹⁶

The delegation visited the facilities and met with Associate Director Dr. Michael Tolle and Mr. Ed Pettitt, Teen Club Coordinator. It heard about the challenges HIV-infected teenagers face and the role the Centre plays in helping them by providing a drop-in centre and offering life skills training.

16. Meeting with DITSHWANELO, The Botswana Centre for Human Rights

DITSHWANELO is an advocacy organization that seeks to educate, research, counsel and mediate on issues of human rights, with specific reference to the marginalized and the disempowered.¹⁷ The Director of DITSHWANELO, Ms. Alice Mogwe, talked about two projects focusing on children's rights that are funded by the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives. She discussed human rights issues such as those revolving around land, the death penalty, and the resolution of conflicts regarding ethnic minorities, such as the San people.

ZAMBIA

A. Background

The Republic of Zambia is a landlocked country in south central Africa. It has a population of about 12 million. Formerly the British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia, Zambia gained independence in 1964 under the leadership of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, head of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). From 1972 to 1991, Zambia was a one-party state. In 1975, the collapse of world copper prices was a set-back for Zambia's development. When the first multi-party elections were held in 1991, President Kaunda was defeated by Frederick Chiluba of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), which also won a majority of the seats in the National Assembly. President Chiluba undertook economic reforms, liberalizing the economy and privatizing

¹⁶ Baylor International Pediatric AIDS Initiative, "Botswana-Baylor Children's Clinical Center of Excellence," <http://baylorids.org/africa/center.shtml> (accessed 15 March 2010).

¹⁷ Ditshwanelo, "About us," <http://www.ditshwanelo.org.bw/about.html> (accessed 15 March 2010).

the copper industry, but his presidency was dogged by allegations of widespread corruption.

In 2002, Vice-President Levy Mwanawasa succeeded President Chiluba. He focused on establishing sound economic management and on fighting corruption. During this period, according to the World Bank, Zambia turned around its image as a country performing below its potential.¹⁸ When President Mwanawasa died in August 2008, the MMD chose Vice-President Rupiah Banda as its candidate to succeed him, and he narrowly won the ensuing election.

In 2009, former president Chiluba was acquitted of corruption charges and the government did not appeal. Although President Banda had promised to continue the anti-corruption policies of late president Mwanawasa, the circumstances surrounding former president's Chiluba's acquittal have raised questions about President Banda's commitment to them.

Zambia's economy has improved since the mid-2000s, when it benefited from debt reduction initiatives. However, this has not had much impact on the number of people living in poverty – the World Bank estimates that 64% of the population live below the poverty line. Economic growth remains vulnerable to fluctuations in copper prices. Development is also hampered by the lack of investment in public infrastructure and services and the poor investment climate.¹⁹

Zambia's development is also held back by the high levels of HIV/AIDS. The HIV prevalence rate among adults aged 15–49 years is estimated at 15%. In 2007, some 1.1 million people were living with HIV/AIDS and about 56,000 people died of AIDS. There were about 600,000 orphans aged 0–17 due to AIDS.²⁰ Despite receiving substantial assistance from international donors to fight the epidemic, prevalence rates have not dropped. However, the government has provided antiretroviral treatment for those with HIV.²¹

Regarding foreign relations, Zambia has a history of stability and commitment to regional peace. It is a founding member of SADC and cooperates with the African Union (AU) in its efforts to resolve conflicts in the sub-region.²² Zambia hosts the

¹⁸ World Bank, "Zambia: Country Brief," September 2009, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/ZAMBIAEXTN/0,,menuPK:375684~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:375589,00.html> (accessed 11 March 2010).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ UNAIDS/WHO Working Group on Global HIV/AIDS and STI, Epidemiological Fact Sheet on HIV and AIDS: Zambia, October 2008, http://apps.who.int/globalatlas/predefinedReports/EFS2008/full/EFS2008_ZM.pdf (accessed 18 March 2010).

²¹ AVERT, HIV and AIDS in Zambia, <http://www.avert.org/aids-zambia.htm> (accessed 18 March 2010).

²² Bizeck Jube Phiri, "Zambia," in Gavin Cawthra, Andre du Pisani and Abillah Omari, *Security and Democracy in Southern Africa*, Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2007, http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-132707-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html.

headquarters of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in its capital, Lusaka. When the late President Mwanawasa was chair of SADC, he criticized the policies of President Mugabe in Zimbabwe.²³

Zambia has a long history of relations with China. During the 1970s, China assisted in the construction of the railroad between Zambia and the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam. China is also involved in all kinds of construction and has invested in the copper sector. However, there is increasing resentment in Zambia over perceptions that China is exploiting the country's mineral resources and its labour force.²⁴

Canada established relations with Zambia in 1966. The two countries collaborated to help bring democratic self-governance to the countries of the region. Today, Canada works with Zambia to help it achieve its development goals, to assist Canadian firms operating in Zambia, and to assist Zambia in its role in regional and pan-African forums. The High Commissioner resides in Tanzania, but Canada has the Office of the High Commission of Canada in Lusaka. Although Zambia had previously been one of CIDA's 25 development partners, when the Government of Canada announced its Aid Effectiveness Agenda in 2009, Zambia was not one of the 20 countries in which Canada would be focusing 80% of its bilateral resources.²⁵ Canada's bilateral assistance program in Zambia focuses on the health care sector. There is a significant amount of Canadian foreign investment in the Zambian mining sector.²⁶ Bilateral trade between Canada and Zambia is modest and fluctuates from year to year. In 2009, it amounted to \$11.8 million, down from \$68 million in 2007.²⁷

B. Meetings

1. Meeting with the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly

The Honourable Mutale Nalumango, MP, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, thanked the Parliament of Canada for sponsoring members of the staff of the National Assembly of Zambia for training and said the relationship between the two Parliaments should be enhanced. Ms. Nalumango also acknowledged Canada's support for the parliamentary reforms that had been undertaken since the return to the multiparty system in 1991. These included changing the sessional committees to a portfolio system and amending the Standing Orders to allow the public to attend parliamentary sessions and committee hearings. She also talked about the public's input during committee study of bills, as well as the efforts being made to improve constituency offices and to communicate with citizens.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Zambia: Country Profile 2008," Economist Intelligence Unit, 2008.

²⁵ Canadian International Development Agency, "Countries of Focus," <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/JUD-51895926-JEP> (accessed 15 March 2010).

²⁶ Government of Canada, "Canada-Zambia Relations," April 2009, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/zambia-zambie/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/index.aspx?menu_id=7&menu=L (accessed 12 March 2010).

²⁷ Industry Canada, Trade Data Online, http://www.ic.gc.ca/sc_mrkti/tdst/tdo/tdo.php#tag (accessed 18 March 2010).

In discussion with the delegation, Deputy Speaker Nalumango said that support was needed to train committee chairpersons and staff. She talked about the operation of committees, and the challenges for female MPs. The discussion also touched on the role of the PAP, the advantages and the disadvantages of bicameral Parliaments.

2. Meeting with Members of Parliamentary Committees

The delegation held a discussion with Honourable Request Muntanga, MP, Chair of the Committee on Agriculture and Lands; Honourable Celestino Chibamba, MP, and Honourable Faustina Sinyangwe, MP, members of the Committee on Agriculture and Lands; Honourable Vincent Mwale, MP and Honourable Josephine Phiri, MP, members of the Committee on Sport, Youth and Child Affairs; and Honourable Alfreda Mwamba, MP, member of the Public Accounts Committee.

The committee members gave overviews of the mandates of their committees and the work they have been doing. The Committee on Sport, Youth and Child Affairs is looking at the organization of football (soccer) in Zambia, while the Committee on Agriculture and Lands is looking at the management of land, livestock diseases, and the difficulties in balancing commercial farming methods and traditional farming practices. The members also described the committees' watchdog role, elaborated on land tenure and farming practices, and discussed the situation with internally displaced people.

3. Meeting with the African Parliaments Network Against Corruption (APNAC)

APNAC is an international network of parliamentarians working to strengthen parliamentary capacity to fight corruption and promote good governance. The delegation met with the vice-chairman of the group, Honourable Lazarous Chota, MP and members Honourable Godfrey Mwiize Beene, MP, Honourable Eileen Imbwae, MP, and Honourable Brian Sikazwe, MP.

The APNAC Zambia chapter was created after a governance survey found that Zambians believed MPs were the most corrupt public officials. The chapter has attracted over 60 MPs from all parties. It has worked with the Parliamentary Centre of Canada and has undertaken a number of projects, including an anti-corruption forum and a sensitization campaign.

The delegation and the APNAC members held a frank discussion about the perception that Zambia is sliding back in its fight against corruption. Regarding the acquittal of former president Chiluba, the APNAC members said that for the first time, the public was aware of the issue and that the matter is not dead. They said there is a willingness to fight corruption, as shown by the conviction of the partner of the former president. The members acknowledged there are problems in fighting corruption – particularly at lower levels – but they also pointed out that Zambia is a young democracy and that progress in this area would take time.

4. Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Kabinga J. Pande, welcomed the delegation and said its visit was contributing to the Zambia-Canada relationship. He went on to note that trade between Canada and Zambia has been decreasing, and that it needs to improve. He pointed out that both countries contribute to peace and that Zambia is chair of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR),

with which Canada is involved. He said he would like to see an Institute for Democracy established within the ICGLR.

On the matter of bilateral relations, the Minister noted that soon after Zambia opened a High Commission in Canada, Canada closed its High Commission in Zambia. The Minister wondered if this could be reversed, saying there was a need to enhance the relationship and to restore it to the way it was. The Minister also wondered why Zambia was not one of CIDA's 20 countries of focus. The delegation noted his concerns about restoring the High Commission, and said the countries could look at new ways of strengthening the relationship. The delegation also pointed to other aspects of the relationship: Canada's support for NEPAD; private sector involvement; support for trade through institutions such as Export Development Canada (EDC); and CIDA's multilateral channels.

Minister Pande also discussed the situation regarding regional integration, the Sudan and Somalia, refugees in Zambia, and the DRC. Regarding Zambia's relations with China, he pointed out that they go back to independence and that China had helped build a railroad to the Tanzanian coast. He said that Chinese assistance comes with no strings attached and that Chinese firms pay taxes.

5. Meeting with the Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry

The Honourable Felix C. Mutati, Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry, identified a number of issues of concern, including the inability to conclude an agreement at the World Trade Organization (WTO) Doha Round, the question of market access, and the subsidization of American farmers. He pointed out that although Zambia is grateful for market access to Canada, transportation costs and different standards make it difficult for Zambia to trade competitively.

Minister Mutati explained that SADC, COMESA, and the East African Community (EAC) will become a single free trade area within which Zambia will be able to increase its trade. The constraints to this trade are the lack of transportation corridors and bottlenecks at border crossings. He asked for Canada to participate in the construction of a North-South corridor to assist trade.

In discussion with the delegation, the minister discussed China's involvement in the mining sector – where it is a minor player compared to Canada – as well as its involvement in building infrastructure. He said that development assistance suffers from a multiplicity of architectures – different procedures for each donor country -- which causes fatigue among recipients. He hoped that the new SADC-COMESA-EAC trading block would be able to negotiate an agreement with Canada.

6. Meeting with the UN Resident Coordinator, the UN Country Director and the Chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Zambia

The delegation held a meeting with the UN Resident Coordinator, Mr. Maclead Nyirongo; the UN Country Director, Ms. Viola Morgan; the Chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Zambia, Ms. Pixie Yangailo; and the Vice-Chairperson of the Human Rights Commission, Mr. Palan Mulonda.

Ms. Yangailo explained the Human Rights Commission's role in visiting prisons, preventing human rights abuses, and conducting education and sensitization activities.

Mr. Nyirongo explained the United Nations' role in building parliamentary capacity and in working with the Human Rights Commission to help people learn about their basic rights. The ensuing discussion revolved around prison visits, the health of prisoners, programs to end gender-based violence and to deal with fistula and maternal health, the financing of human rights programs, freedom of the press, and laws banning homosexual activity.

7. Meeting with the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

At COMESA headquarters, the delegation met the Secretary General of COMESA, Mr. Sindiso Ngwenya. He gave an overview of its market integration strategy and the financing institutions associated with COMESA. He described the tripartite agreement between COMESA, SADC, and the EAC to create a unified free trade area by 2012. COMESA's emphasis is on production and infrastructure with a view to reducing the costs of doing business. Mr. Ngwenya said the aid maintains poverty and that investments can represent a way out. Furthermore, he said that market integration would not produce results if there is not the proper infrastructure or the investments to provide value added.

In response to questions from the delegation, Mr. Ngwenya discussed ways of ensuring buy-in at the local level. He agreed that more effort needed to be done at the parliamentary level, but said that because integration is conducted at the executive level, there is sometimes resistance to including parliamentarians.

8. Meeting with the Zambia Development Agency

At the Zambia Development Agency, the delegation met the Chief Executive Officer, Mr. Andrew Chipwende. He gave an overview of Zambia's investment climate. He identified the biggest challenges as upgrading transportation infrastructure, reducing delays at border crossings, improving access to credit, and reducing the cost of doing business. He discussed Zambia's tax structure, noting that there is a tax incentive for companies in priority sectors, under which they pay zero tax on profits for five years, 50% in years six to eight, and 75% in years nine and 10.²⁸ He also talked about the high cost of Internet access, but said that new optic fibre cables should bring the cost down considerably.

9. Meeting with the Electoral Commission of Zambia

At the Electoral Commission of Zambia, the delegation met the deputy director in charge of elections and voter education, Mrs. Priscilla M. Isaac, along with two commissioners, Mrs. Minerva Tembo and Honourable Justice E. E. Chulu. The commissioners supervise the registration of voters, conduct elections, review boundaries, and formulate regulations. They are appointed for a maximum of seven years by the president, but must be approved by Parliament. Funding for the Electoral Commission comes from the government and from donor countries.

²⁸ Zambia Development Agency, Zambia: Africa's New Frontier for Investments and Profits, p. 44, <http://www.zda.org.zm/sites/zda/files/attachments/investor%20guide%20-%20JICA.pdf> (accessed 15 March 2010).

The discussion with the delegation touched on the qualifications of commissioners, constituency redistribution, donor funding for activities between elections, the funding of political parties, and voter education. The commissioners also discussed the mechanism by which the commission reports its findings and its recommendations for amendments to the *Electoral Act*. It also said that its strong Electoral Code of Conduct would enable Zambia to withstand the pressures of the multi-party system.

10. Visit to CIDA-funded development project

The delegation travelled about 90 minutes from Lusaka to visit a development project in the village of Chanyanya. The Chanyanya Smallholders Cooperative is made up of about 120 small-scale farmers who have leased a portion of their land to commercial businesses in return for irrigation equipment and agricultural inputs. The farmers re-invest profits from the leased land back into the community and use the remaining land to grow crops for their families. CIDA, through the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives, is helping the community by supporting the building of a community development centre.

The delegation met the chairman of the Cooperative and the village headman. They visited the community development centre – a building which was under construction and which will house the Cooperative offices and serve as a meeting place. The chairman explained that once the loan for the irrigation equipment has been paid off in 15 years, the equipment will revert to the Cooperative. He said that this will provide a future for the village's children, who will benefit from modern agricultural techniques.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The delegation attended briefing sessions presented by Canadian officials in both Gaborone and Lusaka.

In Gaborone, the delegation attended a working lunch with business groups, including the Botswana Export Development and Investment authority (BEDIA), Hana Mining Ltd., CIC Energy Corp., and WUSC International Scholarship Management.

In Lusaka, the delegation attended a reception hosted by the National Assembly. It hosted a working lunch with the Canadian business representatives from the Caledonia Mining Corporation and Pulse Financial Services. It attended a dinner hosted by the Office of the Canadian High Commission.

CONCLUSION

Botswana and Zambia are both landlocked countries within the SADC region, and although they have developed along different paths, they face many of the same challenges. One of the biggest is dealing with the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Though both countries have been leaders on democracy and reform, their parliamentary democracies are still developing. In both countries, trade and investment play key roles in their development strategies, and China is playing a role in these areas.

In Botswana, the delegation was impressed by the level of development. Despite having a relatively small population and being surrounded by much larger countries, Botswana has succeeded in carving out a unique niche for itself.

In the area of democracy and governance, Botswana has a well-established and stable democracy. Although it has been governed by the same party since independence,

opposition parties play an active role in Parliament. The main challenges for parliamentarians appear to be those of capacity and infrastructure. For instance, parliamentarians are trying to improve the ways in which they communicate with their constituents, particularly in remote areas. The delegation felt the National Assembly of Botswana would benefit from assistance in the area of capacity building and training.

The delegation was impressed with the ideas put forward by the Chairman of Ntlo ya Dikgosi, Kgosi Puso Gaborone of Batlokwa. He provided insights into how the people of Botswana are building the nation by working together in a cooperative and cautious way.

More generally, the delegation was encouraged by the government's stance on human rights in the region and on the situation in Zimbabwe.

At the same time, the delegation was concerned by reports of the marginalization of ethnic minorities within Botswana – such as the San people – and the treatment of migrants from Zimbabwe. It was also concerned by the authoritarian aspects of the *Media Practitioners Act*, which it felt sent the wrong message regarding freedom of the press, which is one of the basic democratic freedoms.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is another cause for concern in Botswana. Although the government has responded to the epidemic by providing education and awareness programs and targeting high-risk populations and although the HIV infection rate appears to be dropping, Botswana still has a long way to go in reducing the rate of new infections.

The delegation was optimistic about Botswana's approach to trade and investment. It heard about its plans to diversify its economy to lessen the reliance on diamond production. These plans are based on creating the right conditions for investment in other sectors, including diamond finishing, leather goods, glass, and beef.

To meet its development, health, and economic challenges Botswana needs resources. However, the delegation was told repeatedly that its status as a middle-income country means that it is ineligible for donor funding. Although per-capita income is relatively high, Botswana still has to deal with many of the problems of lesser-developed countries, many of which are related to poverty. The delegation felt this should be taken into account when Canada evaluates its assistance programmes.

Generally speaking, the delegation found that officials spoke frankly about the situation in Botswana and had a pragmatic vision to addressing its challenges.

Canada is in a position to build on its historic relations with Botswana. Trade and investment opportunities exist, and there are also opportunities in the education sector. The National Assembly would benefit from assistance to help it build capacity and from training for its parliamentarians and staff. Diplomats from the Canadian Mission in Harare could be encouraged to visit Botswana more often.

In Zambia, the delegation felt that though progress has been made toward establishing a well-functioning country, more needs to be done. Zambia is stable, its democracy is functioning despite long periods of rule by one party, and it plays an important role in regional affairs. However, business conditions – including the high taxes on profits – hamper investment, infrastructure is inadequate, and there is the perception that the

fight against corruption has stalled. In addition, the HIV/AIDS epidemic will continue to impede development and greater effort is needed to lower the rate of infection.

The delegation was encouraged by the dedication of the MPs it met. At the same time, it heard about their need for assistance in communicating with their constituents, as well as the need of the National Assembly for help in building its capacity and in training its parliamentarians and staff. The delegation felt that interparliamentary relations between Canada and Zambia should be strengthened.

The delegation was also pleased to hear about the efforts of Zambian MPs to fight corruption. It was encouraged that there was recognition of the problem and that steps were being taken. It also appreciated the frank assessment that Zambia is a young democracy and that fighting corruption at lower levels of the administration will take time.

Regarding trade and investment, the delegation felt that in order to improve the climate for foreign investment, Zambia would need to address a number of concerns. These included the rate of taxation and the need to improve infrastructure.

On the subject of HIV/AIDS, the delegation was concerned that not enough is being done to combat the epidemic.

With regard to relations between Canada and Zambia, the delegation felt the two countries should look at new ways of strengthening the relationship. On the matter of development assistance, the delegation noted the Zambian concerns about the fatigue among recipient countries caused by the different procedures required by each donor country.

On the subject of regional affairs, the delegation heard that a number of the challenges faced by land-locked countries such as Botswana and Zambia require regional solutions. Chief among these is the need for transportation corridors so that goods can be transported to markets in a timely fashion. Long delays at border crossings are another problem. Security problems in the region are also a concern, and both Botswana and Zambia have been affected by the situation in Zimbabwe, which has led to an exodus of people from that country.

That being said, the delegation heard that much progress has been made in the SADC region. It is generally at peace and people can move freely throughout the region. Much of Botswana's and Zambia's trade is with other countries in the region.

The delegation also heard about plans to institute a single free trade area among the countries of SADC, COMESA, and the EAC. It felt this will help solve some of the problems affecting trade at the regional level. At the same time, it acknowledged the need to involve national parliaments in integration process. The delegation encourages the Government of Canada to monitor developments closely so as to identify opportunities for supporting the development of this step toward further regional integration, as well as to opportunities to improve regional infrastructure.

Finally, the delegation would like to comment on the growing influence of China in both Botswana and Zambia. As well as in other parts of Africa, the Chinese are involved in many areas of these countries' economies. The delegation heard anecdotal reports that Chinese companies do not always practice corporate social responsibility, meet national

labour standards, or respect environmental regulations. With regard to Chinese development assistance, the delegation was told that it comes without the kinds of preconditions often imposed by Western donors. The delegation was also told that there were difficulties with the Chinese development assistance approach. The delegation concluded that a better understanding is needed of all the implications of the different approaches.

In conclusion, Botswana and Zambia are stable and peaceful countries, and their commitment to democratic government makes them attractive partners for Canada. They offer the potential for growth in trade and investment, and plans for increased regional integration and improved infrastructure may improve their economic prospects in the medium term. Canada has a limited role in both countries, but enjoys a good reputation. Both Botswana and Zambia would welcome an enhanced relationship with Canada, which the Association supports.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For their help in making the visit to Botswana a success, the delegation would like to thank Ms. Kathy Stiles, Mr. Denis Langlois, Mr. Nlisi Chillie Motshusi, Mr. One Morapedi, Mr. Nkoloi Nkoloi, Mr. Pako Moremi, Mrs. Lebogang Diteko, Dr. Michael Tolle, and Mr. Ed Pettitt. The delegation would particularly like to thank its driver, the incomparable Mrs. G.

For their help in making the Zambian leg of the visit a success, the delegation would like to thank Mr. Anthony Mpolokoso, Mr. Pierre-Paul Perron, Mr. Louis-Frédéric Beaudet, Mr. Solomon Milimbo, Mr. Chris Chikatula, Mr. Greg Saili, Mr. Opa Kapijimpanga, and Mr. Hans Hesse.

Respectfully submitted,

The Honourable Raynell Andreychuk,
Senator, Co-Chair
Canada-Africa Parliamentary
Association

The Honourable Mauril Bélanger
P.C., M.P., Co-Chair
Canada-Africa Parliamentary
Association

Travel Costs

ASSOCIATION	Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association
ACTIVITY	Bilateral Visits to Botswana and Zambia
DESTINATION	Gaborone, Botswana and Lusaka, Zambia
DATES	February 14 to 19, 2010
DELEGATION	
SENATE	The Honourable Raynell Andreychuk The Honourable Mobina Jaffer
HOUSE OF COMMONS	The Honourable Mauril Bélanger Yasmin Ratansi Johanne Deschamps Lois Brown Randy Hoback
STAFF	Michael Dewing Maxime Ricard
TRANSPORTATION	\$98,769.98
ACCOMMODATION	\$12,442.17
HOSPITALITY	\$5,170.68
PER DIEMS	\$4,991.45
OFFICIAL GIFTS	\$2,196.99
MISCELLANEOUS	\$2,248.92
TOTAL	\$125,820.19