COMMENTS ON THE 2027 NATIONAL BUDGET

HEAD 31 – MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON LEGAL AFFAIRS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOVERNANCE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF ZAMBIA

BY

JESUIT CENTRE FOR THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION

NOVEMBER 2026

Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR)
Plot 3813 Martin Mwamba Road, Olympia Park
P.O. Box 37774, Lusaka 10101, Zambia
Tel: +260 211 290410
Fax: +260 211 290759
admin@jctr.org.zm

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. PREAMBLE 3

2. SUMMARY 3

3. CONTEXT 4

4. OVERVIEW OF THE 2027 ALLOCATION 5

5. ADEQUACY AND RAMIFICATIONS FOR SET TARGETS 8

5.1 The Compensation Fund and the cost of legal failure 8

5.2 Access to justice: legal aid 9

5.3 Government legal services 9

5.4 Law reform and legislative drafting 11

5.5 Good governance and democratic dialogue 11

5.6 Witness protection and judicial accountability 12

5.7 Management and support, and the quality of the Estimates 12

6. ALIGNMENT WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS 12

7. FOCUS: PROTECTING PEOPLE WHO REPORT WRONGDOING 13

8. RECOMMENDED VARIATIONS 15

9. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS 16

10. CONCLUSION 17

1. PREAMBLE

On Friday, 6th November 2026, the Minister of Finance and National Planning, Hon. Dr Situmbeko Musokotwane, MP, presented the proposed 2027 National Budget to Parliament under the theme "Grow Zambia: From Stabilisation to Unlocking Opportunities, Creating Jobs and Improving Livelihoods for All". The Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the financial year 1st January to 31st December 2027 total K284.8 billion and include Head 31, the Ministry of Justice.

By letter reference NAS/11/19/13 Conf of 7th November 2026, the Office of the Clerk of the National Assembly invited the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) to comment on the 2027 allocation to Head 31. In line with that invitation, this memorandum covers (i) an overview of the allocation, (ii) its adequacy and ramifications for meeting set targets, (iii) its alignment with national and international commitments, and (iv) recommended variations. It draws on the 2027 Estimates (Yellow Book), the 2027-2029 Medium Term Budget Plan (Green Paper), JCTR's October 2026 submission on the Green Paper, and JCTR's own work: its analysis of the 77 Bills presented in the Fifth Session of the Thirteenth National Assembly, its community social accountability work under the Citizens' Voice Expanded project, and its engagement on the review of the Public Interest Disclosure (Protection of Whistleblowers) Act No. 4 of 2010.

2. SUMMARY

Head 31 receives **K1.66 billion** in 2027, up 13.9 percent on 2026 and about 7 percent in real terms. The headline figure overstates what is available for justice. More than half the Head, K865.2 million, goes to the Compensation Fund to settle claims and awards against Government, and a further K420.1 million is a grant to the National Prosecution Authority. Everything else the Ministry does, from legal aid and law reform to Government litigation and governance, shares K371.9 million.

JCTR welcomes the 35.5 percent increase for the National Prosecution Authority, the doubling of the Witness Management Fund to K40.5 million, and the 52.5 percent rise for the Judicial Complaints Commission. However, the Budget does less for the people who most need the justice system. The Legal Aid Board grant is frozen at K102.1 million, a real cut of 5.9 percent, and its output table has no 2027 targets. The Accountability and Transparency sub-programme is cut by

9.8 percent to K5.0 million in the year the whistleblower law is due for review, and no line anywhere in the Estimates funds the protection of people who report wrongdoing. The Ministry's own results fall well short of its targets: by June 2026 it had handled 30 percent of civil litigation cases against a target of 85 percent, and resolved 40 percent of estate disputes against 75 percent. No inter-party dialogue meetings were held in the first half of 2026 and none are targeted for 2027, despite a contested election.

JCTR recommends variations totalling **K33.6 million**, funded from the Contingency Vote, to protect legal aid in real terms and expand it to districts, establish an interim whistleblower protection window, fund post-election inter-party dialogue and maintain the capacity of the Zambia Law Development Commission. JCTR also asks the Committee to require a published register of claims paid from the Compensation Fund, so that Parliament can see why the State keeps paying for avoidable legal failures.

3. CONTEXT

The Ministry of Justice is mandated to facilitate the administration of justice, promote good governance and uphold the rule of law. It houses the Attorney General's Chambers and funds a group of grant-aided institutions, including the National Prosecution Authority, the Legal Aid Board, the Zambia Law Development Commission, the Zambia Institute of Advanced Legal Education, the Judicial Complaints Commission and the Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue. Its work therefore touches every citizen who needs a lawyer, every law Parliament passes and every contract Government signs.

Three developments shape 2027. The first is the legislative load. The Fifth Session of the Thirteenth National Assembly considered 77 Bills, many presented late in the life of a Parliament heading for dissolution. JCTR's analysis of those Bills found that compressed timelines limited public consultation and left drafting and enforcement gaps that will now need correction. The quality of law depends on the capacity of the Legislative Drafting and Law Revision units and of the Zambia Law Development Commission.

The second is the aftermath of the August 2026 general elections. The suspension of results announcements, the reported detention of opposition figures and the death of a former Minister during a security operation have left political tension that the Zambia Centre for Interparty

Dialogue exists to manage. The third is the planned review of the Public Interest Disclosure (Protection of Whistleblowers) Act No. 4 of 2010, which the Anti-Corruption Commission lists among its 2027 activities and which falls within the Ministry's legislative mandate.

4. OVERVIEW OF THE 2027 ALLOCATION

Table 1 shows the Head by economic classification. Transfers to grant-aided institutions rise by 28.0 percent, driven by the National Prosecution Authority. Personal emoluments fall slightly, by 1.3 percent.

Table 1: Head 31 by economic classification, 2025-2027 (K million)

Classification	2025	2026	2027	Change 2026-27	Share 2027
Personal emoluments	69.5	76.9	75.9	−1.3%	4.6%
Goods and services (incl. Compensation Fund)	825.7	880.2	944.4	+7.3%	57.0%
Transfers	376.2	495.2	633.9	+28.0%	38.3%
Assets	3.1	3.2	3.0	−4.6%	0.2%
Head total	**1,274.5**	**1,455.5**	**1,657.2**	**+13.9%**	**100%**

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31, Table 1. Real change of about +7.1 percent uses inflation of 6.3 percent (October 2026).

By programme (Table 2), Legal Services takes 88.9 percent of the Head, almost all of it in the Arbitration, Litigation and Prosecution sub-programme that carries the Compensation Fund and the prosecution grant. Good Governance and Human Rights is flat in nominal terms. Management and Support Services falls by 21.4 percent.

Table 2: Head 31 by programme and sub-programme, 2025-2027 (K million)

Programme / sub-programme	2025	2026	2027	Change 2026-27
4165 Legal Services	**1,135.2**	**1,258.5**	**1,473.5**	**+17.1%**
Arbitration, Litigation and Prosecution	1,065.2	1,179.2	1,382.3	+17.2%
Estates and Receivership	10.0	10.9	14.9	+36.5%
International Law and Agreements	11.0	13.2	16.0	+21.4%
Legal Education	8.0	10.1	10.1	0.0%
Law Revision	3.9	3.5	5.7	+62.6%
Legislative Drafting	36.9	41.6	44.5	+7.0%
4166 Good Governance and Human Rights	**92.2**	**135.4**	**135.3**	**−0.1%**
Accountability and Transparency	4.2	5.5	5.0	−9.8%
Democratic Governance	1.9	2.4	3.7	+56.0%
Administration of Justice (legal aid)	86.1	127.5	126.7	−0.7%
4199 Management and Support Services	**47.1**	**61.6**	**48.4**	**−21.4%**
Head total	**1,274.5**	**1,455.5**	**1,657.2**	**+13.9%**

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31, Tables 2 and 3.

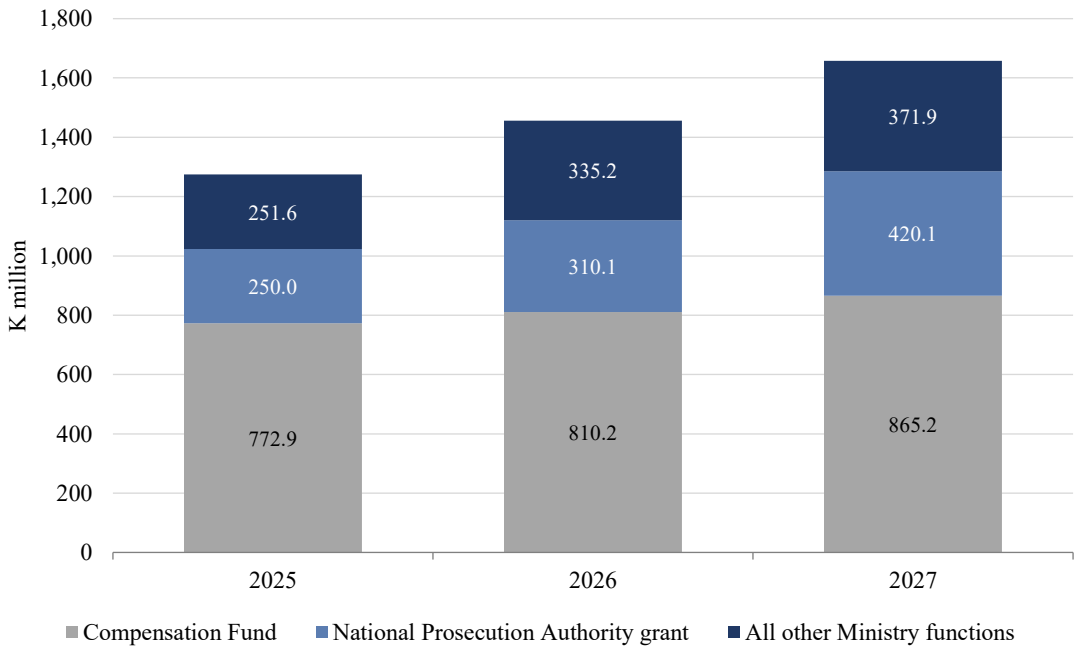


Figure 1: Composition of Head 31, 2025-2027 (K million)

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31. "All other Ministry functions" is the Head total less the Compensation Fund and the National Prosecution Authority grant.

Figure 1 shows why the headline growth is misleading. The Compensation Fund and the prosecution grant together account for 77.6 percent of the Head. The remaining functions grow by 10.9 percent, or about 4 percent in real terms. Table 3 shows the transfers to grant-aided institutions.

Table 3: Transfers to grant-aided institutions and funds, 2025-2027 (K million)

Institution / fund	2025	2026	2027	Change 2026-27
National Prosecution Authority	250.0	310.1	420.1	+35.5%
Legal Aid Board	75.5	102.1	102.1	0.0%
Witness Management Fund	3.9	19.8	40.5	+104.6%
Zambia Law Development Commission	18.6	24.7	24.7	0.0%
Judicial Complaints Commission	9.6	15.2	23.2	+52.5%
Zambia Institute of Advanced Legal Education	8.0	10.1	10.1	0.0%
Legal Aid Fund	3.6	6.2	6.2	0.0%
Attorney General’s Chambers, provincial centres	5.4	5.4	5.4	0.0%
Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.0%

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31, Programmes 4165, 4166 and 4199, Table 4.

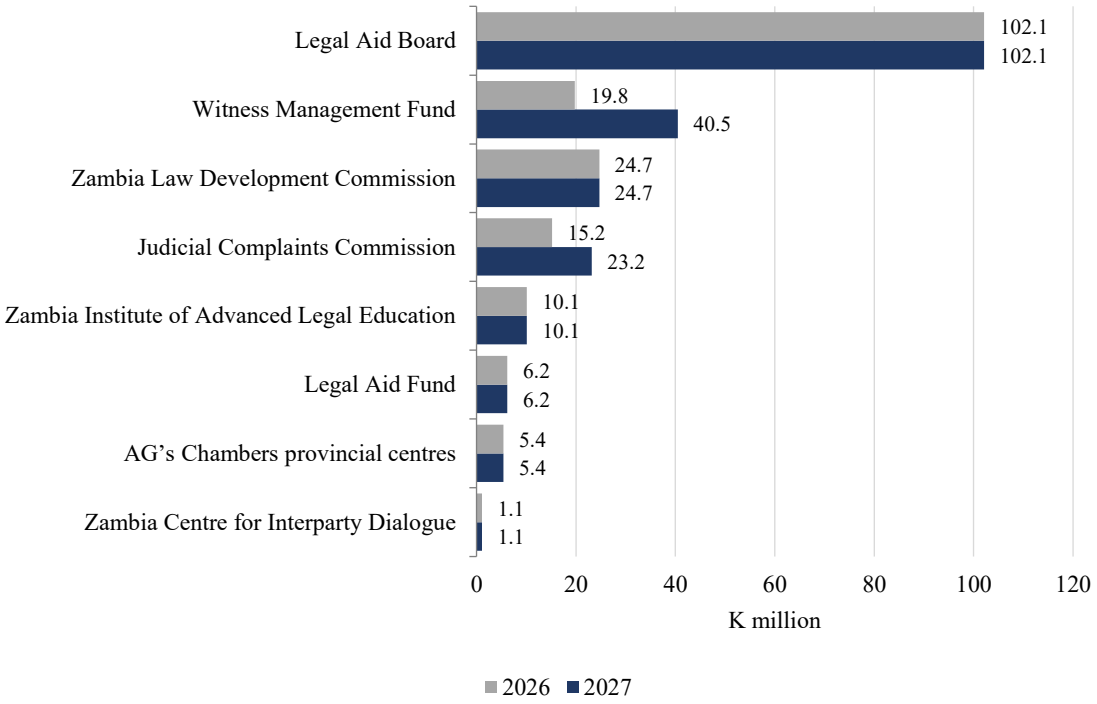


Figure 2: Transfers to grant-aided institutions, 2026 and 2027 (K million)

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31. National Prosecution Authority omitted for scale.

Six of the nine transfers are frozen in nominal terms, which means a real cut of about 5.9 percent for each. They include the Legal Aid Board, the Zambia Law Development Commission and the Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue.

5. ADEQUACY AND RAMIFICATIONS FOR SET TARGETS

5.1 The Compensation Fund and the cost of legal failure

The Compensation Fund rises from K810.2 million to K865.2 million and now takes 52.2 percent of the Head. It pays claims and awards against Government arising from breaches of contract, unlawful dismissals, wrongful detention, land acquisition and other disputes. JCTR accepts that judgments must be honoured. But the size of the Fund, and its steady growth, point to recurring failures in contract management, procurement and administration across Government. Each kwacha paid in awards is a kwacha not available for legal aid, drug supplies or social protection.

The Yellow Book gives no information on the number, causes or age of the claims being paid, on outstanding judgments not yet funded, or on whether any officer has been held responsible for losses. JCTR therefore asks the Committee to require the Ministry to publish an annual register of

claims and awards paid from the Fund, by cause and responsible institution, and to report on the recovery of losses from officers found to have caused them, as section 52(2)(e) and (g) of the Public Finance Management Act, 2018 allows. This would turn the Fund from a recurring cost into an early-warning system for Government.

Much of this information is already required by law. Section 22 of the Compensation Fund Act, 2016 obliges the Compensation Fund Committee to report on its activities each year, with audited financial statements, and the Minister to lay that report before the National Assembly within seven days of its first sitting after receiving it. The Committee may wish to ask whether these reports have been laid each year since the Act came into force. Two features of the Act also bear on the size of the allocation. Interest runs on awards from the date of judgment (section 17(2)), and where the Fund cannot pay all verified claims, the balance is carried forward to future years (section 21). The Yellow Book records the Fund as a liability for outstanding bills, so part of its growth may reflect accumulated arrears and interest rather than new claims, which only a statement of verified but unpaid claims would show. In addition, the Compensation Fund Committee checks whether a claim matches the judgment and whether it is under appeal (section 18(2)), but not whether a settlement negotiated by the Attorney-General is reasonable in value, so consent judgments pass without independent scrutiny of their amount. Nor do the Estimates state the State's exposure to litigation still pending, such as the claim filed in July 2026 by 25 former mayors and council chairpersons for more than K153 million.

5.2 Access to justice: legal aid

The Legal Aid Board grant is frozen at K102.1 million and the Legal Aid Fund at K6.2 million, a real cut of 5.9 percent in each. The Board serves people who cannot afford a lawyer, including accused persons in criminal cases, widows in property disputes and workers facing unfair dismissal. These are the people JCTR's Basic Needs and Nutrition Basket shows cannot cover their basic costs, let alone legal fees.

More troubling than the freeze is the absence of targets. The Board's output table sets no 2027 target for the proportion of eligible clients granted legal aid, and no target for new district offices. The 2026 actuals for both indicators are also blank. In 2025, the Board reached 80 percent of eligible clients against a target of 100 percent and opened three of five planned district offices.

Without targets, Parliament cannot judge whether the allocation is adequate, and the Board cannot be held to account for coverage outside provincial centres.

5.3 Government legal services

Table 4 sets out the Ministry's main service targets and results. The Ministry is falling well short in the areas that most affect ordinary citizens and public resources, while keeping its targets unchanged.

Table 4: Selected Head 31 output targets and results, 2025-2027

Output	2025 target	2025 actual	2026 target	2026 actual (June)	2027 target
Civil litigation cases handled (%)	85	29	85	30	85
Estate ownership disputes resolved (%)	80	75	75	40	80
Agreements and contracts vetted (%)	100	100	100	85	85
Lawyers called to the Bar	360	34	360	93	360
Proportion of bills drafted (%)	100	100	80	90	80
Policy briefs on accountability and anti-corruption	2	1	2	1	2
Inter-party dialogue meetings held	8	2	8	–	–
Integrated Case Flow Management System implemented	1	1	1	–	1
Proportion of clients granted legal aid (%)	100	80	100	–	–
Legal aid district offices operationalised	5	3	5	–	–

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31, Table 6 for Programmes 4165 and 4166. A dash means no figure is given.

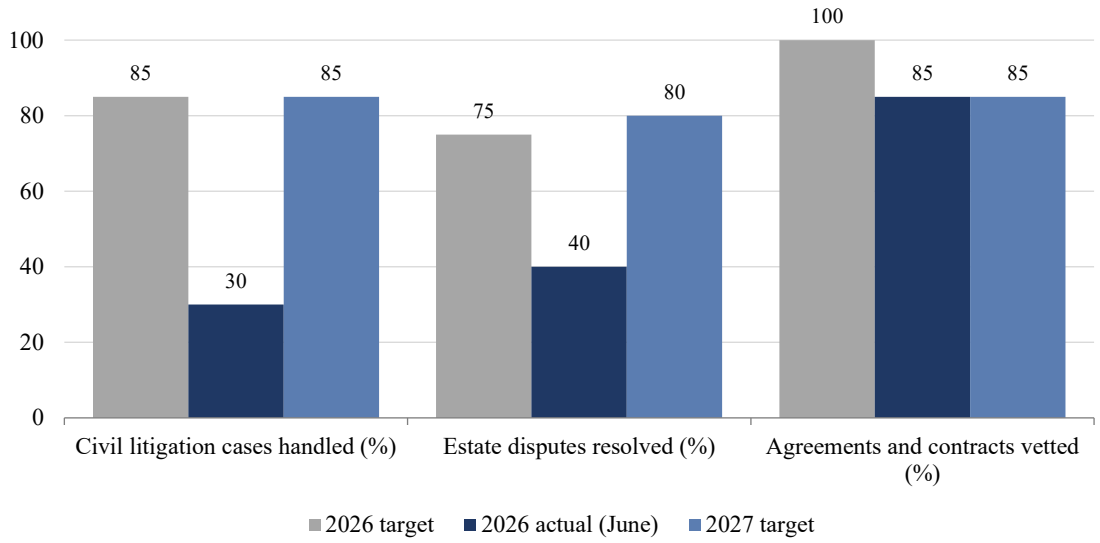


Figure 3: Government legal services, targets and results, 2026-2027

Source: Yellow Book 2027, Head 31, Programme 4165, Table 6.

Civil litigation is the clearest gap. The Ministry handled 29 percent of cases in 2025 and 30 percent by mid-2026, against a target of 85 percent in both years. Cases that are not defended properly become judgments against the State, which then flow back into the Compensation Fund. Investing in the Attorney General's litigation capacity, including the decentralised provincial chambers, would reduce future awards. Yet the transfer to the provincial centres is frozen at K5.4 million for a third year.

Estate disputes resolved fell from 75 percent in 2025 to 40 percent by mid-2026. These disputes fall hardest on widows and children, who are often dispossessed when a family member dies. JCTR welcomes the 36.5 percent increase for Estates and Receivership and asks the Committee to require the Ministry to report on how it will close the gap.

On contract vetting, the 2027 target in the output table (85 percent) is lower than the 100 percent stated in the narrative. Unvetted contracts carry exactly the legal and financial risk that ends up in the Compensation Fund. JCTR asks the Committee to confirm that the target is 100 percent and to require reporting on contracts signed without vetting.

5.4 Law reform and legislative drafting

JCTR welcomes the increases for Legislative Drafting (7.0 percent) and Law Revision (62.6 percent). The experience of the 77 Bills shows why these units matter. Bills prepared in a hurry,

with little time for consultation, produce laws that need early amendment, invite constitutional challenge and are harder to enforce. Good drafting is cheaper than litigation.

However, the Zambia Law Development Commission, which leads research and consultation on law reform, is frozen at K24.7 million. Its role in consulting the public before laws are drafted is precisely what the compressed legislative process lacked. The Zambia Institute of Advanced Legal Education is also frozen, while only 93 lawyers had been called to the Bar by mid-2026 against a target of 360. The output table also keeps the target for bills drafted at 80 percent, while the narrative states 100 percent. JCTR asks the Committee to seek clarification.

5.5 Good governance and democratic dialogue

The Accountability and Transparency sub-programme is cut by 9.8 percent to K5.0 million. Its outputs are two policy briefs and two consultative meetings, and in each of the last two years only one of each was produced. This sub-programme should carry the Ministry's work on anti-corruption law, including the whistleblower review discussed in Section 7. Cutting it in the year of that review is inconsistent with the Ministry's own strategy of strengthening accountability and transparency.

Democratic Governance rises by 56.0 percent to K3.7 million, but the Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue grant is frozen at K1.1 million and the output table records no inter-party dialogue meetings in the first half of 2026 and sets no target for 2027. This is the year after an election marked by suspended results, detentions and a fatal security operation. Structured dialogue between parties is needed now more than at any point in the electoral cycle. JCTR asks that the Centre be funded for a programme of post-election dialogue with clear targets.

5.6 Witness protection and judicial accountability

The Witness Management Fund doubles to K40.5 million. JCTR welcomes this as the only line in the Budget that pays for protecting people who give evidence. The Fund is designed for witnesses in criminal proceedings, and its rules and reporting should be published, including the number of persons protected each year. The Judicial Complaints Commission rises by 52.5 percent to K23.2 million, which should help it maintain its record of concluding 85 percent of complaints against judicial officers.

5.7 Management and support, and the quality of the Estimates

Management and Support Services falls by 21.4 percent, mainly through lower staff costs. The Ministry trained 40 of a planned 80 officers in each of the last two years, and its unqualified audit report for 2026 had not been issued by mid-year. The Head also contains several inconsistencies between its tables and its narrative: the training target (80 in the table, 50 in the text), the contract vetting and drafting targets noted above, and the period of the new Strategic Plan (2027-2031 in the table, 2027-2029 in the text). Accurate Estimates are a basic condition for parliamentary scrutiny, and JCTR asks the Committee to request a corrected output schedule.

6. ALIGNMENT WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

Table 5 assesses the allocation against Zambia's commitments. The Budget is broadly aligned on prosecution and judicial accountability, but weakly aligned on access to justice, protection of reporting persons and democratic dialogue.

Table 5: Alignment of Head 31 with national and international commitments

Commitment	Requirement	Assessment
Constitution, Article 18	Protection of the law, including legal representation for accused persons	Weak: legal aid frozen in real terms with no coverage targets
Constitution, Articles 63 and 198	Equity in the distribution of resources; transparency and prudent use of public resources	Weak: K865.2 million in awards with no published register of causes
Eighth National Development Plan	Good Governance Environment: strengthen transparency and accountability mechanisms; strengthen the criminal justice system and rule of law	Mixed: prosecution and judicial accountability strengthened; accountability and transparency cut
SDG 16.3	Equal access to justice for all	Weak: legal aid district expansion has no target
SDG 16.5 and 16.6	Reduce corruption; build accountable institutions	Weak: no funding for whistleblower protection
UN Convention against Corruption, Articles 32 and 33	Protect witnesses and persons who report corruption	Partial: Witness Management Fund doubled; no protection for reporting persons
AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, Article 5(5)	Protect informants and witnesses	Partial: as above
ICCPR, Article 14(3)(d)	Legal assistance for accused persons where the interests of justice require	Weak: real cut to legal aid

Source: JCTR assessment.

7. FOCUS: PROTECTING PEOPLE WHO REPORT WRONGDOING

The Public Interest Disclosure (Protection of Whistleblowers) Act No. 4 of 2010 provides for anonymous disclosures, protection against occupational detriment and reprisals, confidentiality of identity, relocation and remedies. Sixteen years on, its weakness lies in delivery rather than text. No institution is responsible for protecting the person who reports, protection is spread across bodies whose primary job is to investigate, and there is no budget for protection services. Table 6 summarises the main gaps, drawing on the 2024 gap analysis by Transparency International Zambia and the 2025 country assessment by the Platform to Protect Whistleblowers in Africa.

Table 6: Gaps between the 2010 Act and practice

Area	What the Act provides	Gap in practice
Institutional responsibility	Disclosures may be made to several investigating authorities	No single body is responsible for protecting the person or reports on protection outcomes
Reprisals	Protection against occupational detriment and reprisals	No interim protection while a complaint is decided; no presumption of retaliation
Relocation	Protective procedures and relocation	No protocol, trained officers or budget
Confidentiality	Non-disclosure of identity; anonymous disclosures	No standard for secure case management or enforced sanctions
Scope	Framed largely around employees	Community monitors, contractors, volunteers and family members not clearly covered

Source: JCTR analysis drawing on Transparency International Zambia (2024) and PPLAAF (2025).

The gap matters directly to JCTR's work. Through social audits, expenditure tracking and community score cards in districts including Lufwanyama, Kalulushi, Sinazongwe, Chipata, Choma, Monze, Mazabuka and Nkeyema, JCTR asks ordinary citizens to report on CDF projects, health facilities, water points and social protection programmes. These citizens are whistleblowers in all but name, but most are not employees of the bodies they report on, and the Act offers them little.

The 2027 Budget does not fund protection anywhere. The review of the Act appears under the Anti-Corruption Commission's investigation programme, which illustrates the problem: protection is treated as part of investigation rather than as a function in its own right. That Commission is itself behind its targets, having investigated 52 percent of reported cases by June 2026 against a target of 80 percent. A person who reports may wait a long time for an outcome, and that is when retaliation is most likely.

JCTR's position, set out in full in its separate submission to the Ministry on the review of the Act, is that the amending law should establish an Independent Whistleblower Protection Commission with a ring-fenced Whistleblower Protection Fund, extend protection to community accountability monitors and family members, introduce a rebuttable presumption of retaliation and interim protection directives, and require any body receiving a disclosure to assess the risk to the person who made it. Because the Commission cannot exist before the law is amended, JCTR proposes an interim protection window in 2027, set out in Section 8.

8. RECOMMENDED VARIATIONS

JCTR recommends targeted variations totalling **K33.6 million** (Table 7). They are designed to protect access to justice in real terms, fund protection for people who report wrongdoing while the law is reviewed, support post-election dialogue and maintain law reform capacity.

Table 7: Recommended variations to Head 31 (K million)

Line	2027 Estimate	Proposed	Variation	Purpose
Legal Aid Board	102.1	112.1	+10.0	Restore real value (K6.4 million) and open new district offices, with 2027 coverage targets
Witness Management Fund: whistleblower protection sub-account	40.5	52.5	+12.0	Interim risk assessment, relocation, safe accommodation and subsistence for people at risk after a disclosure
Accountability and Transparency	5.0	10.0	+5.0	Secure reporting channel and toll-free line (K3.0 million); restore 2026 level and fund the review of the whistleblower Act (K2.0 million)
Legal Aid Fund	6.2	9.2	+3.0	Legal representation for whistleblowers facing dismissal or malicious proceedings
Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue	1.1	3.1	+2.0	Post-election inter-party dialogue programme with published targets
Zambia Law Development Commission	24.7	26.3	+1.6	Restore real value to support public consultation on law reform
Total			**+33.6**	

Source: JCTR proposal. Whistleblower protection components are indicative and should be refined through a costing exercise by the Ministry.

Funding the variations. In accordance with Article 202 of the Constitution, which allows the National Assembly to vary the Estimates without changing their total, JCTR proposes that the variations be funded from the Contingency Vote under Head 21, which rises from K571.3 million in 2026 to K1.37 billion in 2027 with no explanation in the Estimates. In its submissions on Heads 34 and 46, JCTR has proposed returning the Contingency Vote to its 2026 level, which frees K800 million, and allocating K734.6 million of this to health and the Human Rights Commission. The K33.6 million proposed here fits within the remaining K65.4 million. Moving money from an

unexplained reserve to named lines that Parliament can follow is consistent with the transparency principle in Article 198.

9. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

JCTR further recommends that the Committee:

1. Require the Ministry to lay before the National Assembly the annual reports of the Compensation Fund Committee required under section 22 of the Compensation Fund Act, 2016, and to publish with them a register of claims and awards paid, by cause and responsible institution; the total of verified but unpaid claims; the share of each year's allocation paid as interest; an estimate of exposure from pending litigation; and the losses recovered from officers responsible under section 52 of the Public Finance Management Act, 2018.
2. Require the Legal Aid Board to set 2027 targets for the proportion of eligible clients granted legal aid and for new district offices, and to report on coverage by province.
3. Ask the Ministry to explain the gap between its civil litigation target (85 percent) and its results (29 to 30 percent), and to set out how the decentralised Attorney General's Chambers will close it.
4. Ask the Ministry to set out a plan to close the gap on estate disputes, with priority for widows and orphans.
5. Confirm that the 2027 targets for contract vetting and legislative drafting are 100 percent, as the narrative states, and require reporting on contracts signed without vetting.
6. Request a corrected output schedule resolving the inconsistencies between the Head's tables and narrative.
7. Ask the Ministry to lead the review of the Public Interest Disclosure Act, with a timetable for presenting an amending Bill in 2027 that provides for an Independent Whistleblower Protection Commission and Protection Fund.
8. Require the Witness Management Fund to publish its rules and the number of persons protected each year.
9. Require the Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue to set and publish 2027 targets for post-election dialogue.

10. CONCLUSION

The 2027 allocation to the Ministry of Justice looks generous, but most of the increase goes to paying for past failures and to prosecution. The parts of the Head that help ordinary citizens reach justice, protect those who expose wrongdoing and keep the political process peaceful are frozen or cut. At the same time, the Ministry's own results on civil litigation and estates suggest that weak legal services today will become larger compensation bills tomorrow.

The variations JCTR proposes are modest, at K33.6 million, and can be funded without increasing the Budget. They would protect legal aid in real terms, give people who report wrongdoing somewhere to turn while the law is reformed, and fund the dialogue the country needs after a difficult election. JCTR commends them to the Committee and remains available to provide further information.