

# A New Zimbabwe

*A sovereign, democratic, prosperous and self-sufficient nation led by a compassionate government that respects the rule of law and the rights of all its people, pursuing their welfare and interests in an honest, transparent and equitable manner.*

# A New Beginning

**Policies of the  
Movement for Democratic Change**

**2008**



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# INTRODUCTION

We founded the Movement for Democratic Change in September 1999 with the clear objective of working towards the democratic transformation of Zimbabwe. At that time, none of us imagined that it would take nearly a decade to bring about the change we all desired.

At our congress in March 2006, we set out a roadmap to democracy in which we stated that we would launch a democratic resistance programme intended to bring Robert Mugabe to the negotiating table in order for us to unlock this crisis. The people were victorious in this regard, and on 28 March 2007 SADC called for an extraordinary summit at which they mandated President Mbeki of South Africa to mediate between ZANU(PF) and the MDC. The resultant dialogue has led to many positive developments, particularly reforms in POSA (the Public Order and Security Act), AIPPA (the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act), and the Broadcasting Services Act.

Despite Mugabe's insincerity in this process, we have renewed hope that elections due in March 2008 will provide Zimbabweans with another opportunity to elect a new administration to usher in a completely new dispensation in terms of general governance, public welfare and democracy.

To this end the MDC policy council, comprising the leadership of the movement in Zimbabwe, assisted by many friends and colleagues all over the world, has been working on a comprehensive revision of our economic and social policies since our second congress in March 2006.

This document summarizes the findings of the council and its views on what needs to be done to stabilize the economy and to bring about reconstruction and development as well as a complete restructuring of our economic and social systems. We like to refer to this programme as our New Zimbabwe campaign.

Since independence in 1980 the government of the day has failed to bring the individual freedoms and opportunities that had been denied the majority for the previous century. After an encouraging start, our newly elected government abandoned its early idealism and principles and set out on a journey that has destroyed the economy, devalued our currency, and made us the laughing stock of the region.

We face a daunting task. When the people put their trust in us in March 2008, we will take over the reigns of government in April, and we will have to deal with the situation that is our collective legacy of 28 years of independence and misgovernment.

Our infrastructure is degraded, our factories are silent, our farms destroyed and abandoned. We have accumulated debt that is nearly two times our total economic output, and our export earnings will not pay for our essential needs, let alone the prerequisites of development and reconstruction.

We still have friends in the world economy, and in the region, and with their assistance we will be able to halt inflation, bring back jobs we have lost and restore our nation's dignity.

This will take hard work, dedication and commitment on the part of all Zimbabweans. We in the MDC want people to know, in advance of the elections, what we will do with their mandate in all areas of our national life. That is what is contained in this document. It sets out our vision of the way forward, how we will achieve those goals and ambitions, and what we will do to make our vision of the future a reality.

For our part we pledge that the MDC will pursue these stated goals with all the energies and capacity we have. We will do so with integrity and in a transparent manner that will allow all Zimbabweans the opportunity to participate and comment on our efforts and policies. I have no doubt in my mind that together we will succeed.

*Morgan Tsvangirai*  
President

# GOVERNANCE





# LAW AND JUSTICE

*Justice, peace and unity under a democratic and people-driven constitution*

At the heart of the MDC's law and justice policy lies its recognition of two principles:

- ✎ Fundamental human rights and freedoms are universal and inviolable.
- ✎ The country's constitution, as its supreme law, must be consistent with this and be in accordance with the people's wishes for all governance structures.

It recognizes that it is futile to ignore international standards and laws, as those aggrieved may go beyond domestic courts, and it considers such conduct both wrong and unsustainable in the modern world. The MDC accepts, too, that the constitution and constitutionalism, including the rule of law, are the keys to good governance.

It accepts that prosperity and development cannot be isolated from democracy, that democracy cannot function in a lawless society, and that the foundation for good governance, justice, peace and unity in Zimbabwe can exist only under a democratic and people-driven national constitution.

The MDC remains alive to the popular national demand for, and the necessity of, affording the people of Zimbabwe the opportunity to create and found the constitution that they desire – a constitution that enshrines freedom, democracy, transparency and good governance.

It recognizes the work done already and that a truly people-driven final constitution can be created only in an open environment where all can debate and participate freely – the timid with the bold – and that is not possible in the current situation, where many rights are not yet recognized in the constitution or in practice, and where the society is deeply polarized and conditions are not conducive to completing that task. An enabling environment is urgently needed to continue the process and to complete the new constitution required.

The MDC's law and justice policy therefore covers constitutional principles as well as law and justice-delivery objectives underpinned by those principles.

## **POLICY OBJECTIVES**

- ✎ To ensure that a comprehensive new constitution for Zimbabwe is finalized, following open, informed debate by all its people, and is enacted into law with their concurrence.
- ✎ To immediately initiate, and then maintain, a participatory, effective system

of law delivery, working with Parliamentarians, stakeholders and experts to improve law-making methods, and ensuring progressive law reform and development consistent with the country's needs and peoples' desires and our international obligations.

- ✎ To operate and maintain a principled, efficient system of justice delivery by:
  - ✎ Immediately and accurately establishing all facts concerning outstanding civil and criminal cases, prisoners on remand and those serving custodial sentences, and all the components of justice delivery to ensure rapid appropriate remedial action on all bottlenecks and backlogs.
  - ✎ Ensuring the provision of sufficient resources for the courts through adequate sustainable budgeting, planning and review, thereby enabling recruitment, training and staff retention.
  - ✎ Developing and maintaining a humane, efficient criminal-justice correctional system.
- ✎ To have any criminal records based on any unlawful laws (those violating rights, e.g. POSA, AIPPA) independently reviewed on request and expunged.
- ✎ To promote and secure the rule of law by ensuring the independence of the judiciary and of the legal profession, and through training to provide legal services based on integrity and recognized legal principles, which are fundamental to justice and good governance.
- ✎ To promote access to law and justice by promoting accessible legal information for the public, providing and promoting sustainable quality legal-aid and paralegal services, and ensuring the proximity and accessibility of courts and facilities, using simpler court procedures.
- ✎ To protect and promote human rights and social justice through empowering Zimbabweans to articulate and enjoy their human rights, and educating and empowering Zimbabweans to respect other people's rights.

## **THE CONSTITUTION**

The Constitution of Zimbabwe must provide for one sovereign state, Zimbabwean citizenship, and a democratic system of government responsive to the needs and demands of all its people, committed to achieving equality between men and women and people of all races in a free and just society.

Human rights are the basis of the State's relationship with its people. Everyone is entitled to enjoy all universally accepted fundamental rights, freedoms and civil liberties, including economic, social and cultural rights as well as equality, dignity and other civil and political rights. The State and all its organs are obliged to respect, promote and defend such rights, which shall be provided for and protected by entrenched justiciable provisions in the constitution, and by bodies established

and protected by the constitution that are effective, broad-based and independent in accordance with the people's wishes and Zimbabwe's international undertakings. Sovereignty, accordingly, shall not be misconstrued as impunity, and Zimbabwe will be governed in line with the law of nations and, in particular, in accordance with all the international standards it has agreed upon or acceded to. When Zimbabwe accedes to international conventions and treaties, Parliament will pass appropriate local laws to enshrine them.

The constitution will prohibit racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination, and will promote racial and gender equality and a national unity that is based upon tolerance of diversity. The State and government must make every effort to integrate all the peoples of Zimbabwe while recognizing their ethnic, religious, political and cultural diversity, and to promote a culture of co-operation, understanding, appreciation, tolerance and respect for the customs, cultures, languages, traditions and beliefs of others.

Diversity of languages, cultures and beliefs will be acknowledged and protected, and conditions for their promotion encouraged.

The constitution will be the supreme national law, and anything inconsistent with it will be void and of no force or effect. It will be binding on all organs of the State, at all levels of government, and on all persons, and respected and upheld by all. Everyone who exercises State power does so in trust for the people of Zimbabwe, and must exercise such power in accordance with his or her responsibilities to the people, solely to serve and protect the people's interests, and within the bounds of lawful authority set out in the constitution and other laws of the country. The State and all its organs must be committed to the rule of law, and no person or institution shall be above the law.

The legal system will ensure the equality of all before the law and equitable legal processes. Equality before the law includes laws, programmes and activities that have as their object the amelioration of the conditions of the disadvantaged, including those disadvantaged on the grounds of race, colour, gender, disease or disability, so as to achieve a proper balance in these as soon as reasonably possible.

The constitution will provide for the separation of powers with all appropriate checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness. The constitution must accept the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary as three necessarily separate pillars of the State, recognize their proper roles, and provide for the due distribution of power amongst them.

In line with the wishes of the people of Zimbabwe already expressed, it will ensure that:

- ✎ Parliament is the centre of power, enacts laws, controls State finances, and performs an effective oversight role over the Executive, while remaining fully answerable itself to the people.
- ✎ Neither the Head of State nor any other person has unbridled or perpetual power.
- ✎ The Executive shall always be fully accountable to the people.
- ✎ The manner of appointment, tenure and other provisions relating to the Judiciary are in accordance with the best international practice, and that it retains its independence from the other pillars and its ability to uphold and enforce the law; the Judiciary will be appropriately qualified, capacitated, independent and impartial, and have the power and jurisdiction to safeguard and enforce the constitution and all fundamental rights.

The free and informed will of the people is the only legitimate basis of authority for any government. The State is based on democratic principles, which empower and encourage the active equal participation of all citizens at all levels of government. There will be representative government embracing multi-party democracy, with regular, transparent, free and fair elections that enable a vote in secret to all adult Zimbabweans, and provision for representation that is broadly proportionate at every level.

An electoral system to ensure this must be provided for in the constitution in accordance with the people's stated ideas and aspirations, protected against interference by lesser laws or manipulation arising from political expediency. It will follow best practices and regional standards in regard to the independent administration of all elections, transparency and fairness, universal and equal suffrage, and aim to ensure that results are not distorted, inequitable or distrusted.

The MDC recognizes, as the people of Zimbabwe have done, the virtues and weaknesses in single-member constituency representation and also in proportional representation in Parliament, and endorses the establishment of a balance between these two systems.

In line with SADC's and other international principles, the electoral authority must be independent, impartial, all-inclusive, competent, open, and completely accountable in all aspects of its administration. It must have the legal and financial independence and power to fully organize all aspects of the electoral process in accordance with the constitution, which will incorporate open democratic practices and the need for free and fair elections in every respect.

The constitution must ensure freedom of information, expression and the media so that there can be open, accountable administration at all levels of government, and free informed choice by those whom each level governs, to promote good governance for their benefit and development with integrity.

Government will be structured at national, provincial and local levels, with devolution of powers and recognition of the lower tiers' right to adequate financial and legal autonomy. Every level of government will be based on elected representation. This principle will not derogate from the principle below regarding respect also for traditional leadership. Legislative organs at all levels of government will adhere to formal legislative procedures.

Collective rights of self-determination in forming, joining and maintaining organs of civil society, including linguistic, cultural and religious associations, will, on the basis of the principles of non-discrimination and free association, be recognized and protected.

The right of employers and employees to form and join employer organizations and trade unions and to engage in collective bargaining will be recognized and protected. Provision will be made that every person has the right to fair labour practices.

The institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law, will be recognized and protected in the constitution, and customary law, like common law, will be recognized and applied by courts, subject to the fundamental rights contained in the constitution and to legislation dealing specifically therewith.

The functions, independence and impartiality of every service commission, the Reserve Bank, Attorney-General, Auditor-General and the Public Protector (Ombudsman) will be provided for and safeguarded by the constitution in the interests of the maintenance of effective public finance and administration and a high standard of professional ethics in public service.

There will be an efficient, non-partisan, career-orientated public service, broadly representative of the Zimbabwean community, functioning on a basis of fairness, that will serve all members of the public in an unbiased and impartial manner, and, in the exercise of its powers and administrative functions and in compliance with its duties, loyally execute the lawful policies of the government of the day.

The structures and functioning of the public service, as well as the terms and conditions of service of its members, will be regulated by law so as to encourage

openness, accountability and excellence. The law will protect public officials from victimization and ensure advancement on merit.

Every member of the public service will be entitled to a fair remuneration and pension.

All members of the security forces (police, military and intelligence), and the security forces as a whole, will be required to perform their functions and exercise their powers in the national interest in accordance with the Declaration of Rights and be prohibited from furthering or prejudicing party political interests. Their own fundamental rights will be recognized and adequately protected. Adequate safeguards will exist against any corruption of the armed forces.

The Anti-Corruption Commission and any other commission or constitutional body will be properly independent of government and political interference, impartial, all-inclusive, competent, open and accountable in all aspects of its administration. The constitution will recognize the role of key stakeholders, as defined in and under the treaty of SADC, and respect the need for such stakeholder involvement in selecting independent commissions. Protection will be provided against the arbitrary removal or victimization of any member of such bodies.

Amendments to the constitution will require special procedures involving consultation with the people and special majorities. Universal rights will remain always inviolable.

## **OTHER ASPECTS OF LAW AND JUSTICE**

### ***Institutional Transformation***

The justice system in Zimbabwe is expected to deliver democracy, full freedom for all, dignity, equality before the law, and justice at the individual level. It must help to ensure that all public officials appreciate that, in a democratic society, government must please the people – not the other way around. Clearly the justice system is not doing this now, so it must be transformed.

Through the constitution and other appropriate laws and measures, the MDC will ensure that the judiciary at all levels, and related institutions such as prisons, are transformed in line with the nation's new democratic, rights-based thrust.

As justice cannot be delivered without a better police force, the Ministry of Justice will interact with the Ministry of Home Affairs and stakeholders to create a broad-based, credible, and effective Independent Police Complaints Commission.

The administration of elections under an MDC government will also be done on a professional, unbiased basis so the electoral wishes of the people are seen to be accurately captured and that the process is not politically manipulated or distorted.

### ***Appointments and Remuneration***

An MDC government will ensure that all recruitment into the public service is on the basis of merit, and that the judiciary and other public servants are adequately remunerated to avoid temptation.

All officers in the legal system will be appointed on a non-political basis. While gender imbalance and similar issues will be actively redressed, the primary criterion for the post will be professional competence to perform the job.

The responsibility for the appointment and removal of all judicial officers (including magistrates) will rest with the Judicial Service Commission. The composition of that Commission must inspire confidence that it will reach its decisions on a purely professional basis and will not take into account political or tribal considerations.

### ***Parliament***

At the heart of any democratic system is Parliament. To carry out its work effectively, Parliament must have a strong, functional Portfolio Committee system. The framework for strengthening Parliament exists, and an MDC government will immediately take this further by fully implementing the recommendations of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Reform Committee of 1998.

### ***Constitutional Court***

The setting up of a constitutional court deserves special mention. The MDC government will show its commitment to a new constitutional order by moving quickly to set up a constitutional court with the best expertise available. The court will include top practising and academic lawyers, as well as full-time judges, and the head of the court will be the overall head of the judiciary in Zimbabwe.

### ***Prisons and Alternatives to Imprisonment***

The state of Zimbabwe's prisons is shocking. Apart from the over-crowded and filthy conditions, the attitude of prison administrators and officers towards prisoners is appalling. Prisoners are not being treated as human beings and their rights are being grossly violated.

Some members of the public believe that those who have done harm to society by committing crimes – or who simply stand accused of this – should forfeit all their rights, and that they deserve whatever they get in prison. Regrettably, some

magistrates, judges, prosecutors, police officers and prison officers share these attitudes.

A major thrust of an MDC government will be to create a prison environment that is humane and considerate. In pre-trial sections preparations for prompt, fair trials will be facilitated, while in the convicted sections the approach will generally be geared towards rehabilitating prisoners rather than punishment. For this to happen, adequate resources will be channelled towards the Prison Service.

Problems of overcrowding can be reduced by avoiding unnecessary imprisonment through the greater use of fines and community service as an alternative to imprisonment. Presently, too many people are sentenced to effective custodial sentences in circumstances where alternatives should be suitable. Training and sensitizing judicial officers will go some way towards reducing the prison population, and training and reorientation will also be required for prison officers.

## **A CULTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

Zimbabweans have endured serious human rights violations for a long time. When it is elected into government, the MDC will make a clean break with that past and establish a strong human rights culture. It will be necessary to deal with all past abuses: a separate section in this document, on National Integration, includes provision for a Truth and Justice Commission to deal with this issue. It will also be necessary to construct durable and effective structures to ensure that similar violations do not occur in future. As part of this programme, the MDC will introduce re-orientation programmes for all those affected.

Nothing can be gained by condoning violations of international law in our domestic law: victims will go above Zimbabwe's law and courts to international tribunals.

The MDC will follow the principles for dealing with human rights violations that have been set out by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and are as follows:

### ***First Principle – The Right to Know***

This is not restricted to the violation of the human rights of specific victims or those closely connected to them but extends to rest of society to become a collective right. This is meant to ensure that violations are recorded in history so as to prevent their recurrence.



### ***The Second Principle – The Right to Justice***

This implies that all victims will have an opportunity to assert their rights and receive fair and effective remedy, ensuring that the perpetrators stand trial and that the victims obtain reparations. It also places an obligation on the State to investigate, prosecute and punish the guilty.

### ***The Third Principle – The Right to Reparations***

This involves both individual and collective measures. At the individual level, victims, relatives and dependants must have an effective remedy, and for this to happen the applicable procedures must be circulated widely. The right to reparation must cover all injuries suffered by the victims:

- ✎ Restitution (seeking to restore victims to their previous state).
- ✎ Compensation (for physical or mental injury, including lost opportunities, physical damage, defamation and legal-aid costs).
- ✎ Rehabilitation (medical care, including psychological and psychiatric treatment and counselling).

### ***The Fourth Principle – The Right to Non-recurrence***

This will be crucial, and the following measures will be taken to achieve this objective:

- ✎ Disbanding militias and other armed groups.
- ✎ Guaranteeing security of assets.
- ✎ Repealing all emergency laws, abolishing emergency courts, and recognition of the inviolability and non-derogability of habeas corpus.

# DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

*Professional services protecting the interests of peace-loving people*

The major trend since independence has been towards the creation of a defence force biased towards the ruling party and influenced by tribal and ethnic elements. The process of politicization of the armed forces culminated in 2002, when the armed forces chiefs stated that they would not accept anyone as President (and therefore as Commander-in-Chief) who did not have clearly established liberation war credentials.

Furthermore, the four-year military intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1998 came at considerable cost. In addition to the financial cost of over US\$1.8 billion, the army and air force lost a significant, and as yet undisclosed, number of combatants and officers and a large part of their equipment. The armed forces came out of this conflict a shadow of their former selves, and the subsequent collapse of the economy and the support infrastructure for the armed forces has led to further erosion of its capacity and competence.

The army has also been very badly affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, with up to 60 per cent of the junior ranks having been found to be HIV-positive. Deaths, coupled with widespread resignations and desertions, have decimated the forces in terms of trained and experienced officers and ordinary soldiers. The suspension of the British training programme and sanctions in terms of the supply of arms and spare parts have further reduced the effectiveness of the army. The induction of thousands of youth militia into the ranks of the armed forces has compounded rather than solved this problem.

The primary objectives of the MDC's defence policy will be to:

- ✎ Depoliticize the defence forces so that they serve the interests of the nation, not those of the political party in government.
- ✎ Maintain an appropriately sized, highly trained professional army and air force that is capable not only of defending national interests but also of participating in international peace-keeping and peace-making activities.
- ✎ Equip the defence forces with modern, up-to-date equipment, geared to helping with domestic and regional emergencies and needs.

The Defence Force Services Commission will be overhauled and new independent, qualified members appointed in consultation with commanders of the Zimbabwe National Army and the Air Force of Zimbabwe. It will be the responsibility of this

Commission to review and oversee senior appointments and promotions, as well as general working conditions and salaries of all personnel.

The veterans of the Liberation War will be regarded not as part of the armed forces but as a pressure group with special interests. The MDC's policies towards veterans appear in the social security section of this document and are directed towards providing proper pension and other welfare benefits to all genuine veterans.

## **THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY**

### ***Reorganization and Right-sizing***

In 2007, the army is thought to stand at about 35,000 men and women of all ranks. In addition, there are thousands of militia who have been trained by the State for use as a political force. It is clear that Zimbabwe, which has no significant external threats and should not have any internal problems under a democratic government, will quickly be faced with the need to sharply reduce the total number of personnel in the national army.

The MDC government will plan for an overall reduction in staff to levels more appropriate for a small country with no significant threats, yet at the same time will attend to the run-down nature of the military in terms of equipment and training.

Normal attrition, as a result of resignations, retirements and deaths, is expected to reduce the total number of personnel in the armed forces. It will also be necessary to cut back total numbers by offering soldiers retirement and other incentives to leave the army. The MDC will provide financially for a systematic retirement programme on decent benefits for those who might wish to take early retirement. Pension and medical aid arrangements will be put in place to give effect to this programme, which will be voluntary.

The MDC will conduct an overall review of the level of staffing in the armed forces, the status of existing units, and what is required to bring the armed forces to the standard and level that is considered desirable and sustainable. The objective of this exercise will be to right-size the army for predicted future needs, including the possibility of extensive service overseas in the employ of the United Nations. Consultation will take place with the UN to determine the possibility of Zimbabwe's participation and the terms and conditions that would apply with a view to a significant number of the armed forces taking part in UN peace-keeping operations. These considerations will then be incorporated into any right-sizing programme that is implemented.

Following this review, and to maintain a smaller, professional army that is capable of both international deployment and meeting the needs of the nation, the MDC government will then embark on a programme to revise employment and living conditions for all army personnel, which will include a comprehensive programme designed to address the health problems in the armed forces. Use will be made of the rationalization exercise to identify and upgrade army barracks for future use, while those no longer required will be turned over to local authorities for housing and other purposes.

### ***Army Medical Services***

It is acknowledged that many army personnel are presently HIV-positive. The MDC government will implement a programme to ensure that all army personnel have access to voluntary counselling and testing and that antiretroviral therapy is available to all who need it.

### ***Advanced Training***

A scholarship programme for army personnel, both men and women, will be introduced to allow well-educated staff to go to institutions of higher learning to become specialists. Such personnel will be required to serve two years with the army prior to application and to work for the army upon graduation for the same length of time as the training course followed.

Efforts will be made to use all opportunities that are available for advanced military training in developed countries with the appropriate facilities and programmes.

## **THE AIR FORCE OF ZIMBABWE**

The Air Force of Zimbabwe, another institution with a proud record, has also been reduced to a shadow of its former self and now requires complete overhaul. Expert advice will be sought on the requirements for new equipment.

An agreed programme of staff adjustments and training will be undertaken to ensure the creation of a small but competent air force capable of serving Zimbabwe's needs. In particular, the possibility of using the air force to train pilots and crew as well as maintenance engineers will be examined. Such personnel will then be required to serve in the force for a period similar to that of their training before being released for civilian employment.

The MDC will also examine the possibility of the air force taking partial responsibility, as in other countries, for ministerial and presidential travel.

## **THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION**

The strength of the CIO is not public knowledge but is thought to be very substantial. The Organization has been abused by successive governments to subvert democracy and the rights of the general populace. It has also been used for subversion and political assassinations and is widely feared.

The MDC government will seek an international, professional partner to work with it to review the operations of the CIO and to decide its future role, perhaps as an arm of the Zimbabwe Republic Police Service. It will no longer be run through a presidential vote and its budget will be controlled by Parliament. A parliamentary committee will be created to oversee the CIO, its funding and activities, and will report to Cabinet and Parliament.

Members of the CIO who undertake illegal acts will face the full force of the independent legal system.

# HOME AFFAIRS

*Serving Zimbabweans efficiently without delay*

## **THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL'S OFFICE**

Since it has been used extensively for political purposes, the senior staff of the Office will be subject to an immediate review by the new minister. The new Registrar-General will thereafter be given instructions that will result in the following:

- ✎ Birth, death and marriage certificates will be issued expeditiously at all administrative offices throughout the country. Delays in serving applicants will not be tolerated, and regular surveys of customer satisfaction will be conducted by an independent agency to determine the levels of service being achieved.
- ✎ All persons born in Zimbabwe will automatically receive the right to citizenship, which will be for life and may not be revoked under any circumstances.
- ✎ All persons who have held the right of permanent residence for five years shall be eligible to apply for citizenship by registration.
- ✎ All persons marrying a person with Zimbabwe citizenship shall be entitled to citizenship by registration.
- ✎ All citizens will have the right to travel documents. Such documents will be reasonably priced in relation to their cost and be made available without difficulty by post or in person at all administrative offices of the Registrar-General. Application forms will be made readily available without charge and all applications dealt with expeditiously.
- ✎ All citizens will have the responsibility to register with the Registrar-General's office and will receive a National Registration Number. This will be associated with a Registration Card that will be acceptable as a means of identity throughout the country. Registration and the subsequent issuance of the appropriate documentation will be completed in a single exercise and within a reasonable time frame that will not exceed two hours.

### ***National Registration and the Voters' Roll***

Upon achieving citizenship, all citizens will be required to register with the Registrar-General's Office at the administrative office nearest to their homes. Upon registration, the full details of every citizen will be captured on a national database that will then form the basis of a voters' roll. All citizens will be required to update the information on the national database every time there is a significant change to the details required, such as a change of name, change of address or emigration.

All deaths will be formally registered with the local police, who will not permit

burial until the appropriate death certificate and permission to bury has been issued. All such registered deaths will be notified to the Registrar-General's office within fourteen days. All deaths will be automatically recorded in the national database and the voters' roll amended accordingly. The voters' roll will be maintained in such a way that it can provide a full list of all voters in any electoral district in the country at any time.

Access to the National Register for all citizens will be possible by simply securing access via the Internet and using their ID number. However, only the Registrar-General's office will have the right to update the National Register and database.

## **THE POLICE SERVICE**

The provision of a comprehensive national police service to ensure safety and security of person and property is one of the most important roles of government. The Zimbabwe Republic Police has a proud record of service and achievement and has in the past been recognized as one of the best police services in Africa.

Today an insidious process of politicization, low pay and poor working conditions, as well as a decline in both training and the provision of essential support services, are spoiling this record. As a consequence community support and recognition – so crucial to an effective policing system – are breaking down and crime is not being tackled effectively.

To remedy matters it will be necessary to restructure the service and to enhance the support systems that are essential for its effectiveness. In particular the Police Act – long the foundation stone of the ZRP – will be revisited and restored as the guide to policing in Zimbabwe. It will be necessary to add the word Service to the name of the police. It will be called the Zimbabwe Republic Police Service (ZRPS).

### ***Leadership and Senior Staff Appointments***

Because it is critical for the restoration of the ZRPS as an apolitical and professional organization, all police promotion will be on merit only.

The ZRPS has lost two thirds of its experienced and properly trained officers in the past five years and a massive recruitment and training programme is required to bring it up to strength. This will be achieved by seeking a special relationship with police services in countries with a similar historical and legal background. As a part of that relationship the MDC government will request assistance with staff to enhance the capacity of the Police College in Harare. It may also be necessary to recall retired police officers to active duty and to request the assignment of senior staff from other police services elsewhere in the world.

In addition to this emergency staffing programme the MDC government will undertake a comprehensive review of the staffing needs of the police. This will include the restructuring of the senior ranks, where it is considered that there is some overstaffing at present. It will also examine the role played by the various police auxiliary forces, such as Reserve officers and the Support Unit. The militia will not be required. These roles will be redefined and levels of staffing established. The primary focus will remain on the establishment of the regular service at all levels and in all specialist departments.

### ***Employment Conditions***

One of the key issues to be faced by the incoming government will be the enhancement of the general living conditions of the police and the improvement of staff housing and amenities. To secure these aspects as quickly as possible, and to ensure that a sound consultative review process is put in place to maintain the competitive character of the police conditions of service, the MDC government will require all serving officers to join the Police Association, which will later be elevated to the position of an employees' association.

This will be accompanied by the establishment of a National Employment Council (NEC) for the Service, where the very senior Ranks of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners, assisted by the Public Service Commission, will act as the employer. The Public Service Commission, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Home Affairs, will establish the salaries and working conditions for these very senior ranks in the service.

The general working conditions for the Service, as well as grades and salaries, will be negotiated in the NEC, where the employer and employees will enjoy equal representation. The police service is regarded as an elite service and working conditions and remuneration will be set accordingly. This is regarded as essential in order to retain staff and ensure the integrity of the service down to the lowest ranks.

The Police Service Commission will be completely overhauled and new members appointed in consultation with the new leadership of the Service. The Commission will then oversee senior staff appointments and employment conditions for all staff in the ZRPS.

### ***Housing***

At present police housing is of a generally inferior standard throughout the country. In the larger urban centres, police officers above the rank of sergeant will be encouraged to buy their own homes, and government guarantees for 100 per cent



of the purchase price will be made available. The purpose of this measure is to encourage stability in the Service as well as greater integration with the community. It will also give greater long-term security to police officers.

Junior ranks and police serving in rural areas will be provided with accommodation, and a comprehensive programme designed to upgrade all police housing units will be initiated immediately, the purpose being to provide family accommodation of a reasonable standard for all ranks.

### ***Transport***

Historically, the ZRPS has used the Land Rover as the basic transport unit. Given the size of the service and the need for reliable transport at all levels, the MDC government will establish the capacity to produce a standard police vehicle at a local assembly plant. This will be designed in conjunction with the police and be made as robust and versatile as possible. Rural police stations will receive an allocation of 4-wheel-drive vehicles of the same make.

The use of luxury sedans as a means of road patrols will be discontinued altogether and replaced by utility vehicles of an appropriate design. The role of the motorcycle will be increased to reduce costs and these will be imported.

### ***Forensic Laboratories***

Forensic science is regarded as being a critical component in the fight against crime of all kinds and the establishment of forensic laboratories in the five major cities will enhance the capacity of the Service. These will be staffed with specialists trained for this purpose, assisted in the first instance by officers and specialists from other police services elsewhere in the world, who will be seconded to the laboratories in an advisory capacity in the early stages.

### ***Scholarships***

The ZRPS will control a scholarship programme designed to assist promising young officers who want to take up police studies at university level. These scholarships will be offered only to officers who have been through basic training at the Police College and who have completed two years of satisfactory service with the Service. Such graduates will have to serve a period of service with the police after graduation equal to the duration of the training programme undertaken.

### ***Specialist Units***

Specialist units, such as the Dog Section, the Riot Police and others, will be examined in depth to establish their relevance to the Service and its primary focus of maintaining law and order in the communities they serve, which will include close-

security services for leading dignitaries and visitors as well as the diplomatic service. (The amendment of the Public Order and Security Act to remove unacceptable sections is dealt with elsewhere in this document.) The use of the police to protect private property will be significantly curtailed from the present level, where literally hundreds of people have a regular police presence at their homes, even though this is not justified by any significant threat.

### ***Integration with the Community***

The ZRPS will be required at all levels to establish a close working relationship with the community leaders in the areas they are responsible for. Members-in-Charge will be required to establish a committee of local citizens elected for this purpose at an annual meeting of the community called by the police to brief members of the community on all questions that might concern their basic safety and security.

Such committees will meet on a regular basis with the Members-in-Charge and discuss all concerns and issues that might be raised. At urban level, the most senior ranks of the Service will be required to attend city or town council meetings and to brief councillors on any issues that might be of concern. In rural districts, the same principle will apply, with senior officers attending farmers' meetings and Rural District Council meetings for the same purpose.

# FOREIGN POLICY

*Co-existing with other nations in peace, security and dignity*

The centrepiece of Zimbabwe's foreign policy under an MDC government will be to safeguard the core values of our national independence, territorial integrity and national security. In that regard, the enhancement of the nation's material interests, as expressed in the foreign-policy process in general and diplomatic practice and procedure in particular, will constitute the central thrust of our foreign policy.

The MDC will ensure that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation is well equipped to build the character and confidence of Zimbabwe's diplomats in order to create an efficient and effective diplomatic corps of promise in the service of the nation. Our primary focus will, in the first instance, be the Southern African region.

The MDC's foreign policy will aim to rekindle and recapture the original spirit of SADC and create a renewed sense of hope and common purpose in all the peoples of the region. Zimbabwe will have a positive vision of the region, one in which all states co-exist in peace, security and dignity, where all people have jobs that put food on their tables, provide a roof over their heads, and offer a decent education for their children. We will uphold a vision of a region that develops in a spirit of tolerance and understanding, and we will propagate a vision of a region where respect for the sanctity of the individual, the rule of law, and the politics of consultation and free democratic civic participation grows stronger by the day.

Such a vision seems far away today. To help SADC achieve this positive vision, the MDC will stay firmly engaged in critical regional issues. Zimbabwe will never waver from this positive vision and will vigorously support efforts to find regional solutions to security challenges and engage in serious diplomatic effort aimed at resolving regional conflicts.

In continental and international forums, the MDC government's foreign policy will be committed to the maintenance of a limited, cautious but effective involvement in multilateral initiatives out of the recognition that national security can be enhanced both by national defence and by an international milieu that is less conducive to conflict. In this regard, it will follow a responsible continental and international foreign policy that is sensitive to the wider interests of those communities, as expressed through the African Union and the United Nations Organization and their adjunct bodies and agencies.

The MDC well understands that it will inherit a very demoralized cadre of diplomatic staff, who are poorly and irregularly paid and have become symbols of a pariah state in the countries and regions they serve. It also understands that it will have to cut its coat to fit its cloth, and that a complete review of diplomatic representation will be urgently required once it is elected.

### ***Canons of Foreign Policy***

The MDC is acutely aware of the fact that Zimbabwe's foreign-policy process should involve an aggregate of separate bilateral and multilateral relationships that interlock into a comprehensive scheme designed to promote long-term national interests. The MDC is convinced that the enhancement of the material interests of the nation is an immutable canon of foreign policy.

The MDC will ensure that Zimbabwe's foreign policy speaks for the nation rather than for the idiosyncrasies of an individual. In this regard the MDC will ensure that foreign policy is seen as a clear extension of the nation's strategic domestic interests. It will be a foreign policy that respects the commonly accepted norms of diplomatic etiquette, honesty, good faith and tolerance.

### ***Guiding Principles***

In the multilateral context the MDC sees Zimbabwe working outwards, first into the region through SADC, then to the continent through the African Union, through to the EU and the USA, then through the Commonwealth and thence to the United Nations and its many associated organs.

These relationships come with a shared commitment to human rights, individual and collective freedoms, peaceful co-existence, good governance, and the elimination of poverty and a concerted struggle against ignorance. The MDC government will:

- ✎ Recognize and accept that foreign policy is inspired and influenced by the national interest that incorporates the core values of individual freedom, democratic governance and the rule of law.
- ✎ Accept that the world has become increasingly globalized and that it has become imperative to develop communications capacity for the purpose of engaging in dialogue with the rest of the world.
- ✎ Ensure that Zimbabwe co-operates fully with international measures to end the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, drug and human trafficking, money laundering, and intra-state conflicts.
- ✎ Subscribe to the equitable distribution of resources, opportunity and access for the betterment of all mankind and raising the standard of living for all people.
- ✎ Do all that it can to facilitate the activities of the institutions that represent continental and regional interests in Africa.

- ✎ Pursue a foreign policy based on the inherent strengths of Zimbabwe, measured in economic and moral terms, that are essentially commercial in character.

The immediate goal of the MDC government will be to re-establish full, normal, diplomatic relations with all countries, and to restore Zimbabwe to its rightful place in the community of nations. Zimbabwe will rejoin the Commonwealth and resume normal diplomatic activity in all relevant multilateral organizations.

Thereafter, the MDC will seek to engage all relevant countries and organizations in order to mobilize the resources required to stabilize the economy, meet urgent humanitarian needs, and resume normal economic and political relations.

### ***Policy Objectives***

To achieve its international mission the MDC will set for itself targets of performance that reflect, but in no way are dominated by, global interests, in addition to those that will advance the livelihood and socio-economic well-being of Zimbabweans citizens at home and abroad. The MDC government will follow a foreign policy that safeguards the core values of Zimbabwe's national independence, territorial integrity and national security. The MDC is unequivocally committed to a nationalism that protects Zimbabwe's independence and will foster national growth and development.

The goals of this policy are:

- ✎ To have direct economic and political relations with all potential partners.
- ✎ To work with and provide guidance to the leadership and all MDC party organs on matters pertaining to international affairs.
- ✎ To ensure that the foreign affairs agenda is carried out in a consistent, predictable and self-evaluative manner.
- ✎ To ensure that all government dealings with the international community are synchronized, consistent and harmonious.
- ✎ To ensure that the importance of all multilateral obligations is recognized.
- ✎ To review the location and spread of diplomatic missions abroad and to rationalize the numbers in accordance with an agreed budget and the need to maintain a presence in key capitals.

### ***Policy Programmes***

The following are the main pillars upon which the MDC's foreign policy will be based:

- ✎ A focus on regional and continental interests and activities.
- ✎ An emphasis on value-addition in all international relations to facilitate wealth creation.

- ✎ The protection and pursuit of the needs and interests of all Zimbabweans living in the diaspora.
- ✎ The maintenance of mutually beneficial and positive relations with other progressive political parties.
- ✎ The support of all local, regional and international efforts to foster the observance and maintenance of democracy, human rights and the rule of law.
- ✎ The removal of visa requirements for visitors from countries other than those posing a security threat in order to encourage business and tourism.
- ✎ The negotiation of trade arrangements with countries and multilateral organizations so as to optimize market access and economic growth for Zimbabwe.

## **SPECIFIC ISSUES**

### ***The Southern Africa Development Community***

Zimbabwe is an integral member of SADC in both political and economic terms. The MDC government will seek to strengthen this relationship and commit itself to establishing conditions in Zimbabwe that will correct the current imbalances that exist in our relations with the region. However, the MDC government will insist that any future evolution of the regional body protects the essential domestic interests of Zimbabwe.

### ***South Africa***

Zimbabwe will be South Africa's largest trading partner in Africa, and South Africa will be the largest regional market for Zimbabwe. The relationship can be best described as one of indispensability and competition. Despite the disparity in the relevant size of our respective economies and population, the MDC recognizes that there is great potential for both states in a mutually harmonious and productive relationship.

### ***COMESA***

It is recognized that there are conflicts between the COMESA and the SADC regions in terms of trade policy. Despite this, Zimbabwe will continue to play a key role in COMESA and will seek to intensify its trade activities in the wider region.

### ***The European Union***

The EU is the largest trading block in the world and will be the largest single trading partner for a new Zimbabwe. In addition it is likely to be the largest single donor to the country's reconstruction and rehabilitation programme. As such, economic and political relations with the EU are going to be among the most important of Zimbabwe's foreign-policy activities.

The EU is busy reconstructing its relations with the former African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries that constitute what remains of historical links established during colonial times. Under the new arrangements the EU is negotiating a series of Economic Partnership Agreements with all ACP countries which will replace the Lomé and Doha agreements.

An EPA is currently being negotiated with the SADC region as a whole and, when completed and signed, will govern economic and development assistance arrangements between the EU and all SADC countries. Zimbabwe, as a member of SADC, therefore stands to benefit significantly from this arrangement, and an MDC government will play a full and constructive role in finalizing the EPA with the EU.

### ***The United States of America***

The MDC will seek to establish mutually beneficial bilateral links with America, the world's largest economy, and hopes to be able to benefit from its technological leadership.

### ***The Diaspora***

In addition to serving the interests of all Zimbabweans living abroad, the MDC will seek to persuade those with skills and resources to return home to participate in the stabilization and reconstruction of Zimbabwean society.

### ***Tourism and Investment***

The MDC will seek to promote Zimbabwe as a tourist and investment destination. It will correct the negative image that the country has established for itself in the past two decades and restore international confidence in the country as a secure and welcoming place to visit and invest in. The MDC government will maintain Zimbabwe's membership of the World Bank and the IMF as well as the African Development Bank.

### ***The African Union***

The MDC government will play a positive role in enhancing continental political and economic integration. It will support all programmes to deepen economic co-operation, democracy and respect for all human rights on the continent.

### ***The United Nations***

As a full member of the United Nations and its affiliates, the MDC government will seek to strengthen Zimbabwe's relations with the UN and to meet its obligations as a member in full and on time. The MDC government will seek to participate in all UN programmes to the maximum extent possible within the limitation of resources.

### ***The Diplomatic Corps***

The MDC government will be determined to ensure that an efficient, effective and highly motivated diplomatic corps is put in place to serve the strategic interests of the nation abroad. To this end it will:

- ✎ Create a leaner, purposeful, effective and efficient diplomatic corps focused on those countries and regions that have a proven potential to enhance the growth and stability of Zimbabwe.
- ✎ Rationalize the total number of embassies abroad from the present unsustainable number.
- ✎ Put in place a system of selection and appointment of diplomats that is non-partisan, based purely on merit, and ensures that only competent and honest people are selected – and provided with appropriate, continual training – to represent the country.
- ✎ Improve the efficiency of the consular services (passports, visas, protection services, etc.) offered by embassies.

















# LOCAL GOVERNMENT

*Delivering quality services in a democratic and participatory manner*

Local government under the MDC will enjoy the full protection of the constitution and be structured in a way that empowers the people to make decisions on local issues, supervision from central government being limited only to the protection of the people's interests. Elected representatives will, in the main, represent the interests of the people in their areas of jurisdiction. Local government will deliver quality services at a local level.

Local government faces the following challenges, among many others:

-  Rapid growth in the urban population as a result of rural–urban migration, and a resultant rise in urban poverty.
-  Decayed infrastructure for basic services such as water, effluent disposal, solid waste removal, and recreation.
-  Inadequate road networks and insufficient transport for the commuting public.
-  The scourge of HIV and AIDS and other diseases.
-  The replacement of democratically elected officials with officials appointed against the will of the people.
-  Lack of clarity on the roles of central government, traditional leadership structures and democratically elected councils.
-  The subversion of people's wishes through the use of non-democratic structures, such as chiefs and other traditional leaders in the rural areas.
-  Unlawful ministerial interference in the running of local authorities.
-  Ministerial control of local authorities' budgeting process and delays in approving budgets.
-  An acute shortage of urban residential accommodation.
-  Severely degraded and overcrowded urban neighbourhoods.
-  The incapacity of residents and ratepayers to pay rates and taxes because of the state of the economy.
-  High levels of corruption in the current system.
-  Under-representation of women in local government.

## A VISION FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Under an MDC government, local government, in its different forms and tiers, will play a central role in the welfare and day-to-day lives of ordinary Zimbabweans. Local structures will enjoy devolved power to capacitate them to make substantive decisions on service delivery. The MDC is committed to the creation and sustenance of a local-government system that enjoys the confidence of the people of Zimbabwe through its capacity to deliver quality services in a democratic and participatory

manner, always mindful that it is answerable to the local populace. The MDC government will encourage and foster international inter-local-government relations.

### ***Local Autonomy and Devolution***

The MDC believes that local challenges and aspirations are best dealt with at the local level. Consequently, mandates will be clearly delineated and delegated to local authorities, which will be empowered financially and institutionally to be able to deliver on them with minimum supervision from the central government.

Budgeting and financing mechanisms for local authority activities, development of local legal frameworks and the recruitment of staff are examples of areas in which local authorities will be allowed to act with a high level of independence from central government.

Under the MDC, local government will operate as the ‘local state’, expeditiously attending to the development and welfare needs of the local populace. Within this framework of decentralized responsibility, the MDC will establish provincial authorities that are democratically elected and have clearly defined tasks for the development of the regions for which they have responsibility. The delivery of such services as water, housing, electricity, road infrastructure and waste disposal will be delegated to locally elected officials and institutions.

## **PRINCIPLES AND VALUES**

MDC local government will be based on democratically elected structures, which will be representative of the social, demographic and gender conditions prevailing in the environment. The MDC desires a local-government system that is enduring and is protected from individual political and other interests.

### ***The Rule of Law***

An MDC government will fully respect the rule of law and the national constitution in all its activities. It will respect property rights and ensure a predictable and stable environment for investment and all legal forms of business activity. It will also respect the right to personal security and safety for the people living and working within the boundaries of local authorities.

### ***Human Resources Management***

The MDC will encourage the engagement of qualified personnel, who will be compensated on a basis that will motivate them to deliver efficient, honest and courteous services to the communities they work for. All the staff of local authorities will be recruited and remunerated by the local authority. Local-government labour

policies will be fully integrated with national labour policy and practice, and a National Employment Council will be maintained to service the needs of all staff working in local government.

### ***Equity and Equality***

Equity and equality and solidarity with the poor and disadvantaged are fundamental values of the MDC and these will be pursued in all spheres of local-government activity.

In respect to gender, an objective will be to achieve the appointment of women to half of all senior positions in local authorities and to seek a similar ratio in all elected posts.





In respect to disadvantaged and disabled individuals within our society, the objective will be to ensure equal opportunity and access to all local-government facilities and opportunities. It will also be the policy of the MDC to pursue activities and practices that favour the poor in our society, and to facilitate the growth, security and activities of the informal sector in all its different forms.

### ***Transparency and Accountability***

All revenue and expenditure will be subject to regular and public review as well as oversight by elected structures. Budgets for all local-government activity will be subject to discussion and agreement by the communities they serve prior to presentation to councils and the Ministry for approval. All local authorities will be required to appoint auditors and to present audited accounts within six months of the year-end to the Ministry of Local Government. Failure to do so will result in the suspension of council rights to borrow funds or to change the basis of their tariffs and taxes.

## **POLICY OBJECTIVES**

The objectives of the MDC's policies towards local government will be to:

-  Create and sustain democratic systems of governance in all local government areas in the country.
-  Strengthen local government's capacity to deliver good-quality services to communities with the democratic participation of the communities they serve.
-  Strengthen local government essentially for purposes of strengthening the whole nation through effective and democratic public policies, which seek political democratization and power sharing to help create social and political stability and development.
-  Create an environment which encourages sustainable wealth creation through local and foreign investment.

- ✎ Exploit opportunities that exist in the global economy and emerging technologies to strengthen local democracy and fight poverty, disease and hunger.
- ✎ Guarantee the operational autonomy of local government with respect to the services delegated to them, and allow local initiatives to flourish on matters of interest and importance to the local communities.
- ✎ Entrench equality of opportunity for women, men and disadvantaged groups, which is expected to translate into a stronger role for women in local governance and the development of policies that deal affirmatively with concerns of disadvantaged groups.
- ✎ Encourage the co-operation of local authorities in nourishing and strengthening voluntary and independent associations of local authorities.
- ✎ Encourage linkages with international local government associations for the benefit of local communities.
- ✎ Ensure that the relationship between local government and central government is such that supervision is commensurate with the interests such supervision is intended to entertain and protect.
- ✎ Ensure that the natural and economic resources at the disposal of the local authorities are exploited for the benefit of the communities closest to the resources.
- ✎ Adopt a participatory approach at the lowest level in managing and executing local-government programmes.
- ✎ Encourage and support gender balance in all decision-making structures.

## **THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

### ***Provincial Assemblies***

The MDC believes strongly in participatory democracy and development. This belief demands that government is brought as close to the people as is possible to facilitate participation in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies.

An MDC government will, as a first step in the process of devolution of powers and decentralization of functions, establish five administrative provinces. In order to do away with the ethnic and tribal connotations associated with the names of existing provinces, these will be titled as follows:

- ✎ Northern Province
- ✎ Eastern Province
- ✎ Central Province
- ✎ Southwestern Province
- ✎ Southeastern Province

The boundaries of these administrative provinces will be subjected to a detailed review. Each province will have a Provincial Assembly that will comprise the Executive Committees of all councils in the province. All Members of Parliament and Senators from the province will have the right to attend meetings of Provincial Assemblies. It will be the responsibility of each Provincial Assembly to oversee development in its area of jurisdiction. Each Provincial Assembly will elect a chairperson, together with an executive committee, from among its membership, none of whom will have executive powers. Each Provincial Assembly will establish a small administration to deal with its affairs and appoint a chief executive to head this office. The role of these assemblies will be advisory to both local and central government.

### ***Urban Councils***

An Executive Mayor, who is directly elected, will head the council of each city and designated municipality. Within each municipality or city council there will be an executive committee, appointed by the Executive Mayor to look after specific areas of responsibility. A Town Clerk will be appointed by each municipal or city council on a contract basis and will have the responsibility of acting as chief executive to the council and head of the administration.





A chairperson, elected indirectly by the elected councillors, will head a town council. Within each town council there will be an executive committee appointed by the chairperson to look after specific areas of responsibility. The head of administration will be the Town Secretary, who will be the appointed on a contract basis.

### ***Rural Councils***

A chairperson, elected indirectly by the elected councillors, will head each Rural District Council. Within each Rural District Council there will be an executive committee appointed by the chairperson to look after specific areas of responsibility. A Chief Executive Officer or Council Secretary will be appointed by the council on a contract basis.

### ***Financing Local Government***

The delivery of good-quality services is a function of sound, adequate, predictable and sustainable funding. MDC local authorities will be resourced from:

-  Local rates and other property taxes.
-  Charges for services provided at the local level.
-  Grants and loans from central government which are predictable and commensurate with the responsibilities delegated in addition to a need to promote equitable development across the country.
-  Local public-private partnerships, which will be encouraged both to engender a spirit of ownership as well as to mobilize resources.

### ***Qualifications of Elected Representatives***

- ✎ Executive Mayors will possess the qualifications specified in the Electoral Act.
- ✎ Councillors must demonstrate acceptable literacy in an appropriate language.
- ✎ Council chairpersons will be at least 35 years of age and possess a minimum of 5 O levels.

## **SERVICES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS**

### ***Water, Effluent and Waste Disposal***

Local authorities will have the responsibility to ensure that people within their area of jurisdiction have access to adequate, safe and clean water. Local authorities will also have the responsibility to treat and dispose of waste water in a manner that conserves the environment and protects national and international waters.

Rural local authorities play a leading role in conserving the environment and safeguarding the health of water bodies (dams and lakes). Local authorities which form catchment areas for specific dams and lakes will enjoy a royalty equivalent to a percentage of the proceeds of all revenue generated from the commercial activities at the water body. MDC local authorities will be expected to engage in productive waste-water management.

The role of the National Water Authority (ZINWA) will be restricted to the development, management and supply of bulk raw water to end users.

### ***Solid-waste Disposal***

Responsibility for waste management will rest with local authorities. MDC local authorities will maintain clean environments through efficient and solid-waste disposal practices. The methods used to provide such services will be left to each council's discretion, but private-sector services secured on an open-tender basis will be encouraged.

### ***Public Health***

In line with the MDC's policy on health, it will be a specific responsibility of the local authority to implement all public health programmes. These will include the provision of safe, clean water for household consumption, efficient waste management and pest control. In all these the MDC local authority will work with stakeholders in the management of public-awareness programmes.

### ***Primary Health Care Clinics***

The MDC government will establish a primary health care clinic for every 1,000 families in all local government areas. These will be managed by individual

committees chaired by local elected councillors that will be responsible for their finances, staff and procurement of drugs. Central government will fund these local health clinics through a grant payable each month to the local authority. In addition, all District Hospitals will be the responsibility of the local authorities and will be funded by the revenues gained by the treatment of patients and other services.

### ***Education***

While the provision of educational services will be the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, working through individual school and tertiary institutions at local level, the planning and provision of sites for schools and the provision of services to all educational establishments will be the responsibility of local authorities.

### ***Roads***

It will be the responsibility of both urban and rural councils to build, operate and maintain all roads not classified as 'national roads'. The latter will be the responsibility of the National Road Fund and the national government. Road development and maintenance in urban and rural council areas will be funded by grants from the National Road Fund, negotiated annually and based on the extent of the network in each region. In addition, local councils will set and charge local licence fees for vehicles registered in their region and these funds will be used for road development and maintenance.

The National Road Fund will manage third-party insurance as a compulsory national service to motorists. The funds raised will be used for repairs to local-government facilities and civil-engineering works arising from vehicle accidents. Councils will receive funding for such repairs upon application and justification to the National Road Fund.

### ***Transport and Mass Transit Systems***

The MDC recognizes that the cities of Harare and Bulawayo are on the way to becoming classified as 'mega' cities (cities with more than 10 million inhabitants). As such they will require a mass-transit system in the future and an MDC government will ensure that the necessary planning for this is completed within the period of its first term in office. In the interim, the MDC commits itself to the development and provision of a low-cost mass-transit system linking Chitungwiza, the international airport and the city of Harare.

All local authorities will be responsible for the provision of transport services that are cost-effective, convenient and efficient. The role of ZUPCO will be subjected to a full review by an incoming MDC government and thereafter handed over to local authorities for administration and management.

### ***Housing***

Housing is accepted as a top priority for an MDC administration. Housing is also a strong stimulant for growth, with high local content and multiplier effects on the economy. It is also labour intensive. An MDC government will regard the provision of family housing as a key element in its efforts to foster a secure, settled urban population that stands by family values and thereby minimizes the possible spread of HIV infections. It is also regarded as a key aspect affecting rural land settlement, as urban workers who do not earn an adequate income or have access to housing on a secure basis often rely on the rural areas for family security and accommodation.

It will be an objective of the MDC government to establish a national programme for low-cost family accommodation on a properly planned basis that will enable local authorities to make at least 500 housing starts a day for the first five years, the objective being to eliminate the backlog in urban housing over this period if that is at all possible. National government will underpin this programme financially, but its execution and administration will rest with local authorities and the private sector.

### ***Electrical Energy***

All urban councils will have full responsibility for the distribution of electrical energy and for the collection of revenue arising out of the consumption of electrical energy within their areas of responsibility.

### ***Fire and Ambulance Services***

All local authorities will be required to provide an adequate fire and ambulance service to deal with emergencies in the areas under their jurisdiction.

## **STRATEGIC ALLIANCES**

The delivery of good services by local authorities is a task that the ministry and local authorities cannot accomplish alone. The support of all key stakeholders will be required for the discharge of local-government functions to the satisfaction of the communities they serve. A strong relationship will be established with all relevant stakeholders so as to facilitate their direct participation and assistance to local authorities in Zimbabwe.



# NATIONAL INTEGRATION

## *Celebrating our unity in diversity*

Zimbabwe is a nation that is made up of many different tribal and ethnic groups. Our people speak at least twelve languages and originate from many different parts of the continent and overseas countries. This linguistic and cultural diversity is typical of many African countries but brings with it many threats.

We are also a country populated by migrants – the Shona people began migrating to this country 1,000 years ago and were followed by many other tribal and ethnic groups. The arrival of the Ndebele people after 1820 and the white settlers from 1850 onwards are also significant both from a historical and a cultural point of view.

If these differences are not managed properly, there is always the danger that they can become issues leading to conflict. In the past, successive governments have used these differences to divide and rule and to ensure dominance of one group over others. The dominance of European culture and tradition during the period of colonial occupation has had a profound impact on Zimbabwean culture, languages and life. The Gukurahundi campaign in the early period of independence is a clear example of ethnically based conflict that has deeply wounded the national spirit.

As many other countries have shown, diversity can be turned into a strength rather than a weakness and the traditional cultures of a people respected and maintained within a modern society and economic context. But to achieve these elusive goals, countries such as Zimbabwe have to work at developing and maintaining their national unity and cohesion.

The MDC wants to build a nation that respects our cultural diversity, honours our traditions and differences, and builds on these foundations to create a progressive and dynamic society. While there are features of our traditional cultures that have a negative impact on our society (the status of women in traditional society, for example) the MDC is determined to foster a common culture that respects our diversity, tolerates differences and builds on our strengths. We are determined to remain an African country, with an African character and general philosophy.

Because this is regarded as an important national priority, an MDC-led government will have a full ministry to take responsibility for managing this aspect of national life. This ministry will take responsibility for those activities of government that impinge on culture, tradition and heritage, as well as those that will foster the unity of our people and the healing of past injustices and failures.

## **TRUTH, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION**

At independence in 1980, the issue of the truth about the human rights abuses and other violations that had occurred in Zimbabwe before then was never addressed. As a result many of the demons that were the product of that era have come back to haunt the nation. The perpetrators of those violations of human rights were never brought to book, and the victims were obliged to live with the memory of those events without any sense of justice or recompense.

Since 1980 there have been four main periods of gross human rights abuse:

- ✎ The struggle against PF-ZAPU during the Gukurahundi campaign that lasted nearly seven years and was only brought to a conclusion in 1987 when PF-ZAPU capitulated to ZANU(PF) and was effectively dissolved.
- ✎ The ‘fast-track land reform’ campaign that led to the destruction of the fixed assets of more than 10,000 farming properties, their unlawful occupation, and the consequential abuses directed towards the farm-owners and their staff.
- ✎ The Murambatsvina campaign in 2005, when several hundred thousand Zimbabweans had their homes and property destroyed and over a million people were displaced and lost their only means of livelihood.
- ✎ The violence and destruction of property that occurred during the struggle to restore democracy in Zimbabwe between 1998 and 2008, particularly around periods when elections were held.

In each of these four periods of intense political suppression thousands of criminal acts were committed, hundreds of thousands experienced human rights abuses, and even the death of loved ones, or suffered physical injury of one kind or another.

The MDC is committed to dealing with the needs of the victims of these four instances in a holistic and comprehensive way. By this means, it is hoped to give those affected by the abuse of their rights the satisfaction of knowing that the truth about what happened has been revealed and that the culprits have been brought to justice in some way. At the same time it is intended to provide a form of compensation for fixed property losses during these episodes of abuse.

### ***The Truth and Justice Commission***

It is the intention of the MDC to appoint a Truth and Justice Commission within three months of assuming office. The purpose of this Commission will be to do the following:

- ✎ To hear, in formal recorded sessions, the stories of the victims of these four episodes and to identify those responsible for human rights abuses and any associated criminal acts. These sessions will be open to the public.

- ✎ To determine who was responsible for the incidents being considered, and to decide whether or not to recommend further investigations by an appropriate authority and possible prosecution.
- ✎ To determine the personal losses incurred by these incidents, and to make appropriate recommendations to the State agencies involved for compensation and any direct assistance that might be adjudged necessary and justified.
- ✎ To prepare a detailed written record of these incidents, and to ensure that they are published in an attempt to ensure that the memory is retained and that this sort of abusive activity by the State is not repeated in the future.

### ***Further Investigation and Prosecution***

In the event that those identified as being responsible for these human rights abuses and the destruction of personal assets and property do not themselves, on a voluntary basis, offer to come before the Commission to tell their side of the story, the Commission may, at its discretion, direct the police to investigate the case to determine the potential for a criminal prosecution and, if appropriate, to submit a docket to the prosecuting authority in the area where the incident occurred.

Once in the courts the judiciary will deal with cases in the normal way and under the laws of Zimbabwe.

### ***Compensation***

An MDC government will establish special compensation courts in each of the main centres of the country, and the Truth and Justice Commission may direct that a court attend to the establishment of the degree and value of any financial prejudice that may have incurred in any specific case. In such cases the victims may claim compensation from the State.

Compensation will be restricted to the cost of any medical procedures that might have been necessitated by the abuse at the time, any consequential costs, and any future prejudice arising from the abuse. In addition, the value of the loss of any fixed assets that incurred as a consequence of the abuse will be considered for compensation.

In all cases, compensation will be tied to the restoration of the assets involved and will be strictly controlled by the agencies making the compensation. So, for example, householders who lost their homes in Murambatsvina will have their loss valued by the courts and compensation set. The householder can then choose to use these funds to buy another home, or to effect improvements to a home, or to replace the assets lost.







A farmer who had been deprived of his farm and subsequently lost many of the fixed assets associated with the property would receive compensation in the same way and on the same basis. In that case, the compensation package would be tied to the title deeds of the property and could be used only to restore the productive capacity of the property in question.

Where personal prejudice has been incurred – such as a physical disability or the death of a breadwinner – the Commission will direct the courts for a compensation assessment.

## **THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN**

It is the MDC’s vision that Zimbabwe will be nation in which all women and men enjoy peace, democracy, freedom and dignity, where human rights are respected, all forms of gender disparities are eliminated, and there is prosperity without discrimination in all walks of life.

The MDC government will respect the right of every person to the following inalienable rights:

-  The right to work.
-  The right to a decent education.
-  The right to just employment opportunities.
-  The right to choice of employment and equal opportunity of promotion, job security and benefits.
-  The right to equal pay for equal work.
-  The right to respect.

The MDC aims to build a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. A gender-equality perspective will facilitate the attainment of the goals of universal access to primary education, eradicating extreme poverty and empowering women to take care of every area of their lives. It will guarantee that women have equal and enforceable rights in the fields of school, university and college education, vocational training and career guidance.

MDC gender programmes will result in a sharp increase in the number of women who occupy decision-making positions in all spheres of society.

The MDC government will recognize the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant role they play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-money sectors of the economy. It will recognize and respect the role of women as mothers, in the family and as care-givers.

### ***Policy Objectives***

Gender is a cross-cutting dynamic and Zimbabwe can be transformed only when men and women of all ages are able to meet their full potential. The MDC will put its gender policy at the heart of all other policies and programmes and ensure that the laws of the country reflect this.

It will monitor gender equality by looking at literacy rates, the number of women compared to men working in non-agricultural jobs, and the proportion of women in parliament and local government.

Legislation, following principles espoused by UNICEF, and especially those relating to the girl-child, will guarantee the rights of children. In particular, the MDC will ensure that all children receive equal education and that all girls of school-going age are in school. The MDC will facilitate the development of adult literacy and vocational training courses to enable women who have fallen through the education net to catch up.

Everyone in Zimbabwe will have access to information on family planning, and the subject of preventing unwanted pregnancies will be part of the sex education curriculum in schools, together with education on the rights of the child and women.

Women's health issues will be dealt with fairly and promptly by government clinics and hospitals. Women's rights to maternity leave will continue to be enshrined in law. The development of day-care centres close to business hubs will enable mothers to return to work confident that their children are being cared for properly.








The MDC government will develop tax breaks to encourage companies to partner and/or finance small and medium-sized enterprises, particularly those run by women. In order to correct historical imbalances, the MDC will give preference to companies that can demonstrate a commitment to the advancement of women. Sexist behaviour and sexual harassment, by either gender, will be outlawed, and the MDC will develop an education programme to ensure that women, particularly rural women, are aware of their rights.

The penalties for rape will be increased and enforced. The MDC will facilitate the reporting of rape to make it less painful for the woman involved and put in place counselling services for victims.

The MDC recognizes that rural women are particularly disadvantaged. It will encourage the formation of self-help groups and co-operatives to increase economic

opportunities through self-employment. It will ensure that married women receive equal treatment in land resettlement schemes and agrarian reform programmes. It will take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas and ensure that they participate in and benefit from rural development.

The MDC government will ensure that women have the right to:

-  Participate in the planning and development their districts.
-  Have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and family planning services.
-  Benefit directly from social security programmes.
-  Enjoy all types of training and education, both formal and non-formal, including those relating to functional literacy, community and extension services in order to increase their technical proficiency.
-  Participate in all community activities without discrimination.
-  Access agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities and appropriate technology.
-  Enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity, water supply, transport and communications.

The MDC will ensure that women have full representation in national employment councils. The MDC believes that parliament should reflect the ratio of women in society. It will adopt a policy that enables women to enter the political mainstream by allocating constituencies and resources to women candidates until parity is achieved.

### ***A Gender Commission***

Consideration will be given to the creation of a special permanent commission to monitor compliance with gender policy at all levels of society and government. Such a commission would have a permanent office and staff, and have toll-free telephones and postal services for the report of abuse and discrimination.

### **THE YOUTH**

MDC's vision is of a nation that includes informed, responsible, creative and participating young people, who are fully developed mentally, spiritually, socially and physically, and who contribute to the economic prosperity of the country.

The MDC's policy toward the youth is incorporated within the broader context of its sector-specific policies, and follows the principles enshrined in the African Youth Charter of the African Union, which the MDC government will immediately take steps to ratify.

The MDC also endorses the United Nations World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, which identified ten priority areas for action aimed at improving the situation and well-being of youth:

- |   |                            |                          |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1: Education  | 2: Employment              | 3: Hunger and poverty    |
| 4: Health   | 5: Environment             | 6: Drug abuse            |
| 7: Juvenile delinquency   | 8: Leisure-time activities | 9: Girls and young women |
| 10: The full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making |                            |                          |

Programmes will be undertaken to ensure that the situation of the youth in Zimbabwe is improved in these and other areas.

### ***The Rights of Young People***

The MDC government will fully respect the rights and needs of young people, including the right to a decent education, primary health care, shelter and basic needs. Every effort will be made to ensure that young people can develop their full potential and then find gainful work and employment when they leave school and college. Young people will be encouraged to fully participate in all aspects of national life.

### ***Rights of the Child***

The MDC government will fully respect the rights of children and will ensure that these are expressed in the new constitution for the country. In particular, the MDC will seek to foster conditions for all children that will ensure a secure family environment, security of basic needs and protection of their physical, social and mental well-being.

### **TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP**

The MDC recognizes and respects the traditional leadership of the people in the form of Chiefs and Headmen. It also respects the traditions, values and culture of which they are the principal custodians. The MDC will maintain and respect the cultural basis upon which Chiefs and Headmen are selected and appointed by their communities. While they will not have any direct role in the administration of local authorities in their area, they will be consulted and briefed by local councils on all developments and any changes.

The special allowances and privileges of Chiefs and Headmen will be maintained and treated in the same way as the remuneration of judges. They will also be held responsible for the administration of traditional law in their areas of jurisdiction and their decisions respected.

All Chiefs will be entitled to attend the National Chiefs Council, which shall be convened at least twice a year and will be attended by both political and civic leadership. They will be encouraged to act as the custodians of the culture, traditions and languages of the people in their districts.

Because the proposed land reform measures will impinge on the functions and role of traditional leadership in rural areas, traditional leaders will be specifically consulted about such changes and, where possible, their permission and agreement obtained.

## **CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE ARTS**

The objectives of the MDC's national cultural heritage and arts policies will be to:

- ✎ Affirm and promote the rich and diverse expressions of Zimbabwean culture. All people will be guaranteed the right to practice their culture, language, beliefs and customs. The freedom of creativity without interference, as well as the freedom of expression, will be guaranteed.
- ✎ Promote the development of a unifying national culture, representing the aspirations of all Zimbabwe's people. This cannot be imposed; it requires educating people in principles of non-racialism, human rights and democracy. While it is recognized that the cultures of Zimbabwe are derived from many different sources, it will become necessary to give particular attention to the promotion and development of a unique and distinctive national culture to which all the people of the country can subscribe.
- ✎ Ensure that resources and facilities for both the production and the appreciation of arts and culture are made available and accessible to all.
- ✎ Preserve, revitalize and promote our national cultural heritage.
- ✎ Fully reflect the many components of our cultural heritage through historical and cultural collections, resources and sites that are accessible to all communities. In particular, efforts will be made to conserve neglected and suppressed aspects of our people's culture.
- ✎ Place arts education firmly within the national educational curricula, as well as in non-formal educational efforts.
- ✎ Establish a language policy that encourages the growth of all of our people's languages within a multi-linguistic framework. This must include the preservation and development of all indigenous languages.
- ✎ Develop the human resources pool available to cultural life by emphasizing training in the art forms, management and administration of the arts and culture, and heritage preservation.
- ✎ Launch and sustain a national literacy campaign, with clear targets, through which the art forms, broadcasting, radio and the printed media will contribute to the development of our people.



- ✎ Link culture firmly to areas of national priority, such as the fostering of strong and stable family life, health, housing, tourism, town planning, architecture, etc., to ensure that culture is entrenched as a fundamental component of development, but also to ensure that a strong link is forged with the traditional art forms.
- ✎ Ensure the implementation of cultural research to promote those histories that have been marginalized, with specific emphasis on popular history.
- ✎ Promote specific cultures within the traditions, as well as the careful selection of aspects of culture that fit into national priorities.
- ✎ Involve people who are active in culture in economic activity, thereby resulting in their employment and the creation of institutions that strengthen the economy, and at the same time promote professionalism and artistic excellence.

Within the framework of these general objectives an MDC government will seek to ensure and maintain support for the work throughout the country of national institutions such as the National Museums and Monuments, Colleges of Music, National Galleries and the National Archives. It will also work towards the preservation of indigenous (particularly minority) languages and oral history.

The National Arts Council Act and regulations will be reviewed with a view to ensuring that its role in fostering and promoting the arts plays a greater part than its regulatory and controlling functions.

### **NATIONAL EVENTS AND SYMBOLS**

The question of national holidays and celebrations of national events will be the subject of a detailed review by the MDC government and any changes put to Parliament for consideration and adoption.








No major changes are envisaged in respect to national symbols such as the Flag and the National Anthem or the various emblems used to distinguish State institutions. However, they will be subject to a review and any proposed changes will be submitted to Parliament for consideration and adoption.

While the MDC acknowledges the need to recognize those who participated in the liberation of the country in a special way, it is concerned at the partisan manner in which the process of identifying ‘heroes’ has been managed since 1980. In addition, the MDC feels that there are many individuals who might, because of their outstanding contribution to national life, also deserve national recognition. Accordingly, steps will be taken to ensure that the process of recognition and the nature of such honours are depoliticized and put on to a genuinely national basis.

## **SPORT AND RECREATION**

The MDC recognizes that the physical well-being of a nation is an important foundation for the health of its people. Sport can also help stimulate our national capacity for the utilization of those skills that are necessary in a growing and complex society. Sport and physical education are an integral part in the maintenance of public health and social integration, playing an important part in uniting the nation.

An imaginative sports policy also has the positive effect of removing barriers based on race, creed, age, gender, religion and political preference. The MDC holds it as an article of faith that all citizens must be afforded an opportunity to take part in sporting activities of their choice. Consequently, the MDC government will:

-  Invest in sports development and the required physical infrastructure.
-  Ensure that hitherto underprivileged communities are afforded full opportunity to participate in a wide spectrum of available sporting activities.
-  Put in place a new, effective and accountable democratic structures for the management of sport.
-  Ensure the full participation of women in all sporting disciplines.
-  Strengthen the various national sporting associations while allowing them to function independently of government interference.
-  Offer incentives for private-sector funding of sport.
-  Establish a National Sports Federation that will manage all international sporting activities including the Olympic and Commonwealth Games.

# THE ECONOMY



# ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

## *A stable financial and economic environment for all Zimbabweans*

By the time the MDC forms the government, Zimbabwe will have experienced a decade of negative economic growth. This is unparalleled in recent history for a country that has not been at war. At the same time, and mainly because of the collapse in the formal economy, all social indicators have been negative.

Life expectancy has declined to the lowest level of any State in the world. The size of the population has decreased, largely as a result of migration, with a third of the total population now living outside the country, a quarter in South Africa alone. Exacerbating the decline in population has been the trebling of natural death rates to nearly 3 per cent of the population each year, caused by a high incidence of HIV/AIDS, new epidemics of diseases previously thought to be under control, malnutrition and even starvation.

The collapse gained momentum in 2007 because of a further deterioration in the macro-economic fundamentals, an out-of-control budget deficit, and reckless fiscal expenditure by the Reserve Bank. As a result, inflation, which reduced the value of the Zimbabwe dollar from nearly 1 to 2 against the US dollar in 1980 to 500 million to 1 by mid-2007, has soared. This has destroyed savings and reduced the real value of incomes so dramatically that pensions are now worthless and the majority of the working population is in dire straits.

The collapse of economic output and high levels of inflation have affected all sectors of the economy. Agriculture and tourism are the worst affected, with activity and output in both falling by 80 per cent in the decade. Industry is down by at least 40 per cent, perhaps more, and the mining sector, in spite of determined efforts by operators in the industry and very favourable international market conditions, has also declined significantly, with gold output falling to levels last seen in the early 1900s. The recent imposition of price controls and radical proposals for the compulsory acquisition of a majority equity stake in all significant companies – for free, in the case of mining houses – has sharply accelerated the decline in business activity. As a consequence it is expected that GDP will have declined overall by another 12 per cent in 2007.

Because of the destruction of the commercial farming industry, food production has been reduced to levels approaching 20 per cent of demand, and hunger and malnutrition are commonplace. This is compounded by the fall in real earnings and spending power with the result that working people suffer from serious shortages of even the most basic elements of life.

The MDC faces a daunting task in coming to grips with this situation and trying to put some order back into society. It will inherit not only a collapsed economy, failing infrastructure and a massive humanitarian crisis but also a civil service that is highly politicized and decimated by the loss of both skills and experience.

## **THE BASIC GOALS OF ECONOMIC POLICY**

In facing up to its new responsibilities the MDC will seek to:

- ✎ Stabilize the national economy, restore macro-economic fundamentals and initiate the process of economic recovery.
- ✎ Build a strong economy, using market principles with strong redistributive characteristics and carefully targeted state-intervention policies to promote economic and social justice.
- ✎ Institute a broad-based system of safety nets to ensure that, when the reform programme is under way, the poor and marginalized are not unduly affected and that their basic needs are met in full.
- ✎ Create a responsive and efficient state that will pursue economic and social justice while at the same time creating an environment conducive to rapid economic growth and development.
- ✎ Adopt and implement policies that will address economic disparities with the objective of substantially reducing poverty levels in all sectors of society.
- ✎ Restore health and education systems so that all Zimbabweans can have access to the basic services required for life and work.
- ✎ Ensure that all Zimbabweans are adequately housed on a ‘whole family’ basis, have access to clean water, and have security of their persons and assets.

The MDC does not think that these ambitious goals can be achieved easily or quickly, and recognizes that any stabilization and recovery programme will inevitably involve both sacrifice and hardship. But it also hopes that, once a new legitimate, democratic government is elected that exhibits its intention to restore human and political rights, economic fundamentals and the rule of law, the international community will assist with this programme initially. The MDC does not, in the long term, want to see the economy dependent on aid.

## **MACRO-ECONOMIC POLICY**

On the assumption that the necessary political conditions have been put in place for a programme of stabilization and recovery, the macro-economic fundamentals are not difficult to identify. In fact, one of the features of global experience in the past decade has been the evolution of a consensus as to those policies that must be in force to enable low inflation, strong growth and stability.

With the economic fundamentals so far out of kilter with this reality, it is not going to be easy or painless to bring them under control. The budget deficit in the past three years has exceeded half of GDP. The Reserve Bank has been engaged in quasi-fiscal activities that have completely distorted fiscal management and budgetary controls. Parastatals such as the GMB have been operating with deficits that have had a significant impact on the fiscus and national debt. Other parastatals have been trading with operating losses that have rendered them technically insolvent.

Distortions in exchange-rate and interest-rate management have been equally dramatic. Maintaining official exchange rates that are less than one per cent of the real market rates, and interest rates that are a fraction of the inflation rate, are simply not sustainable policies.

The MDC will therefore initiate a six-month stabilization programme immediately upon taking over the reins of government. This will take the form of re-establishing the correct economic and administrative relationship between the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank. New leadership in the form of a new Minister of Finance and Governor of the Reserve Bank will be appointed, and a technical-assistance team of experienced international specialists brought in to assist both the Ministry and the Bank with the programme.

A complete restructuring of government is planned. The MDC will reduce the number of ministries to fifteen. In addition, the structure of government will be revised to streamline its institutions and functions so as to ensure that all State expenditure is justified and managed effectively. A proposed National Social and Economic Council will be established immediately, together with ancillary organs such as a Labour Market Commission. This will ensure that an MDC government consults stakeholders from the very beginning. Such consultation will be continuous.

The goal of the stabilization programme will be to bring inflation down to treble-digit figures very quickly, and to double-digit figures as soon as possible, and to restore confidence in interest-rate and exchange-rate policy. Both will be anchored on market principles and unified. The present system of multiple interest and exchange rates will be eliminated immediately.

An MDC government will pay close attention to the sequencing of the reforms required to restore stability to financial markets and to bring inflation under control. To this end the reform process will be front-ended, with significant reforms taking place immediately the new administration takes charge. This will involve the measures outlined below.

### ***The Reserve Bank***

The Reserve Bank will be made fully autonomous and tasked with managing inflation; exchange-rate stability will follow from this. Its role will be restricted to interest-rate management and exchange-rate policy as well as the supervision of the commercial banking system. It will immediately deal with:

- ✎ The alignment of all foreign-exchange systems into a single, market-driven system of exchange rates, reflecting open-market values and allowing the Reserve Bank to start building up foreign-exchange reserves.
- ✎ The gradual adjustment of interest rates until convergence takes place between inflation rates and interest rates and real interest-rate returns can be re-established. The MDC recognizes that this will impact on over-borrowed companies and, as it does not want to see businesses close, will consider a rescue package where the resultant equity is used in a responsible manner.
- ✎ The cessation of all the Bank's quasi-fiscal activities, forcing government to finance its activities in a normal manner from tax and other revenue receipts and by borrowing on the market.
- ✎ The adoption of strict money-supply limits.

### ***Fiscal Policy***

In recent years, as the economy has shrunk, so the burden of taxation and the many levies of one kind or another imposed on employers and business has grown until tax revenues reached over 50 per cent of GDP. Zimbabwe therefore has the ridiculous situation where, with tax revenues exceeding 50 per cent of GDP, the State has at the same time been running a budget deficit equal to over 60 per cent of GDP. More than half of all government expenditure is thought to be financed by the Reserve Bank's simply printing money or borrowing from the private sector at interest rates that are less than a tiny fraction of the inflation rate. Both practices are highly inflationary and unsustainable.

Total debt liabilities are thought to exceed two years GDP, with external liabilities standing at nearly US\$5 billion and domestic debt at the equivalent of US\$3 billion. Expenditure on interest payments, despite the unrealistic levels of such payments, is an astonishing 56 per cent of GDP.

Technically, therefore, State expenditure of one kind or another has exceeded the country's GDP. Clearly this is not sustainable, and many of the economic problems presently confronting Zimbabwe can be ascribed to this position. It is impacting on disposable incomes, shrinking consumer spending and driving inflation.

To address this situation the MDC will set strict guidelines for the Ministry of Finance that will require:



- ✎ A complete review of the tax system and adjustments to bring it into line with new targets for both revenue and expenditure.
- ✎ A complete review of all forms of State expenditure and the imposition of tight controls over all payments and costs. Strict fiscal limits on all ministries will be enforced to ensure that these are within the limits agreed in terms of what funds are available from taxes and other forms of revenue.
- ✎ The establishment of a unit within the Ministry to establish the full extent and nature of all government debt and, where necessary and possible, to recover outstanding loans through the courts.
- ✎ Initiate negotiations with all State creditors to bring debt servicing under control and determine how the national debt will be managed in the longer term.

It is intended that total revenues from all forms of taxation should not exceed 30 per cent of GDP. This will involve very significant reductions in tax levels across the board as far as individuals are concerned, but the economic situation will require this to be a longer-term goal.

As a starting point personal tax thresholds will be set at the official Poverty Datum Line for the country determined by the Research Centre for Labour. Thereafter, the tax bands will be adjusted to make the system more rational and to provide for a progressive tax system that ensures that those with higher incomes pay progressively more in personal tax.

To fund the envisaged budget, the MDC will review VAT rates as well as import duties. The MDC intends to reduce import duties to no more than 5 per cent on all raw materials and other essential imports. Luxury items will attract higher import duty, although every attempt will be made to ensure that this does not distort trade relations or the process of economic recovery.

The existing raft of different levies such as the Manpower Development Levy, the Standards Association Levy, the Aids Levy and the contributions to NSSA will be abolished and alternative funding sources will be negotiated.

All imports of liquid fuels and oils for the motor industry will attract a duty that will be designed to raise fuel prices to a level that is considered sustainable and competitive with regional fuel pricing. The duty will be paid in full into the National Road Fund, which will be responsible for all roadworks throughout the country. This duty will include an element for third-party insurance, which will also be administered by the Road Fund and will be used to repair infrastructure damaged in accidents as well as third-party claims.

The national budget will be revised and a new budget presented to Parliament for approval. This will take into account the tax and other changes that are envisaged for the MDC's first year in office. The objective will be to restrict the overall budget deficit to no more than 5 per cent of GDP as swiftly as possible.

The magnitude of quasi-fiscal activity by parastatals is not known; however, it is considered to be substantial and to be having a significant impact on State expenditure and borrowings. All accumulated debt will be consolidated into the National Debt administered by the Ministry of Finance.

### ***Monetary Policy***

The present system of bearer bonds as a substitute for conventional money will be retained until inflation is brought down to two-digit levels, at which point consideration will be given to introducing a new currency. The question of when to print new notes and in what denominations will be left to the Reserve Bank in consultation with the commercial banks.

The domestic currency will be floated as soon as is possible and exchange rates unified. Exchange controls in respect of the current account will be abolished early on and thenceforth determined by the market. The MDC hopes that the lifting of exchange controls and the floating of exchange rates, along with a new social and political environment, will immediately bring into the formal economy very significant inflows of foreign exchange in the form of remittances and funds being repatriated.

Given the disastrous state of the economy, MDC envisages the need for a stabilization fund and emergency exchange-rate support. This will be discussed and negotiated with regional monetary authorities in the first instance and then with multilateral agencies.

# LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM

## *Resolving the land issue once and for all*

The MDC has always recognized the need for land reform and has, since its inception, called for reform and equity in land occupation and use. However, the party rejects completely the manner in which ZANU(PF) has pursued the land reform issue since 2000. In fact, it is the view of the MDC that this exercise has compounded rather than resolved the land issue, and at the same time it has destroyed the core of the national economy and its food system.

When the MDC forms the next government in Zimbabwe, it will accept neither the status quo that existed prior to 2000 nor the position it will inherit after eight years of mayhem and destruction by a criminal elite.

The MDC is fully committed to righting the historical imbalance in land distribution. An MDC government will bring the land crisis to closure through a democratic and participatory process that achieves equitable, transparent, just, lawful and economically efficient distribution and use of land, both for agricultural and other purposes. This policy statement lays out how an MDC government will attain these objectives.

The MDC will establish a Land Commission under an Act of Parliament that will create an independent, autonomous and professional body to oversee the land-reform process in a new Zimbabwe. This Commission will conduct a comprehensive physical and legal audit of land occupation and ownership in Zimbabwe as its first task.

On the basis of the outcome of this audit, the Commission will determine the status and future of all existing settlement, the status of those holding title, and a method of regularizing the situation without further dislocating farm output or disturbing those in productive occupation of farm land.

The Commission will review all land-tenure arrangements so as to secure the rights of those in productive occupation of farm land and of those who hold title at present and wish to resume farming. New farmers in productive occupation of land who currently do not have security of tenure will be offered leasehold occupation with the option to purchase the land.

The MDC will also establish a system of compensation for displaced farmers that will address their rights, make restitution for their losses, and ensure justice for those whose basic rights, including the right to safety and security and life, were

violated. Those farmers who have been displaced and who no longer wish to resume production will be dealt with fairly and within the same framework as all other landowners. It must be noted that this is an extremely serious issue for any new government that takes over after the next elections. Potential total claims for losses by displaced farmers are thought to exceed US\$8 billion and will, by the time the transition takes place, be backed by several local and international court cases.

The MDC further recognizes that the dual economy, created in part by the existence of separate land-tenure arrangements for commercial and communally occupied land, must be addressed. The Land Commission will be required to examine the situation in the Communal Lands and, in consultation with all stakeholders, address the need for greater security of tenure of individual peasant farmers and communities.

Once these preliminary exercises are complete, the Land Commission will draw up land-settlement plans for all farming districts in consultation with local stakeholders, and will thereafter supervise their implementation with State assistance. These plans will take full account of the need to provide security for new settlers, the restoration of agricultural production and productivity, and a rapid reduction in rural poverty and insecurity in all districts.

## **RESOLVING THE LAND ISSUE**

Land involves social, legal and economic relationships. That being the case, there should never be any ambiguity about land as a legal expression. Any future democratic constitution must thus recognize property rights (private and State) and must recognize land and its ownership as a basic ground norm, which will be consistent with international conventions such as Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. These basic rights and norms in respect to title rights in agriculture have been consistently and violently violated over the past eight years.

If land is a constitutionally protected human right, then its acquisition and distribution must also be a constitutional issue. This means that the distribution of land for the public good must be totally de-politicized and must not be subject to the whims of an executive driven by political concerns. The task of redistribution and acquisition must be entrusted to the Land Commission, duly set up by an act of Parliament, whose majority members must be experts of integrity with guaranteed security of tenure.

### ***The Commitment of the MDC***

While respecting the historical, constitutional and legal rights of commercial farmers, the MDC will not return to the pre-2000 land-ownership patterns, neither will it condone the inequitable and aberrant land distribution that has resulted from

the ‘fast-track land reform’ process. The MDC has always supported redressing the historical imbalance in the distribution of land, but is unreservedly committed to bring Zimbabwe’s land crisis to closure through an inclusive, participatory and professional process that seeks to achieve the equitable, transparent, just and efficient distribution of land.

The MDC will insist that a sustainable land-reform and settlement programme is administered effectively under the rule of law, and that the programme alleviates poverty without compromising national agricultural production. The MDC’s land-reform programme will be based on need and ability, and will revitalize the economy, empower farmers, including women, enable the social recovery of farming communities, and facilitate sustained productivity and growth in agricultural production.


### ***Land Tenure***

Land will be held under one law for all the existing forms of ownership – private, State and communal. Such law will be fully expressed in the new constitution in order to give investors confidence and security. The MDC will ensure that there is comprehensive land legislation in place that allows both for the private ownership of land secured through title deeds and for community ownership of land, which may be expressed in various forms, including registered rights. Married women will be allowed to hold title deeds in their own right.

The MDC believes that the communal system should not be expected to be a permanent feature of land tenure in the long term. The new system of land tenure will be progressively transformed so as to break the dual economy that exists in Zimbabwe. In the first instance the MDC will maintain freehold tenure where it exists, and offer resettlement and small-scale farmers long-term leases with options to secure title through purchase. Resettlement schemes operating with communal grazing will be given the option of being replanned and demarcated into individual, self-contained family farms. In the communal areas, rights over land and resources will pass from the State to village or ward assemblies. In villages, land may be surveyed and households issued with land registration certificates for residential and arable land. All such reforms will be planned and executed by the Land Commission with the participation and consent of local farmers and leaders.

### ***Principles of Land Reform***

The MDC’s land-reform programme is based on the following principles:

-  The historical imbalance in the pattern of land distribution must be addressed urgently in a fair, lawful and transparent manner in order to bring Zimbabwe’s land question to closure.

- ✎ The State has the authority to acquire land in the interest of the public good, and to resolve Zimbabwe's land crisis by distributing land on the basis of need and ability.
- ✎ Constitutionality and the rule of law are the basis on which a democratic government will resolve the land crisis. Accordingly, citizens share the fundamental right to the protection of their person and property and to be selected for settlement regardless of their gender, race, ethnic origin, religion or political opinions.
- ✎ An inclusive consultative process that builds trust and confidence between stakeholders and policy-makers is required to reach broad consensus on the means to achieve the reform programme's policy objectives. Special measures will be put in place to ensure the full participation of women in this consultative process. All those affected by acquisition and settlement decisions must be consulted and disputes settled in a court of law.
- ✎ The success of the programme is premised on sound land administration: transparent and cost-effective land-acquisition, farmer-selection, land-allocation and compensation processes; the provision of basic infrastructure and facilities; and adequate loans, training and services for settlers to farm productively.
- ✎ Land must be productively used and properly conserved for the optimum social and economic benefit of farmers and the nation alike. Land is a finite resource that imposes stringent limits both on the number of people who can earn an adequate livelihood from farming and on the number of families that can be settled.

## **CROSS-CUTTING LAND POLICY ISSUES**

The immediate priority will be to establish and empower the Land Commission. The following cross-cutting land policy issues are spelt out in particular.

### ***Settlement Models***

The MDC will move away from standardized, centrally imposed settlement models by adopting a more practical and flexible approach to the size of farms allocated to settlers. It will allow farmers greater choice, depending on their resources, their changing economic circumstances, opportunities and needs.

Instead of each farmer being allocated the same amount of land, the nature, size and quality of the land offered will be related to farming and managerial skills, financial resources, and the type of farming operation envisaged. The Land Commission will develop a regulatory framework for settlement defined by the need for security of tenure, incentives for investment and productivity, and the flexibility for a range of livelihood options that give substance to the MDC's 'people-centred' approach.

### ***Co-development***

Co-development is a concept whereby commercial farmers agree to work with their neighbours, and even existing settlers on their own property, to their mutual benefit. Co-development seeks to defuse racial, ethnic or class tensions by opening up new avenues for co-operation and building good neighbourliness by placing development at the core of reconciliation and national healing. The expectation is that the principle of co-development will foster co-operation based on mutual agreement, tolerance and accommodation within the rule of law and in accordance with the principles of justice.

The principle of co-development will be used to allow large-scale commercial farmers to work with and assist their small-scale neighbours and settlers.

### ***Land Tax***

Rural District Councils already impose a land levy, which is based on the unit area of a farm and therefore constitutes a form of land tax. To encourage the full utilization of land, the MDC government will introduce a more sophisticated progressive land tax designed to release underutilized land through subdivisions and to remove incentives for speculation in agricultural land. A properly constituted land tax has the added advantage of raising revenues without distorting commodity prices. It is intended that the proceeds of the land tax will accrue to Rural District Councils for improvements in public services and infrastructure in the area in which the farm is situated.

### ***Land Market***

At present the market for agricultural land is virtually frozen. Once the status of different properties is established by the Land Commission and ownership confirmed, such land might re-enter the land market and be available on a willing-seller and willing-buyer basis. In the longer term, when the land-reform process is complete, market mechanisms will have an important role to play in ensuring the efficient adjustment of land-holdings in order to achieve national social and economic objectives. In anticipation of the progressive development of a land market in all areas of the country, a regulatory framework will be put in place to encourage the development of an efficient and vibrant land market while at the same time having built-in safeguards to protect the poor and vulnerable.

## **THE LAND COMMISSION**

### ***Establishment, Powers and Accountability***

The MDC will, at the earliest opportunity, establish by an Act of Parliament an impartial, independent and well-resourced professional agency to be known as the







Land Commission. Members of the Commission will be selected according to the provisions of the Act and be persons with a keen insight into land policies as well as with the technical ability to manage an effective and sustainable land reform process. Special measures will be effected to ensure substantial representation in the Commission by women.

The Land Commission Act will vest the Commission with the powers and authority necessary to carry out its mandate to plan, co-ordinate and monitor the implementation of an all-inclusive, orderly and transparent land reform and settlement programme. In particular, the Commission will have the power to rationalize the settlement of land and develop an equitable, transparent and sustainable system by which land is allocated to eligible persons. Where necessary, the Commission will be able to repossess farms. It will also fix the terms and conditions under which settlers may occupy agricultural land.

The Land Commission Bill, when drafted, will be subjected to stakeholder scrutiny before being submitted to Parliament. The Act under which the Commission will be founded will have a limited life span. After five years it will expire unless Parliament decides it is necessary to extend it. This will enable Parliament to review or revamp the mandate of the Land Commission, or simply to end the Commission once the land issue has been concluded. The Land Commission will at all times be answerable to Parliament, with formal reporting requirements being laid out in the Act. The Land Commission's decisions and actions will be subject to review and judicial appeal.

### ***Functions***

The Commission's main functions will be to:

-  Carry out a land audit of farms settled under the 'fast-track' programme to establish the physical and legal status of landholdings.
-  Initiate a consultative process, involving key stakeholders, to build consensus and understanding on the policy framework and objectives of the land reform programme.
-  Review and rebuild the capacity of a network of State and non-State organizations that will participate in the implementation of the land reform programme.
-  Formulate, consolidate and present land settlement plans, programmes and budgets for parliamentary approval.
-  Undertake a land rationalization and a co-development programme to bring farmland back into full production at the earliest opportunity.
-  Co-ordinate the implementation of the land reform programme through a network of State and non-State agencies to, *inter alia*, rationalize settlement,



facilitate co-development, select and settle farmers, re-plan farm subdivisions, survey boundaries, provide secure tenure, negotiate terms and conditions of occupation, assess and pay compensation, and solicit and channel funding for the provision of adequate social and physical infrastructure and facilities.

- ☞ Monitor and evaluate the progress of the land reform programme.
- ☞ Make recommendations for a regulatory framework for the evolution of an efficient land market that provides safeguards for poor and vulnerable farmers.
- ☞ Investigate, with the full participation of traditional leaders and the communities so affected, the reform of tenure rights in the communal areas in such a manner as to eliminate all communal land-holdings within the shortest possible time, the objective being to give small-scale peasant farmers greater security over the land they occupy and use.

### ***Land Audit***

The Land Commission will, in good faith, consult closely with those stakeholders committed to agricultural recovery and to a land reform process that recognizes the primacy of the rule of law. Its aim will be to build a broad understanding of the precepts, principles and policies underlying the land reform programme as it proceeds with its mandate to implement it.

The Land Commission's first major task will be to carry out a professional and independent land audit by gathering reliable information on the physical and legal status of all land under occupation and use in Zimbabwe.

The physical component in respect to commercial farm-holdings will capture and verify the main physical and legal attributes of the farm, such as the farm's location, name and size, and the description of title deeds. It will also gather on-farm data, such as the pattern of subdivision and settlement, details of model A1 and A2 settlers, and how the land is being utilized, identifying 'vacant' and underutilized land. The survey teams will then consolidate and classify the information on a digitized mapping database.

The legal component will consist of an analysis of the constitutionality and legality of measures taken during the 'fast-track' programme. It will include an accurate record for each farm of the legal and extra-legal processes undertaken and will clarify the legal status of farmers, settlers, and the land they own or occupy.

Special attention will be given to land set aside for wildlife conservancy and use and for forest areas. In addition the status of land-holdings in the communal and small-holder areas will be surveyed and reported for use in overall planning and land use.

### ***District Land Commission Committees***

The Land Commission will establish a subsidiary district committee in each of the administrative districts of the country. These committees will incorporate representatives of all stakeholders, as well as Rural District Councils and traditional leaders. It will be the responsibility of these committees to advise the Land Commission on all matters affecting the land reform exercise in their district.

Once the Commission has approved an overall plan of settlement for individual districts, the local district committees will advise and assist in implementation.

### ***Rationalization***

As soon as the findings of the land audit are available, the Land Commission will embark on a process of rationalization. The rationalization of land allocations and settlement will reconcile on-the-ground realities of farm occupation with the MDC's land policy principles of justice, accountability, need and ability. In carrying out this task, the Commission will – on a farm-by-farm basis, or dealing with categories of farms – adjudicate on the fairest and most practical course of action to bring reconciliation, order and recovery to the agriculture sector.

Where people are found to have been settled in terms of the criteria of the Land Commission Act, or are subsequently legitimately settled, they will be fully supported. The State will give high priority to programmes to ensure that settlers have the inputs, working capital and technical assistance, as well as security of tenure, needed to make their farming ventures succeed.

## **THE LAND REDISTRIBUTION AND SETTLEMENT PROCESS**

### ***Land Acquisition and Compensation***

The Land Commission will facilitate the transfer of land to meet the redistributive objectives of the programme and arrange fair and adequate compensation for those farmers whose land has been so acquired. It will establish the rules and criteria both for the acquisition of land for resettlement and for the payment of compensation. It will then recommend to Parliament the legislative measures necessary to give effect to these rules and criteria.

The MDC is committed to meeting its constitutional obligations to pay fair and adequate compensation for land and improvements, and will provide reasonable compensation for losses of property based on independently adjudicated claims. Compensation, however, should not jeopardize the financial requirements of the land reform programme and the recovery of essential social services. The Commission will therefore devise innovative ways and cost-effective means of providing compensation

without draining the resources needed for the MDC's wider programme of recovery, growth and transformation.

Special courts will be established in all major urban centres to establish the extent of any compensation claims. These will operate under the direction of either the Land Commission or the Truth and Justice Commission. As indicated in the section on the latter, compensation will be restricted to fixed-asset losses only, will be tied to title deeds, and will be made available only for reconstruction purposes.

### ***Subdivision and Farm Planning***

Where necessary, the Commission will re-plan and subdivide large commercial farms, using the skills of professional planners and surveyors, to suit a number of smaller farmers. Moreover, it will be tasked with co-ordinating the proper re-planning of farming districts to enable agricultural service centres to flourish. Infrastructure, such as schools, clinics and government services, will be located at these centres. Care will be taken to allow communities to emerge in all areas on a coherent and social basis.

### ***Settler Selection***

People eligible to apply to be allocated land will be those who do not already own land, or who cannot afford to buy land. The procedures for applying to the Land Commission will be inclusive, giving all eligible Zimbabweans a fair opportunity to apply. From the applications received, the Land Commission, using implementing agencies, will select farmers for settlement in a transparent and objective manner that gives every applicant the confidence that their application will be fairly processed according to carefully laid-down criteria and procedures.

The selection of settlers will be based on need and ability. Preference will be given to those applicants who have farming knowledge and proven farming ability, and to those who do not have an alternative source of livelihood but who have a demonstrable commitment to farming.

Applications for land will be evaluated on a non-partisan basis and purely on their own merits, regardless of gender, race, ethnic origin or political opinion. However, in view of the need to address the historical imbalance in land distribution and the traditional bias against women, the Commission will have discretionary powers to give preference to certain groups, notably agricultural college graduates, women, the disabled and other disadvantaged groups. In the interest of transparency, however, it must justify its decisions, disclose the extent of the benefit, and assess how this benefit will impact on other eligible applicants and the programme as a whole.

### ***Land Allocation***

A household selected for settlement will be allocated only one piece of land. Female and child-headed households will be given special consideration, as explained above. Those who lay claim to two or more farms will have to show why this should be allowed. In special circumstances such farming units may comprise more than one title deed. As the land market develops and a regulatory framework for a land market is established, successful farmers will be permitted to acquire more land.

Wherever possible, successful applicants will be settled in or close to their own home area. Settlement will be concentrated in schemes to facilitate the provision of technical advisory and extension support, as well as infrastructure, social services and other facilities. The objective will be to give settlers every opportunity to succeed in their new ventures.

### ***Settlement***

The Commission will streamline the process and mechanics of the settlement process. This will include establishing the terms, conditions and tenure arrangements under which settlement may take place for different categories of farms and farmers, and standardizing the concessions and terms of loans available to different categories of settlers. Settlers will, in consultation with the Commission, be required to prepare and adhere to farm plans and, if necessary, to undergo further training.

Performance indicators will be established to monitor the progress of settled farmers. If they fail to make productive use of the land, the Commission will be empowered to give the farmer an opportunity to perform better or to relinquish the land to give other potential farmers the chance to prove themselves.





### ***Agrarian Reform and Agriculture***

The MDC uses the term ‘agrarian reform’ to refer to the transformation of rural people’s lives to make them fully productive and wealth-generating. While land reform is regarded as a programme for the transfer of control, ownership and tenure of agricultural land, agrarian reform necessarily has much broader scope, seeking to restructure the entire agricultural sector and to industrialize the rural areas.

Agrarian reform thus embraces not just land reform (primarily in the former large-scale commercial farming areas but also in all other areas occupied for agricultural purposes) but support services to all farmers, particularly those in the communal areas. These services are to include credit, marketing, pricing, rural infrastructure (dams, roads, bridges, clinics, hospitals, schools), farmer training services, and affordable energy alternatives to promote higher agricultural productivity and facilitate the rural agro-based industrialization strategy.

### ***Transformation of Zimbabwe's Dual Agrarian Structure***

This will involve moving from the previous pattern of a few large and successful commercial farms alongside many tiny and uneconomic subsistence plots into a more 'unimodal' structure. This shift towards viable small and medium-sized family farms will be achieved by:

-  The sub-division of large farms (whose economic potential would not be compromised thereby) for occupation by new commercial farmers and settlers.
-  The decongestion of communal areas by building strong agro-industrial linkages to create non-agricultural jobs in rural and urban centres.
-  Providing secure housing and higher income opportunities for all urban workers so as to reduce their dependence on the rural areas for support and security.
-  Stimulating much higher levels of agricultural production in the communal areas.

One of the mechanisms for promoting investment and enhanced productivity will be to improve the security of tenure over land for all Zimbabwean farmers. The legal framework and approach that the MDC government will adopt for this will be one of the key responsibilities of the Land Commission.

### ***Transformation of the Communal Farming Areas***

This is premised on three major programmes. The first will improve the administrative mechanisms that facilitate the evolution of well-defined, secure, and transferable rights to land – especially for women – and the ability to exchange these land rights at low cost. Over time, the value of land can be unlocked by its use as collateral for credit, enabling farmers to invest and develop their holdings to their full productive potential and maximizing market surpluses.

The second will explore alternative policy options to simultaneously raise small farmer production and dissolve the dual agrarian structure. These options include (but are not limited to) syndicates, tenant schemes, and out-grower programmes with centralized processing and marketing of produce. The empowerment of small farmers will be further achieved by provision of simple irrigation schemes using water from rivers that flow through some of the communal areas as well as ground-water resources.

The third programme element will initiate public-sector-led investment in infrastructure and social services to support the transformation process. The MDC aims to achieve universal access to modern infrastructural services in the field of communications and transport at the earliest possible date.

### ***Development of Commercial Centres in Rural Areas***

This component will involve the revitalization of existing rural business centres and the creation of new worker centres within the resettlement and commercial-farming areas, with the intention that these gradually evolve into social service centres for farm-workers and will serve as ‘incubators’ for the development of small and medium-sized agricultural service activities provided by skilled former farm-workers and other entrepreneurs, as well as agro-based industrial production. Public-sector investment in communications, power and social services is to be directed to centres with the potential to be economically viable.

Arrangements for housing and social amenities and services in the rural service centres will provide increased security for farm-workers and their families. They will also provide opportunities for alternative employment and income-generating activities.

# AGRICULTURE

*No one in Zimbabwe will ever be hungry again*

From every aspect, agriculture always has been, and probably will remain, the cornerstone of the Zimbabwean economy. In addition, the majority of our people are dependent on agriculture for their income and security. In the past it has been the largest employer and exporter in Zimbabwe, and it is expected to resume this status when its rehabilitation and recovery is complete. Without agriculture it is impossible to imagine recovery in industry, where over half of all industrial firms are wholly or partly dependent on the agricultural sector for support.

## ***The State of Agriculture***

The agricultural scene is presently characterized by the following factors:

- ✎ A chaotic 'fast-track' land reform that resulted in the widespread violation of property rights of most commercial farmers, a precarious food-security situation, severe deprivation of 240,000 farm-workers and a general increase in political instability.
- ✎ Zero production and large-scale deforestation on much of the expropriated land, with tobacco production falling to 20 per cent of previous levels and maize production declining to 40 per cent or less of national requirements.
- ✎ Severe infringement on the socio-cultural fabric of rural Zimbabwe.
- ✎ Critical shortages in farming input supplies.
- ✎ Poor water management in resettled areas.
- ✎ A collapse in rural infrastructure development, with an inevitable decline in agricultural extension services.
- ✎ Expensive agro-financing owing to the current high-risk nature of the business and a lack of collateral.
- ✎ Distorted marketing and pricing of the commodities produced.
- ✎ A crippling energy and fuel crisis, partly attributable to loss of foreign-currency earnings from agricultural and agro-based exports.
- ✎ A significant, and not generally recognized, fall in output from the communal areas as a result of the collapse of commercial and industrial support services.
- ✎ Sharp declines in agricultural research and extension.

## ***Recovery of the Agricultural Sector***

The MDC's vision is to ensure the full recovery of agriculture and place it firmly on the path of enhanced productivity and strong sustainable growth so that Zimbabwe can regain its status as a leading agricultural country in Africa. To achieve this objective the MDC is determined to bring social justice and economic stability to the country by implementing a just, orderly and equitable land-settlement programme,

facilitating the transformation of smallholder (communal) agriculture, and initiating a 'people-centred' agrarian-reform programme to ensure security of tenure, social recovery and the economic well-being of all Zimbabweans.

The MDC's vision is underpinned by innovation and technological change, the revitalization of national agricultural institutions, the provision of investment incentives, and the creation of an enabling regulatory framework. The MDC also fully recognizes that the success of agriculture depends crucially on macro-economic stability, strong agro-industrial linkages, and the structural transformation of the economy.

### ***Social Justice in Agriculture***

It is important to stress at the outset of this policy that the MDC's vision extends beyond land reform to a much broader agenda of agrarian reform. By agrarian reform we mean the transformation of rural people's lives to make them fully productive and wealth-generating. Access to land is a crucial dimension, but it is only a starting point. Farmers require capital equipment, finance and all other inputs, and must have markets for their products. They need to produce on a basis that will allow them to generate a worthwhile return for their efforts. This applies as much to farmers in the communal areas as to those settled on what were previously large-scale commercial farms.

The MDC's programmes will be directed not just to the resettlement areas but also to the communal areas and small-scale farming schemes. Contrary to current propaganda and practice, land reform alone is never going to decongest the Communal Lands, which will continue to provide a livelihood and security for the majority of our rural people. For a social democratic party committed to achieving true social justice, agrarian reform, which embraces all rural areas, but with special focus on the communal areas, is a fundamental policy thrust.

Agrarian reform is a key element not just in the MDC's agricultural policy but also in its economic programme. The conventional approach in economics has been to design economic interventions for the formal sector and rely on 'trickle-down' to alleviate poverty in the non-formal parts of the economy (consisting of the informal and the subsistence/communal sectors). The MDC's economic policies are designed to overcome the dualism in the Zimbabwean economy by cutting the links and mechanisms through which the low-productivity non-formal sectors are reproduced. It will thereby also create the conditions for the end of migratory labour, allowing families to be united. This is an important social objective in its own right, as it will also reduce one of the main circumstances in which HIV/AIDS is spread.



## **POLICY PROGRAMMES**

Complementing its policies on land and agrarian reform, the MDC's policies for the agricultural sector aim to restore agricultural production and ensure its future growth. These policies are about gearing Zimbabwe's agriculture towards food self-sufficiency, innovation, enhanced productivity, contribution to exports and to the national fiscus, and restoring the central role of agriculture as the driver of economic and social development for the sustainable creation of wealth. The MDC aims to use agriculture as a springboard for transforming Zimbabwe's rural areas.

While these goals are being pursued, it is also intended to halt the deterioration in natural resources management on all rural land, to enhance the security of all land users, and to strengthen their sense of ownership and worth.

### ***Food Security***

It will be an urgent and immediate priority of the MDC government to restore food production to levels that are able to provide Zimbabwe's basic needs. To achieve this, the initial requirement for food imports will be reorganized so as to direct these essential imports to local food-processing companies, who will pay the full import price for all such imports, irrespective of their origin.

Those communities that do not have the resources to buy food at full market cost will be given opportunities to earn the required resources through development programmes in rural areas. Targeted subsidies and income-support programmes for the most vulnerable will supplement these programmes. These safety nets will be put in place before existing subsidies are withdrawn.

Commodity prices will be raised by this effort to full import parity, and will allow farmers to grow these products for a reasonable return. As domestic output recovers, imports will be allowed to decline and, when exports resume, attention will be paid to mechanisms that will protect farm incomes until such time as the industry has fully recovered and is able to compete on a global basis.

### ***Farming Infrastructure***

To reverse the massive collapse of rural infrastructure, the Ministry of Agriculture will encourage strategic public-private partnerships to rehabilitate farming infrastructure. Financial packages will be devised to replace irrigation equipment, electricity connections, storage and curing facilities, communication systems and farming equipment in medium to large-scale commercial farming areas. Rural road and electricity distribution systems will be rehabilitated.

### ***The National Cattle Herd***

Successive droughts, disease, stock theft and the ‘fast-track’ land acquisition have depleted the national cattle herd, resulting in shortages of beef and milk. The MDC will focus on intensive rebuilding schemes to return this key component of agriculture to pre-1990 levels in the shortest possible time.

It is recognized that the country cannot ignore the investment in the Cold Storage Company or its critical role within the industry as an export base and a stabilizer in time of drought. In order that the CSC can support the rehabilitation of the national herd, a Commission of Inquiry will be established to examine all possible ways of resuscitating it, and to consider the possible adoption of an arrangement introduced in Namibia, where a similar institution has been successfully privatized and integrated with the cattle industry. This exercise will include the resuscitation of the operations of a financial scheme specifically linked to restoring cattle numbers on farms.

### ***The Development of Forestry***

Zimbabwe has significant soft and hardwood development potential in the eastern districts, as well as in other areas presently set aside for indigenous hardwood production. It would be the intention of the MDC government to protect the existing base of the industry by securing the rights of existing forest owners and removing illegal settlers from these areas. It would also be a responsibility of the Land Commission to assess the state of the Forest Reserves and to recommend future action and policy.

At the same time the MDC government will launch a special programme to support out-grower production of forest products using existing forest companies as the base and funding the operation with long-term, low-interest funds secured from international agencies. This will assist rural families in forest areas to make a reasonable living, and will provide the foundations for a substantial forest products’ industry on a sustainable basis for the future. It will also create a ‘carbon sink’ in Zimbabwe that might attract international Kyoto funding.

### ***Agricultural Institutions***

Realizing that a sophisticated agricultural industry is achieved only by a supportive institutional infrastructure, the MDC government will invest resources to rehabilitate and reform public marketing agencies, research centres and public agro-based financing institutions. Existing training and education institutions will be expanded into farmer-trainer entities, as opposed to being limited only to training extension workers.

### ***Research***

The MDC government will maintain the Agricultural Research Council as an independent, non-political body. The Council will advise government on all aspects relating to agricultural research, will recommend the provision of grants for research by central government, and will also solicit grants from agriculture associations and development partners. Government grants would be tied to agricultural research to benefit the small-scale resettled farmers who may not be able to afford research output of their own.

### ***Training***

All agricultural training institutions will be placed under independent councils selected from the agriculture industry. These institutions will be expanded in order to ensure that there are adequate numbers of trained personnel to take the many opportunities to be created in the farming sector by the land and agriculture programmes. Government will support agricultural training through the same facilities that are available to students at universities and colleges. These activities will be the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture.

### ***Extension Services***

The MDC government will provide basic extension services to all farming communities through a system of extension agents who will work with local farm communities and research establishments. Particular regard will be paid to extension services in small-scale resettlement and communal farming areas. Private-sector firms with interests in the agriculture industry will be encouraged to support extension services to commercial farmers.

### ***Marketing Services***

The Grain Marketing Board will remain a part of central government but will be required to operate on commercial principles and will no longer hold a statutory monopoly over grain and oilseed marketing. However, the GMB will be required to maintain a network of depots throughout the country and to act as residual buyer of food grains and oil seeds. It will also be required to maintain strategic stocks of basic foods and to provide storage facilities to the private sector.

The national system of livestock sale pens will be maintained but outsourced to the private sector under conditions negotiated annually by the Livestock Marketing Trust.

An MDC government will maintain the system of commodity councils made up of representatives of all stakeholders on the production and consumption side of each industry, and will require these councils to publish regular information on stock

levels, prices and general activity in the industry for which they have responsibility. They will advise the ministry on the need for both imports and exports of basic commodities.

### ***Pricing and Marketing***

Commodity councils will support a local market for commodities that allows producers and buyers to establish market-related prices for the commodities being traded. Such councils will be required to publish prices on a daily basis in the national press and on radio and television.

Local, regional and international commodity trading plays a crucial role in triggering socio-economic development and wealth creation in Zimbabwe. The MDC government will play a non-interventionist, regulatory role in ensuring a competitive pricing environment that creates conditions conducive to investment in the sector, putting in place, however, mechanisms that will protect vulnerable groups.

### ***Seed Production***

Realizing that the quality of a crop depends mainly on the quality of the seed, the MDC government will ensure private-sector-driven seed production through out-grower contracting alliances between seed-production companies and large and small-scale commercial farmers.








### ***Emergency Measures to Expedite Recovery***

The MDC government will establish an emergency programme to foster the recovery of production in as short a period of time as is possible. This will include a programme to rehabilitate production and distribution systems for fertilizers and chemicals as well as for all other essential farm inputs.

# MINING

## *An attractive and secure destination for mining investment*

The objectives of the MDC's mining policies are to:

-  Increase investment in mining.
-  Improve returns to the fiscus from mining.
-  Ensure that Zimbabwe benefits to the maximum from its underground resources.
-  Support artisanal and small-scale miners to become viable operations.
-  Protect the environment.
-  Eradicate corruption and illegal markets.
-  Continue as a member of the Kimberley Process and become a signatory to other such protocols.

Zimbabwe has one or two world-class mineral deposits in platinum, chrome and asbestos and many small and medium-sized deposits – up to 5,000 gold mines, for example. An enabling environment is required to encourage miners to develop these resources. Industry experts believe that the correct policies could see a number of new mines being developed, resulting in a significant growth in national export volumes.

The MDC believes that government's role is to facilitate and foster foreign and domestic investment in productive sectors in order to increase jobs and income. Investment in extractive industries like mining is not as dependent on investor whims as it is resource-based and long term. For this reason, it is believed that, once the political issues in the crisis are addressed, the mining industry will recover rapidly from the present slump in output and could play a major role in the process of economic stabilization and recovery.

The MDC does not believe that government should be involved in running businesses and it will restore title in full to all companies. It does, however, believe that businesses should pay taxes to the government.

Historically Zimbabwe has had a platform of mining laws that were the envy of many countries; they served as the basis for Tanzania's recent mining boom. The MDC government will return to the legal framework in force in 1980, abolishing the ZMDC and the MMCZ and cancelling the Reserve Bank's role as the sole purchaser of gold, as well as the payment of royalties, all of which are, in different ways, disincentives for the industry.

All metals and minerals will be traded freely by the mining houses, and, to facilitate this and reduce smuggling, a gold exchange will be established on the Chinese model. The MDC government will introduce a basket of incentives to encourage local and regional beneficiation, and preference will be given to foreign investors whose investment proposals contain a local beneficiation component.

The MDC government will continue to operate the Mining Commissioner's Office but would overhaul it along the lines recently adopted for Mozambique. This will require the Commissioner to inspect all mining operations to ensure that they comply with the law and are recording true values and paying appropriate taxes. All other mining agencies will be privatized, except for the Mining Affairs Board, which will be responsible for safety, the environment and standards, and which will have wide representation: farmers, local and central government, the Chamber of Mines (the employers' organization) and trade unions. It will also comprise technical experts as members of staff who are able to assess situations correctly and react appropriately.

The MDC recognizes that mines metamorphose. They start with artisanal miners and/or prospectors who discover the ore body, and are developed by investors who then on-sell to mining houses who exploit the resources involved. All parties must benefit through a market for mines. In order to speed up mining development, the MDC will restrict the validity of an exclusive prospecting order to six months, renewable four times.

The MDC government will ensure that the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange is managed and conducted on a professional basis and becomes an attractive and secure destination for investment. Companies investing on an FDI basis in the mining industry will be encouraged to raise capital on the stock market by floating a significant proportion of their equity on the ZSE.

### ***Small-scale Mining***

The MDC government will recognize the significance of the role of small-scale or artisanal miners. They can be classified as being operations that cease when they hit hard rock or when they hit water.

It is noted that up to 500,000 people are currently engaged in small-scale gold mining and that tens of thousands are in the chrome industry. Their activities will be properly managed and controlled with a simple system of licenses that will protect the rights of individual miners while they are in gainful occupation of such resources. At the same time, these measures will seek to address the problem of environmental degradation at all small-scale mining locations.

The MDC government will facilitate research in appropriate – simple, robust, cheap – mining technology and offer scholarships to the School of Mines to develop skills among this marginalized group. The School will emphasize the importance of health and safety, which will be monitored regularly by mining inspectors. The MDC will also facilitate access to capital and the marketing of production, if required. To achieve the latter, it will discuss twinning arrangements between large and small producers.

The ministry will establish an extension service, privately run under contract to government, to assist small-scale operators with their mining ventures and, if possible, help them upgrade their operations so that they can become more significant. Custom and cluster milling and processing of ore produced by small-scale miners will be encouraged and facilitated.

### ***Medium-sized Mining Development***

There are already several hundred medium-scale mines in operation in Zimbabwe, and the potential for further development of similar operations is considered significant. This will be encouraged and facilitated by an MDC government. It is considered that this level of mining is, in fact, the most appropriate for Zimbabwean investors and will be treated as such, although there will be no restriction on foreign direct investment.

### ***Large-scale Mining Ventures***

The MDC government will introduce special mining leases for investments over US\$100 million based on the one negotiated with BHP, a model of its kind and responsible for a US\$200 million investment. The MDC believes that this model should be extended to all large foreign direct investments. It would borrow from Botswana's mining code as a basis for individual negotiations with each potential investor. Such terms and conditions would be reflected in individual agreements that will be binding on both parties for the life of the venture.

For large-scale mining ventures, security of assets, dividend remittability and a predictable policy environment are critically important. For this reason the Marange diamond field will be brought under proper control and restored to the company that has legal rights to the resources. This is essential because the present situation threatens Zimbabwe's membership of the Kimberley Process and consequently the sale of legal diamonds through normal channels into the world market.

Mines that wish to build schools, hospitals, villages, etc., will be required to liaise with the authorities to ensure that they are placed and planned correctly so that they have a sustainable future after the mine closes. Responsibility for this will lie with the Mining Affairs Board, working with the associated local authorities.

### ***Environmental and Safety Concerns***

Mines, along with all new businesses, will continue to file Environmental Impact Assessments and to comply with mining legislation, but they will no longer be charged a fee for filing an EIA. Environmental concerns will fall under the Mining Commissioner, be regularly monitored, and be dealt with on the 'polluter pays' system. The MDC government will adopt a 'zero tolerance' attitude to mining accidents and impose heavy fines on negligent mines, which will go to affected families as compensation.

### ***Labour***

Labour policy will be managed under the national system of National Employment Councils, with membership of the NEC being drawn from the employers' association (the Chamber of Mines) and the trade unions representing mineworkers. The MDC will introduce national migration policies that will encourage the importation of skills and personnel with experience on an 'as and when required' basis.














# MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

## *The engine of economic growth*

Private enterprise in general, and industry in particular, will be the engine of economic growth in a new Zimbabwe. Accordingly, the major focus of policy is to create an economic and socio-political environment that entrenches a vibrant mixed-market economy in the country, provides existing businesses with the confidence to maintain and expand their enterprises, and encourages foreign direct investment.




The MDC government will remove price controls and reverse the coercive indigenization proposals recently adopted. A full investigation into all major transactions involving alleged patronage and corruption in any form will be undertaken and, if substantiated, reversed.

The manufacturing sector is in a serious crisis, characterized by:

-  A serious failure to supply goods and services demanded by consumers.
-  Drastic declines in industrial output.
-  Serious declines in investment to maintain and expand production capacity.
-  Serious and persistent decline in employment numbers in the industry.
-  Serious underutilization of production capacities throughout the sector.
-  Serious foreign-exchange shortages that, in the main, constrain production.
-  Declines in the volumes of manufacturing exports.
-  Reduced supplies of domestically produced raw materials to industry.
-  Drastic declines in the volumes of raw material, plant and equipment, and spares imports.
-  Serious declines in national savings in real terms.
-  A burgeoning shortage of skilled personnel in the industry.

Consistent with the establishment of a market economy, private entrepreneurs will make decisions regarding investment, production and pricing with the objective of making a sound return on their investment. The major role of government will be to aid and encourage the private sector by providing incentives and the required supporting infrastructural facilities.

The establishment of a vibrant enterprise economy will be underpinned by an unwavering commitment to:

-  The safety and security of individual and corporate property rights.
-  Opening industry to foreign direct investment and the unfettered repatriation of dividends.
-  The repeal of all statutes that inhibit the establishment and maintenance

of a socio-economic environment conducive to the sustained growth and development of the industrial sector.

In committing itself to this policy environment, it is crucial for private enterprise to ensure that they:

- ✎ Operate within acceptable corporate governance practices.
- ✎ Maintain healthy and safe working environments.
- ✎ Ensure sustainable use of natural resources.
- ✎ Guarantee fair returns to all stakeholders, especially labour.
- ✎ Cultivate a high moral and social conscience that is consistent with acceptable sound labour relations and a sense of social justice.
- ✎ Support programmes that mitigate the impact of HIV and AIDS with a view to prolonging the productive lives of their employees.
- ✎ Comply with environmental regulations, including filing Environmental Impact Assessments for major new businesses.

Any viable enterprise economy has to be driven by a cadre of entrepreneurs who are nurtured specifically for this purpose. Accordingly, it is a major objective of this programme to identify and develop the entrepreneurial capacities needed to make Zimbabwe an industrial hub in southern Africa.

### ***Major goals of policies affecting the manufacturing sector***

The major goals for the manufacturing sector include the following:

- ✎ The creation of a predictable policy environment that stabilizes the wider economy and creates opportunities for sustained economic growth and development.
- ✎ The mobilization of substantial domestic and international human and material resources required to resuscitate and rehabilitate industry so that it plays its rightful role in the development of the country.
- ✎ The implementation of programmes that remove all forms of economic dualism in the economy in general and in the rural areas in particular.
- ✎ The establishment of an industrial structure that reduces the sector's dependence on imports.
- ✎ The establishment of an industrial structure capable of manufacturing some of the capital goods demanded by both the domestic and export markets in contiguous countries. This will be based on the beneficiation of local materials and supported by an international programme aimed at expanding the entrepreneurial skills of local citizens.
- ✎ Ensuring that industry plays its critical role of generating the requisite employment opportunities that are commensurate with the skills and technological aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

- ✎ Ensuring that primary industries benefit, to the fullest extent possible, the country's primary products with a view to improving national incomes through value-addition.
- ✎ Continuous enhancement of the technological capacity of industry to manufacture products that are competitive at home and abroad.

### ***Industry Development Targets***

Policy prescriptions must be predicated on what the nation wants to achieve in any given period. Accordingly, the short-term plan will be to:

- ✎ Restore confidence and stabilize the sector to enable it to operate viably and to supply the goods and services demanded by the nation.
- ✎ Restore output and productivity to pre-1999 levels.
- ✎ Restore employment levels to pre-1999 levels.
- ✎ Achieve a strong and sustained increase in exports of manufactured goods.
- ✎ Ensure that manufacturing's contribution to GDP reaches at least 25 per cent.
- ✎ Restore production capacity from the current low utilization levels.

In the medium to long term, industrial development will be aimed at:

- ✎ Ensuring that market forces play the central role not only in determining the nature, breadth and depth of investment in the sector but also in all pricing decisions for goods and services.
- ✎ Facilitating the expansion of industrial infrastructure to enable it to adequately service existing and new industrial concerns.
- ✎ Facilitating the expansion of micro-lending institutions so that small and informal business opportunities are fully exploited throughout the economy.
- ✎ Encouraging value-addition in rural areas, with a special focus on developing non-traditional activities.
- ✎ Introducing a corporate tax structure that is consistent with the need to achieve high levels of investment in this sector and is regionally competitive.
- ✎ Facilitating the creation of a viable capital goods industry in the country.

### ***Policy Objectives***

In view of the issues facing industry and the targets the sector must achieve in the short to medium term, it is imperative that a compendium of policies be introduced to achieve the objectives outlined above.

The immediate objective of Zimbabwe's industrial policy will be to restore the vitality and dynamism of the country's manufacturing enterprise. This requires the creation of a stable policy environment, the full restoration of investor confidence, and the establishment of the reliable industrial infrastructure that is needed to underpin industrial supplies and deliveries into both the domestic and international markets.

The major thrust of industrial policy will be the establishment of a competitive, modern society that facilitates high levels of economic growth and provides opportunities to all Zimbabweans to enhance their living standards. Special attention will be directed to the historically marginalized groups (especially women) with the objective of ensuring their full participation in the production processes.

These objectives will be achieved through the following:

- ✎ The establishment of a business environment and culture of entrepreneurship that adequately rewards people for taking risks. The objective will be to facilitate the ability to initiate a business venture in 48 hours.
- ✎ Implementation of an integrated industrial development programme that encourages the beneficiation of the country's domestic raw materials and attracts and motivates the latent resources existing in both the rural/peasant communities and other sectors of the economy.
- ✎ Development and expansion of industrial infrastructure around known domestic resources through the provision of support infrastructure such as energy, railways and road networks, water, telecommunication facilities, housing and housing infrastructure.
- ✎ The establishment of an investment climate that ensures that the economy achieves levels of foreign direct investment sufficient to modernize the country's production technologies and skills.
- ✎ Beneficiating the country's primary products, adding value to agricultural and mineral raw materials, and promoting the exploitation of value chains and systems, thereby strengthening sectoral linkages as well as linkages between firms.
- ✎ A comprehensive industrial training programme, set up by government in conjunction with the private sector, at home and abroad to widen the industrial skills base of the country. Such programmes will be targeted at all levels of the labour force with the objective of creating a work ethos that is consistent with increased productivity, improved product quality, and the development of entrepreneurs.
- ✎ A sustained increase in investment levels resulting from industry mounting export-promotion programmes and re-orienting their production and marketing programmes to wider markets in SADC and COMESA and to other consumers worldwide. Export-promotion policies and incentives that are industry or sub-sector specific will be devised to underwrite the success of the programme.
- ✎ A 'Buy Zimbabwe' campaign, introduced in association with the private sector, to expand the domestic market for quality locally produced goods.
- ✎ Planned macro-economic and monetary policies that will permit greater access to foreign exchange and the payment of dividends and debt-service charges.

- ✎ Awareness programmes aimed at achieving and sustaining the competitiveness of Zimbabwean products in regional and international markets, intensified through incentives, advocacy and education, and by accessing the requisite technology.
- ✎ Encouraging the private sector to work closely with the Productivity Centre, the Scientific Industrial Research and Development Centre (SIRDC) and other institutions of higher learning and research to turn research ideas into products.
- ✎ Major new industrial investments, which will be considered for special incentives and conditions when they are proposed to the government. Such special conditions will have to receive full public and parliamentary approval.
- ✎ The strengthening of the IDC's role as an industrial incubator and partner for new industrial ventures, its existing subsidiaries being sold off and the resources released by such sales used to promote new ventures.
- ✎ Special incentives introduced to encourage businesses to ensure that indigenous persons and previously disadvantaged groups fully participate in acquiring equity in new and existing industries.
- ✎ A review of the Companies Act and the operations of the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange to ensure that both measure up to best international practice.

### ***The Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Corporation***

ZISCO is an important and very substantial investment by the State. It has been poorly managed over many years and has also been the target of serious corruption. The MDC government will, with immediate effect, take steps to replace ZISCO's existing Board of Directors and instruct the new board to undertake the following:

- ✎ A complete review of the status of all the corporation's operations and its overall financial situation.
- ✎ A review of all senior staff positions and make appropriate changes.
- ✎ Prepare proposals for the consideration of government as to how the corporation might be rehabilitated.
- ✎ Examine all possible options regarding the future of ZISCO, including the sale of the assets to a suitable investor and continued operation by existing stakeholders.
- ✎ Make appropriate recommendations to government as to how the board would like to proceed.

### **FOSTERING INDUSTRIAL CLUSTERS**

The MDC government will encourage the creation of industrial clusters as a strategy to encourage the development of strong industrial linkages and the optimization of efficiencies. Under this policy companies will be encouraged to work together to optimize their output, use of technologies and economies of scale. Local authorities

and all public enterprises will be encouraged to give such cluster activities their maximum support. Particular areas for industrial clusters are believed to include the following.

### ***Steel***

ZISCO is the backbone of Zimbabwe's heavy industry and must be afforded the latitude to make business decisions without undue encumbrances from government. It will be required to improve the quality and expand the range of its products.

This will be followed by the planning of all ancillary industrial and commercial activity that might be required to support the plant and its upstream (supply and servicing) and its downstream (transport and further beneficiation) needs. These might include the coking plant and the establishment of a stainless-steel plant as well as processing units for special steel sections. In addition the cluster would incorporate all the major supply industries – coal, electricity and transport, as well as the local authority in terms of housing and amenities.

### ***Spinning, Textiles and Clothing***

Zimbabwe is the largest producer of raw cotton in Africa and has considerable additional potential in this area. The MDC government will promote the establishment of industrial clusters around existing centres of cotton processing and textile and clothing production.

Cotton ginneries will be encouraged to offer cotton lint to local manufacturers at market or export-parity prices. Cotton seed will be sold locally on the same basis and exports of the same discouraged. Clusters will be encouraged to specialize and to target key domestic, regional and international markets for their products. The goal will be the manufacture of top-quality textiles and clothing for niche markets.

### ***Maintenance Clusters***

A cluster for the maintenance of railway wagons and locomotives will be established in Bulawayo and designed to meet regional needs for such activity. This will link up with international manufacturers for technology and spares support as well as for financial investment and participation.

### ***Wood Products and Furniture***

The MDC government will pursue strategies to increase the output of both soft- and hardwood forests in the Eastern Highlands and Matabeleland, respectively. These supplies of timber will form a major source for the expansion in the wood-products industry.

In complementing these activities, training in the wood-product and furniture industries will be intensified at all appropriate tertiary institutions. Further processing of wood products in industrial clusters will be facilitated and encouraged to deal with primary products such as sawn timber and all its by-products. This will include the processing of wood chips for the paper industry in both domestic and export markets.

### ***The Motor Industry***

At present, the domestic market for motor vehicles is very small. Furthermore, the expertise and infrastructure to manufacture a variety of motor vehicles is limited. Motor assembly on its own is also unlikely to yield significant value-added to imported components. Accordingly, in the interim, Zimbabwe will have to import its requirements of sedan vehicles either ‘on wheels’ or in the form of second-hand vehicles.

However, the country has the requisite potential to assemble a limited range of commercial vehicles, and a niche market could be established for these in the region and elsewhere. Production and assembly would need to be organized on a basis that allows the production of a finished product that is competitive in quality and price at home and in the contiguous markets.

With two existing assembly plants – one in Harare and the other in Mutare – it is suggested that these be brought into two industrial clusters and that these clusters be encouraged to initiate the production of a range of inexpensive commercial vehicles for local distribution and export in the region. Local content would be gradually increased as production capacity was established. In developing this vital industry, a strategy would be to form viable partnerships with international corporations in the industry.

### ***The Mining Industry***

The mining industry has considerable potential for growth and this will have to be supported by industry and commerce with a wide range of supply and services. Key mining centres will be encouraged to form clusters of industrial and commercial firms predicated on meeting the needs of the industry. This will include the production of mining machinery, the import, supply and maintenance of specialized equipment and plant, as well as fabrication and civil engineering. In addition, government will encourage the private sector to seek and establish alliances with other relevant partners to beneficiate the country’s mineral ores so as to widen industrial output, provide employment and improve incomes.

### ***Micro-enterprise Development***

It is recognized that over half of all economic activity at present takes place in the informal and small-enterprise sector. Every effort will therefore be made to encourage this sector to develop to its full potential. Accordingly a full review of all legal constraints and restrictions will be made, with a view to providing space for these organizations and individuals to operate from and protecting them from exploitation and corruption.



# COMMERCE AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

## *Fair trade on a competitive basis*

### COMMERCE

Zimbabwe has a national network of about 35,000 retailers – some very large and others tiny. In addition millions of people make their living from non-formal enterprises that takes many forms. This sector of the economy is well organized and highly competitive, with many wholesalers and retailers competing for business on a daily basis.

The principal goal of the MDC will be to ensure that this sector remains highly competitive and is able to secure its requirements on a market-driven basis from domestic manufacturers and imports. Price controls will be abolished and state intervention will be limited to labour, health and safety concerns. Local authorities will be required to enforce public-health regulations and to ensure that all perishables are properly date-stamped and are not displayed for sale once their expiry dates are passed.

The non-formal sector will be protected and encouraged to operate on a basis that does not compete unfairly with the formal sector and that also satisfies public-health regulations and controls. Where possible, non-formal traders will be properly accommodated and licensed so as to ensure the orderly operation of markets, and consideration will be given to mobile markets.

All employees and employers will be required to register with the National Employment Council for the commercial sector and to adhere to agreed codes of conduct and employment conditions. The MDC government will seek expert advice on how to develop the informal sector as a priority. This will include a study of how to bring it into the social safety net for health and pension arrangements.

### INTERNATIONAL TRADE

In international trade, government will pursue a policy that will foster fair trade on a competitive basis in global markets, free trade within the SADC region, and full co-operation with any existing and future pan-African trade institutions.

#### *The World Trade Organization*

The MDC government will maintain Zimbabwe's membership of the WTO and participate constructively in all its deliberations on world trade arrangements. In particular government will support efforts to reduce subsidies to agriculture in the developed states the establishment of a more open world trade system for agricultural

products. At the same time the government will seek to strengthen WTO regulations against unfair trade practices such as dumping and non-tariff barriers to trade.

### ***COMESA and SADC***

The government will maintain and strengthen its relations with the COMESA region and ensure that its own import regulations are in compliance with the COMESA regulations. However, the primary regional trade relationship for government will be that with the SADC region as a whole, and the regulations and market arrangements for SADC will take precedence. In the context of SADC, government will support regional efforts to establish a free trade zone in this trading bloc.

### ***Bilateral Trade Agreements***

Zimbabwe has special bilateral trade agreements with many countries. These will be subjected to mutual review, and existing agreements will be respected until such review is completed and new agreements signed.

### ***AGOA***

This arrangement, under which selected developing countries are permitted preferential access to the US market for a range of finished goods, will create potential for certain industries (such as clothing) and every effort will be made to exploit the opportunities that it represents. In the long term, however, the MDC accepts that the only way to build a dynamic industrial economy in Zimbabwe will be on the basis of global competitiveness.

### ***EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements***

These EPAs are being negotiated at present and when finally agreed will replace those established under the Lomé Convention and the Cotonou Agreements. This will pave the way for economic aid to developing countries and to trade arrangements that will give members states special access to European markets. Zimbabwe will participate fully in such negotiations and will ensure that it secures maximum advantage from the arrangements being put in place.

### ***Zimtrade***

The activities of Zimtrade will be reviewed with the objective of making it autonomous, with local exporters represented on its board and advisory panels, although it will have to operate within the policy objectives of an MDC government. As at present Zimtrade will be funded by a small levy on all foreign trade, and its annual report will be made available to Parliament and all exporters.

# TOURISM

## *Unlocking the true value of our natural heritage*

Since the transition of South Africa to a genuine democracy, tourism in southern Africa has expanded dramatically, and in 2006 the total number of tourists arriving in the region grew by over twelve per cent, with South Africa leading the way. The industry shows significant growth in all our neighbouring countries.

However, the industry in Zimbabwe has contracted, and tourist arrivals at present are estimated to be about twenty per cent of what was achieved in 1997. This huge decline is very much in line with the rest of the economy and, as a result, earnings and employment have fallen to very low levels.

The tourist industry is regarded as an economic sector that promises not only long-term growth but also the capacity for rapid recovery from the present crisis, with immediate and substantial job-creation and foreign-currency earning potential. It has therefore been accepted that tourism must occupy a priority position in efforts first to ensure a turnaround and then reconstruction and recovery.

### ***The Potential of the Zimbabwe Tourism Industry***

By 2010 it is expected that regional tourism will attract some 15 million visitors annually. Zimbabwe, with its natural resources and attractions such as Great Zimbabwe, the Victoria Falls, Kariba and the Zambezi River, its national parks and wildlife resources, offers an attractive and accessible location for tourists. Our friendly people and the provision of good infrastructure, as well as reasonable health facilities and a wide range of accommodation and tourist activities, can be expected to attract a reasonable proportion of regional and overseas tourists.

It is expected that Zimbabwe will capture at least twenty per cent of regional tourism trade within five years of the resumption of growth and the restoration of the rule of law and stability; at present Zimbabwe receives only about two per cent of all regional visitors. This massive influx of visitors will require considerable investment in roads, airports, transport services and hotels and lodge accommodation. It will also require the training of thousands of new workers and skilled personnel to service this growth.

### ***Guiding Principles***



The MDC government will consider tourism to be a national priority with the capacity to assist in the recovery of the wider economy.

- ✎ Tourism will be largely private-sector and market driven, the overall goal of government being to create an enabling environment for the growth of the sector.
- ✎ The environment will be a cornerstone of the Zimbabwean tourist sector. All tourist activities and development initiatives will take environmental concerns into consideration. Regardless of its label, all tourism will be ecologically sustainable, contributing to the long-term maintenance of ecosystems and species. Tourism will also aim to foster environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation and conservation.
- ✎ The MDC government will encourage the participation of small-scale tourism operators.
- ✎ The MDC government will encourage the involvement of the Zimbabwean people, particularly those communities in the vicinity of resort areas, as entrepreneurs and suppliers of goods and services to the tourist industry, and as customers of tourism.
- ✎ The MDC government will strengthen and develop existing tourist infrastructure by promoting a clean, healthy and safe environment along with friendly and efficient services.

### ***Policy Objectives***

The MDC believes that, in order to achieve sustained economic growth and job creation, it is necessary to focus on those sectors that have the capacity to generate sustainable investment and earnings. The MDC believes that the future of the tourist industry is inextricably linked to the country's ability to harness and develop its natural environment as well as its rich and diverse culture. It is the MDC's policy to develop these resources and to package and promote them in a manner that maximizes their inherent economic potential while maintaining their integrity. Emphasis will be placed on the people and their heritage, the attributes that make Zimbabwe unique. In this regard the MDC's tourism policy will:

- ✎ Aim at enhancing the competitive capability of the Zimbabwe tourist industry, correcting biases, distortions and impediments within the industry.
- ✎ Establish tourism as a national priority sector for the future development of the country, achieving co-operation within the public sector, private sector, communities and civil society to facilitate appropriate investment and to promote tourism.
- ✎ Create a suitable environment for the development and maintenance of basic infrastructure for tourism, including communication and transportation services.
- ✎ Develop an integrated tourism development strategy that will link the tourist industry with other sectors such as cultural activity, arts and crafts, sports, health, and formal and informal sector employment creation.

- ✎ Overhaul Zimbabwe's tourism marketing strategies in order to make a greater impact on the country's major markets in Africa, Europe, Asia and the United States.
- ✎ Identify and strengthen existing best practices in tourism development with a view to formulating guidelines and standards for appropriate tourism development as well as criteria for investment incentives. Country experience in tourism will be analysed and lessons learned will be incorporated into future policy.
- ✎ Support regional tourism developments and initiatives to stimulate economic growth through tourism. This goal will be attained through taking part effectively in regional tourist activities and programmes such as the transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs).
- ✎ Eliminate the requirement for visas for as many countries as possible.

## STRATEGIES

### *Institutional Reforms*

In order to meet the above objectives, the MDC government will embark on an extensive institutional reform programme. The Zimbabwe Tourism Authority was established to represent the interests of the industry and to foster its growth and development. Up to now this function has been frustrated by the State's inability to address the main national problems that have hindered tourism in Zimbabwe. It will be the intention of the MDC to ensure that the ZTA is adequately funded to carry out its mandate and is able to co-operate with similar organizations in the SADC region as a whole. It will have the mandate to:

- ✎ Develop an effective marketing strategy, coupled with regional initiatives, so as to project a positive identity for Zimbabwe to the international and regional tourist markets as a unique and desirable destination.
- ✎ Create awareness of the tourist industry in Zimbabwe.
- ✎ Work with all stakeholders in the maintenance of a vibrant tourist industry.
- ✎ Conduct research on tourism in Zimbabwe and disseminate information on possible markets, assisting in the implementation of an agreed marketing strategy.
- ✎ Assist with the planning, development and maintenance of tourist infrastructure, facilities and services.
- ✎ Develop minimum standards, guidelines and service standards for players in the tourist industry.
- ✎ Promote regional tourist activities such as the TFCAs and other regional tourism programmes, policies and projects.

### ***Existing Initiatives and Other Opportunities***

The MDC government will make every effort to promote Zimbabwe as a preferred destination for tourists. The MDC recognizes the importance of a number of existing tourism initiatives, programmes, policies and services.

The MDC government will immediately tender for a professional organization to conduct an audit of the country's wildlife population and the state of tourist infrastructure. With this information, the ZTA, which will be strengthened through partnerships, will work with the world's major tour operators to ensure that the Zimbabwean tourist industry appeals to discerning international tourists. This will include familiarization tours to this country. The ZTA will play a mentorship role to encourage local operators to comply with market requirements.

Once the tourist industry has signed off on a blueprint for the redevelopment of tourism, the MDC government will facilitate familiarization trips for top international tour operators, particularly those who supported this country in the past.

The ZTA will be charged with marketing Zimbabwe as a quality destination in line with local and international needs. In order to ensure an acceptable product for wealthy tourists, the MDC government will tender for a partner to guide this process, which will be financed through the existing tourist levy.

The timing of Travel Expo will change to fall straight after the Travel Indaba in Durban. The ZTA will take stands at the main travel fairs – ITB, WTO, Indaba, etc. – and invite private-sector companies to participate under its umbrella.

### ***Human Resources***

The industry will maintain a single National Employment Council to represent the interests of both employers and employees. All working conditions will be negotiated through this system and the social security needs of the staff addressed by the NEC. This system is more fully outlined in the MDC policy on Social Security.

The industry will be encouraged to train staff in-house and the cost of such arrangements will be permitted as a charge against tax payments. In addition, the Hotel Catering School in Bulawayo will be converted into a training college for the tourist industry and placed under a Board of Directors drawn from the tourist industry. The College will be partially funded through student grants paid by government in the same way as colleges and universities will be funded.

The MDC will seek international partners so that the College will be able to issue a qualification of international standard. This process will be guided and driven by the industry itself. There is also need to train staff in tourist-related industries such as health, sport and culture. Recognizing the potential of the tourist industry to assist in the turnaround of the Zimbabwe economy, there will be a deliberate attempt to introduce tourism curricula in universities, colleges and other vocational training centres.

It is recognized that a change of culture is required if the industry is to re-establish itself as being friendly and attractive to foreign visitors. This is especially true at all ports of entry. An effort will be made therefore to train all staff working in this critical area in good public relations.

### ***Cluster Initiatives***

Tourism requires the provision of a wide range of services designed to make visitors feel safe and welcome, and to ensure that the quality of all services are competitive with regional tourist facilities. To this end the MDC government will foster the development of cluster initiatives in tourist centres such as the Victoria Falls, Kariba, Great Zimbabwe, Nyanga, Chimanimani and Chipinge, and the Matobo Hills. Other clusters will be formed on a demand-led basis.

Within each cluster, all tour operators and service providers will be encouraged to work together to ensure that facilities and services are up to standard. They will interact with local authorities, the Zimbabwe Council for Tourism and the ZTA, as well as with commercial and industrial companies that have an input to the industry.

The clusters will elect leadership and set up offices to co-ordinate their initiatives and activities, and all State-controlled enterprises will be required to participate and contribute to the efforts of the cluster groups. The MDC government will require the railways and airlines to participate fully and to ensure that they are able to support local initiatives. The Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe will be required to participate on the same basis. The Police Service will assist with security and safety.

One of the key roles of each cluster will be to consult the local community on a regular basis and to assist and advise in the planning of the expansion of tourist facilities and activities in their region. This will include providing an overall environmental watchdog role to ensure that tourism does not destroy the very resources that make it possible.

### ***Eco-tourism and Hunting and Fishing***

The sustainability of the tourist industry requires the development of environmentally friendly tourism policies. In this regard the MDC government will make deliberate efforts to ensure that tourism activity does not damage the environment. The global climate today is under threat from global warming and a plethora of other factors. Climate change poses direct risks to many of the natural features on which the local industry is based. Domestic and international tourism will be affected by changing weather patterns. In the tourism development plan the MDC government will endorse key environmental strategies that protect natural resources and tourist destinations.

It is recognized that for many reasons Zimbabwe has become the centre of the hunting industry in Africa, with the main activities taking place out of Bulawayo, where many of the key players reside. The MDC government will encourage this activity within the parameters of sound wildlife and environmental policies that will protect the country's wildlife stocks and permit licensed activity that is sustainable in the long term. The MDC will revisit the CAMPFIRE programme to ensure that local communities also benefit from this activity.

A similar situation exists in respect to the game-fishing industry and it is accepted that this has considerable potential if it is managed properly. To this end the research and management functions of the Department of Fisheries will be revived and extended. It is accepted that fishing activity must be properly controlled and managed to ensure that the off-take is sustainable, and water resources that form common boundaries with neighbours will receive special attention and regional management.

In addition to tourist fishing and game fishing on the Zambezi River and Lake Kariba, attention will be given to stocking and managing the fishing resources of other main river systems. In this respect the Department of Fisheries will establish research breeding and management systems for the main river systems. Special attention will be given to the latent potential of streams and rivers in the Eastern Highlands, where the trout breeding and stocking systems will be revived and expanded.

### ***Parks and Wildlife Management***

The Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (PAWMA) will control and manage all the national parks in Zimbabwe, operating them professionally in the interests of wildlife conservation. In addition PAWMA will control fisheries and fishing and will be responsible for licensing hunting activities. PAWMA plays a crucial role in the tourist industry and as such will be fully integrated into all tourist structures and organizations.



The MDC accepts that Parks' accommodation needs a complete overhaul and it will tender for proposals to maximize the potential of this resource. Consideration will be given to outsourcing all accommodation and catering services in National Parks.

### ***Regional Tourism***

It is accepted that wildlife management and tourist infrastructure and activities would be better managed on a regional basis where appropriate and to this end an MDC government will co-operate fully with the establishment and management of transfrontier conservation areas. This would include the present arrangements for the Great Limpopo TFCA (incorporating the Gonarezhou and adjacent parks in South Africa and Mozambique) and the Limpopo/Shashe TFCA (involving Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe), as well as proposed areas incorporating the Chobe, Hwange and Victoria Falls parks, and the upper Zambezi area and possibly the Caprivi Strip.

The MDC government will support a regional tourism visa that would allow visitors to transit the region on a single visa within the SADC region. This would include full access to the transfrontier parks and free movement within the conservation areas.



# **SOCIAL ISSUES**



# LABOUR

*Everyone has a right to a just job and to a decent living*

The effect of the economic crisis on labour has been devastating. Given the extended family structure in Zimbabwe, the consequences for poverty of a precipitous decline in formal employment are dire. Those who have remained in employment have seen their real wages decline to levels that are scarcely credible. The consequence of the dramatic decline in both employment and real wages has been a sharp contraction in labour's share in GDP, even as GDP itself was declining by over 50 per cent.

In addition to losing employment and real incomes, workers have also been subject to the loss of labour rights, which, in theory, were protected by Zimbabwe's accession to various international agreements. Workers have never had the legal right to strike in Zimbabwe, but since independence various other rights have been curtailed. Attacks on workers' rights were a response to the growing militancy of labour, which culminated in the formation of the MDC.

The effect of repressive and anti-labour measures has been to prohibit stay-aways as well as strikes, to restrict freedom of organization and assembly, and to bring 'essential services' under the direct control of the government.

The MDC government will immediately rescind repressive legislation, including that relating to workers' rights. All the economic policies described elsewhere in this document will be biased towards the creation of jobs and the recovery of real wages.

Specific programmes will be launched to attract back the large proportion of skilled workers who have left Zimbabwe in recent years for 'greener pastures' in neighbouring and overseas countries. While Zimbabwe is well endowed with natural resources, more important in the modern world are its human resources. The MDC will strive to create and maintain world-class training and skills-development programmes that will make it possible for the country to compete effectively in the global economy.

## ***A Vision for Labour***

The challenge facing the MDC as a social democratic party will be to democratize and internalize growth through economic empowerment while enhancing the capabilities of the individuals who make up the nation's workforce. Particular attention will be paid in this process to previously marginalized groups. The MDC will seek to create a work environment that will reward enterprise and initiative, maintain sound

relations between employer and employee, establish a minimum wage that meets the accepted Poverty Datum Line for the industry, and allow freedom of expression and equal opportunity.

It is the stated goal of the MDC to stabilize and then foster the reconstruction and development of the Zimbabwe economy on a basis that will take maximum advantage of our rich natural resources, the country's strategic location as an economic and regional hub, and our excellent human resources. To this end the MDC commits itself to the creation of a labour-intensive, knowledge-based economy, which offers its people full employment in both the formal and informal sector. To achieve this the MDC government will seek to create and maintain an adequately remunerated, highly motivated workforce supported by well-managed and up-to-date training and research establishments.

### ***Policy Objectives***

In order to fulfil its mission and objectives the MDC government will set pragmatic targets for both formal and informal labour markets that will:

- ✎ Ensure that all labour markets are well co-ordinated and have synergetic relations with each other, thus creating an efficient and effective market for labour responsive to the needs of the economy.
- ✎ Empower marginalized groups and broaden the growth process to create greater absorptive capacity in an integrated and inclusive economy.
- ✎ Ensure that wages are adequate to meet the requirements for whole family life in proximity to places of work.
- ✎ Ensure that the labour market plays a critical role in linking growth with household well-being, ensuring that it provides gainful, durable and secure employment opportunities.
- ✎ Promote the security and stability of the non-formal sector as an employer.
- ✎ Ensure transparency, accountability and efficiency in dealing with all labour disputes.
- ✎ Enhance post-retirement security for both formal and non-formal labour.
- ✎ Facilitate strategically placed day-care centres for pre-school children of workers and require fees to be paid by employer/employee contributions.

### ***Harmonization of Labour Laws***

It will be the intention of the MDC government to harmonize all labour laws and consolidate these into a single Act to replace existing legislation. The main intent of this will be to update existing labour legislation, bring public-sector employees into the same system as that for employees in the private sector, and decentralize labour administration and dispute-handling procedures.

All workers will be covered by the new legislation, irrespective of the nature of the organization they are employed by. In this respect, special mention is made of Export Processing Zone employers, whose working conditions and staff employment terms will be required to comply with the new Act.

### ***The Labour Market Commission***

The MDC will establish a tripartite Labour Market Commission as soon as possible following its election to government. This will be made up of representatives of the three social partners: labour, the private sector and government. It will be funded and accommodated within the structures of a National Social and Economic Council (NATSEC).

The Commission will be charged with the responsibility of:

- ✎ Establishing a Research Centre for Labour.
- ✎ Ensuring that the Research Centre is able to produce an acceptable official Poverty Datum Line for all sectors of the economy as a guide to minimum-wage policy and negotiations.
- ✎ Overseeing skills training as well as all forms of tertiary education to ensure their relevance to the employment market and employment needs.
- ✎ Overseeing all learner mentorship training based on the formal apprenticeship training system and all on-the-job and ‘sandwich’ training systems.
- ✎ Promoting all special public works programmes designed to provide employment on an emergency basis.
- ✎ Researching security and health-care systems for both formal and non-formal workers.
- ✎ Researching and proposing more active labour-market policies in respect of workers affected by insolvencies, redundancy and industry decline (‘sunset’ industries).
- ✎ Strengthening the role of the National Employment Councils in all areas affecting the security of workers, the need for retraining and redeployment, health-care systems and pensions.
- ✎ Ensuring the provision of career guidance and vocational counselling for students in all primary and secondary schools as well as in tertiary education establishments.
- ✎ Overseeing the implementation of policies designed to benefit the disadvantaged.

In addition to the above, the Commission will ensure that a stakeholder-driven information system is established to provide up-to-date labour-market information on a timeous basis. This whole process will be overseen and supervised by the Commission to ensure that it is compliant with the needs of employers and unions.

## **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**

The MDC government will seek to establish a Social Contract between labour (represented by trade unions), employers (represented by employer organizations) and central government (represented by appropriate ministers or their nominees). This will be put in place as soon as possible and will provide the necessary framework for tripartite consultations on all matters affecting the management of the economy, the promotion of economic growth and development, the operations of the labour market and the provision of a comprehensive social security net.

The Contract will provide the basis for the formation and operations of the National Social and Economic Council, which will be the highest organ of the Contract's existence and implementation activities. The main purpose of the Social Contract will be to:

- ✎ Provide a vehicle for regular consultation between the social partners on all matters affecting their interests.
- ✎ Agree on key economic and social policies that are designed to foster growth and development, poverty reduction and alleviation, social security, and equity in opportunity and the allocation of resources.
- ✎ Oversee the work of the Labour Market Commission and its counterpart, the National Social Security Authority.
- ✎ Advise government on measures required for enhancing growth and development, social security and cohesion.

It is the view of the MDC that for the Social Contract to function effectively, and for institutions such as NATSEC and its subsidiary organs to operate in an accountable and effective way, both employer and employee interests must be served by competent and professional representative bodies, and that such organizations conduct regular elections of their leadership in a democratic manner. It is also an objective of the MDC to ensure that all such public bodies are properly administered and their accounts audited.

In accordance with the above goals the MDC government will encourage the formation of broadly based representative organizations in each sector of the economy. Membership of these representative bodies will be mandatory, and funding will be provided through the levy system supporting the National Employment Councils. These representative organizations will be required to hold regular elections for leadership, employ competent and professional staff, and be able to represent the interests of their members within NATSEC and to the appropriate departments of the State.



## **DOMESTIC WORKERS**

One of the most disadvantaged groups in Zimbabwe are domestic workers. Because of the nature of their employment they are often poorly paid, enjoy few of the conditions of employment that apply to other formal-sector jobs, and often face discrimination and abuse at their places of employment.

As is the case for all other formal-sector employees the Domestic Workers Union will be organized into a National Employment Council with employers drawn from various rate-payers' and residents' associations in the country. The NEC will be responsible for the determination, by negotiation, of the terms and conditions of employment that will apply to all domestic workers as well as a system of social security.

Minimum standards of accommodation and related working conditions will be required, and the training needs of domestic workers will be catered for at tertiary institutions.

## **SOCIAL SECURITY**

*The retired, the disadvantaged and the poor will live with dignity and security*

At present no one in Zimbabwe, except for the very rich, has any form of real social security. Given the policy stance taken by the MDC in the health and education sectors, most ordinary Zimbabweans will enjoy access to both on a universal basis – at least at the primary level. This is a great step forward and will address a major gap in existing arrangements.

At the same time it is recognized that existing pension arrangements have become either worthless or dysfunctional. This will require urgent attention as soon as a new government is sworn in after the next elections. The issues in this field are complex and will require considerable negotiation and consultation during the stabilization period (the first six months).

### ***Policy Objectives***

It will be the objective of the MDC to put in place pension arrangements that will ensure that all existing and future pensioners can live out their lives with dignity and security. In addition it is the determination of the MDC that society provide a safety net for the disadvantaged and the absolute poor so as to help them meet their daily needs. Specific safety-net goals for women, children, the disabled and the aged are also envisaged.

### **PENSION AND SAFETY-NET ARRANGEMENTS**

As outlined in the section on labour policy, it will be the intention of the MDC government to negotiate a Social Contract as soon as possible after it is elected. This Contract will create a completely new national institution to represent its interests on a permanent basis. This body will be known as the National Social and Economic Council (NATSEC).

Membership of NATSEC will comprise representatives from labour, business and central government, and be chaired by the Vice-President or a senior member of Cabinet. The primary function of NATSEC will be to determine overall policy as it affects general economic and social activity, as well as labour matters. It will guide the Executive on all matters concerning social security and give instructions and guidance to the institutions involved as to how a new system should be managed.

NATSEC will have its headquarters in the present building housing the National Social Security Authority in Harare. It will have its own administration, and a Chief Executive, who will report to the Council, will head this. NATSEC will take over

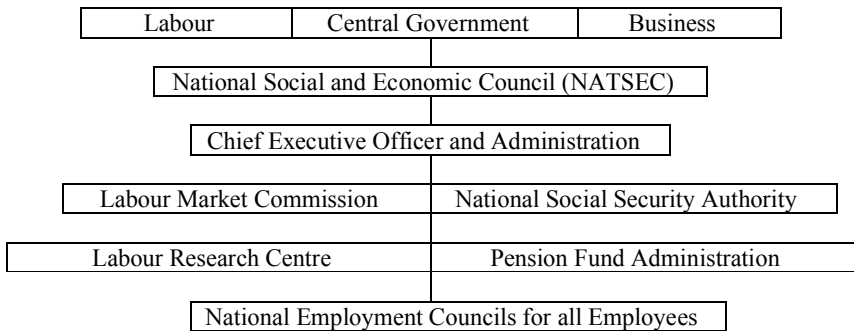
the assets and responsibilities of NSSA and Workers Compensation, and in addition will set up a tripartite Labour Market Commission (LMC). The latter will in turn establish a Research Centre that will deal with the determination of the Poverty Datum Line and also undertake research into labour-related matters on behalf of the LMC.

While NSSA levies will be abolished within the stabilization period, NATSEC will take over all NSSA staff, who will then be reorganized so as to undertake duties related to the new organization and its responsibilities.

A key role is envisaged for existing and proposed National Employment Councils (NECs). Under the harmonization of all labour legislation that is proposed, all employees, in both the public and private sectors, will be required to fall under the auspices of an NEC. These NECs will be structured, as they are at present, with 50–50 representation of employers and employees, and will charge levies to cover the costs of the new social security safety net.

All existing pension funds will be required to register with NSSA, and the Registrar of Pensions will be moved to the new structure as an integral part of the new system. Under the new system the revenue flow from existing assets and pension funds will be redirected to the NECs dealing with the pensioners registered with them and with the industries they represent. NATSEC will provide oversight of the operations of all pension funds on behalf of the workers concerned. The accumulated assets (liquid and fixed) of NSSA will be treated in the same way.

The structure of NATSEC will be as follows:



Employers and employee representatives elected annually to NEC boards will administer each National Employment Council jointly. They will establish an

independent administration for each NEC in the system but will regard NATSEC as their ‘head office’. The cost of administration of NATSEC will be borne by the NECs, who will pay a membership fee to NATSEC each month based on employee numbers.

The NATSEC board will be elected by member organizations on the basis of voting rights by each NEC determined by the total numbers of employees in each NEC. Business-sector representatives will be elected to NATSEC on the basis of the number of employees in each employer organization. Central government will be represented by the core ministries of Finance, and Labour and Social Security, augmented by other ministries, depending on the subject matter under discussion.

It will be the responsibility of each NEC to negotiate wages and salaries, determine working conditions, and all social support levels. This will include the cost of maternity benefits, the cost of pension rights of retired workers, and any other social security benefits that may be agreed by the NEC and NSSA from time to time (retraining benefits for retrenched workers, for example).

NECs will not be permitted to accumulate more than three months’ estimated expenditures, and will not be permitted to invest surplus funds in any form other than short-term money-market instruments. Should revenues accrue to a level greater or lesser than this, the monthly levy on employers and employees will be adjusted appropriately. All NECs will be required to submit audited accounts of their income and expenditure within six months of their year-end.

In the event that any NEC fails to meet these requirements, or fails to administer its affairs to the satisfaction of its members and the NSSA or the LMC, its affairs will be taken over directly by NSSA until a new board can be elected and appropriate administrative changes made.

### ***Existing Pension Rights***

All existing pension rights will be absorbed into this new structure. Pensioners will be required to register with the appropriate NEC for the sector from which they retired and, in the event that no such NEC exists, with the NSSA. After vetting, each pensioner will be granted a new pension based on the policies adopted by each NEC under the guidance of the NSSA board. Thereafter, the NECs will have responsibility for the administration of such rights and all payments.

Should no appropriate NEC exist for a pensioner, that pensioner will be vetted and assessed by the pensions administration of NSSA and benefits funded directly from NATSEC resources.

### *Medical Aid and Insurance Schemes*

While it is accepted that existing medical aid schemes are doing a good job and should not be disturbed, existing forms of medical aid and insurance do not cover the great majority of people. Access to primary health care at local clinics and health centres will permit easy and universal access to health care at this level, but in the event that individuals need to seek treatment and care at a higher level in the medical system, no means of funding such access exists.

It cannot be left to central government and the Department of Social Security to ensure such access and meet such costs. It is also felt that hospital administrations cannot be expected to grant access to their facilities without screening either by private doctors or by clinics, and that they must be assured that such access and any subsequent treatment will be properly funded.

For these reasons the MDC will establish a national system of medical aid with health insurance that will be administered at all primary health centres and clinics. These arrangements will be contributory, with local contributions being based on a simple means test administered by Health Centre staff. People resident in the area covered by a Health Centre will be required to register with the clinic and will be given a membership card. The cost of such membership will be based on the cost of the administration of the card system and the level of assessed contribution to the medical aid scheme. Membership of the Medical Aid and Insurance scheme will be voluntary.

The Health Centres Association will negotiate annually for a grant to bring all medical aid subscriptions up to the level required to ensure that clinics can pay for the services requested from hospitals. These charges will be negotiated each year between the medical aid societies, the National Medical Aid and Insurance Scheme and the hospital administrations.

The insurance aspect of this scheme will enable local clinics to secure funding from the insurance fund for more expensive procedures. In this way it is hoped that all patients requiring emergency treatment and all those who require the services of the specialist services available at District and Provincial Hospitals will receive automatic admission. Consideration will be given to placing this under the control and administration of the NATSEC. If this is done, the costs of so doing will be to the account of central government as a part of its contribution to the costs of NATSEC.

National Employment Councils will be encouraged to establish medical aid schemes for their employee members on a voluntary basis, and existing private schemes will continue unimpeded.

### ***Workers' Compensation***

Existing arrangements for workers' compensation resulting from injury or death whilst on duty will remain in place and will be administered by NSSA. The NATSEC board will review these arrangements as soon as possible and, if changes are considered necessary, will recommend them to the responsible ministry.

### ***Social Security Safety Nets***

The MDC government will give consideration to a national per capita grant to assist low-income families with their basic needs. In addition, a special grant system will be established to help families with the cost of supporting orphans who are taken into their families after the death of parents. It has to be noted that it is estimated that a third of all children of school-going age are orphans, that there are an estimated 1.6 million orphans, and that this number is increasing by up to 350 children a day.

Non-contributory pension rights will be extended to all who have no rights at present, and these will be paid and supported directly by the ministry. In addition, such pension rights will include membership of the contributory medical aid scheme for Primary Health Centres outlined above.

During the stabilization phase of the recovery programme special attention will be given to helping families adjust to the new levels of both prices and incomes. Specific targeted subsidies and personal grants will be considered and a system established by a special working group established for this purpose.

A national school nutrition programme will also be launched to ensure that all children in primary schools are adequately supplied with sufficient nutrition to function effectively at school. This will be provided in the form of special food supplements being made available to children at school and under school supervision.

### **VETERANS ADMINISTRATION**

The MDC recognizes that those who served in the armed forces in the past – both regular and irregular – should be eligible for appropriate pensions and other benefits. For this purpose, NATSEC will be required to establish a Veterans Administration within NSSA with its own directorate and staff.

It will be required to register all veterans and, after a full investigation to establish their credentials, set appropriate pension and other benefits, including medical aid, for the individuals concerned. The cost of these benefits will accrue to the State. Veterans who require special treatment for injuries or other needs will be served by the Veterans Administration, which will take over the facilities currently being managed by the Department of Social Welfare or the Ministry of Defence.

# HEALTH

*A healthy nation, essential to productivity, development, peace and prosperity*

## CORE PRINCIPLES

### ***The Centrality of the Health Sector***

The MDC believes in, and takes serious cognizance of, the importance of health and its centrality to national development, noting that no prospects for development will be realized if the population suffers from ill health, and if visitors and investors alike are not assured of access to quality health care.

### ***Right to Health***

The MDC government will ensure the realization of the people's right to health, as enshrined in the constitution, by fulfilling, progressively, the State's obligation to ensure accessible, affordable, acceptable quality health services, equitably distributed, and directed towards priority health problems.

### ***Equity in Health Services***

Equity in access to health services will be a central MDC policy focus. The implementation of equity-oriented measures will take note of the poor functioning of fee-exemption and targeted-means-tested systems, and easier administration of community, rather than individual targeting, approaches.

### ***Intersectoral Approach***

The MDC will facilitate greater participation by all relevant stakeholders and will provide for smooth co-ordination of the three pillars of health-care provision: public, private and traditional health services. The MDC will at all times facilitate public involvement in the planning, implementation and management of the health-care sector. The MDC recognizes the past and present importance of mission organizations in the provision of health services, especially in rural areas. The MDC will involve the Zimbabwean Association of Church Hospitals (ZACH) in all planning forums.

### ***Transparency***

A key principle of the MDC's health policy is transparency and good governance. This will apply particularly to all aspects of regulation and procurement, which are areas open to corruption.

### ***Public Health***

The promotion of public health through education and the prevention of disease is central to the MDC's health-care philosophy. An MDC government will ensure

community participation in the planning, provision, control and monitoring of public health services, which will include the provision of safe drinking water, sanitation, housing, waste disposal and food hygiene in urban, rural and resettlement communities.

### ***Primary Health Care***

The MDC is committed to a community-based and -managed system of primary health care clinics that will form the base of a health-care system that will be supported by a referral system made up of all hospitals and specialist health-care services. These clinics will be so distributed as to make them conveniently available and within walking distance for all urban and rural communities.

### ***Referral System***

The MDC believes in an efficient and well-funded referral system that complements its public and primary health care approach. To that end, a comprehensive programme of renovation and repair of the country's secondary, tertiary and quaternary referral centres will be undertaken, followed by the upgrading of facilities and services to an appropriate standard. Improvements in the communications systems will strengthen the upward and downward referral of patients. All health facilities will be provided with telephone or wireless communications.

### ***HIV/AIDS***

The MDC recognizes the AIDS pandemic as a health crisis with social, developmental and economic foundations. It also accepts that it is spreading with ferocious speed and has an unprecedented impact on national development through the decimation of those in the sexually and economically active age group. The pandemic is leaving a trail of fractured and impoverished families, hundreds of thousands of orphans, and destruction of entire communities. The MDC further realizes that the onus is on the leadership to face the hard realities and challenges of dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic head-on.

The MDC government will equip the public and private health sector and community leadership with the tools to change the environments that produce risk, and to satisfactorily treat and care for the people infected and affected by HIV. In particular, the MDC will tackle the related issues of poverty, malnutrition, gender exploitation and inequality, overcrowding, insecurity, illiteracy, and adverse cultural and traditional norms that foster the growth of the pandemic in Zimbabwe today.

The MDC's holistic approach to the HIV/AIDS pandemic follows this general health policy statement.



## **BACKGROUND**

Since the 1990s, all indices of health have deteriorated markedly. This situation is reflected in a fifty per cent decline in life expectancies over the past fifteen years, and in diseases that were common before independence returning with a vengeance. This increase in ill health is due to several factors: increasing poverty and unemployment, poor nutrition, lack of access to adequate health services, ignorance, and an inadequate response to HIV/AIDS. This situation is exacerbated by the collapse of all public health services as a result of policy reversals and the persistent underfunding of the health sector.

In addition to HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, at the end of 1990, Zimbabwe's health system needed to deal with:

- ✎ Under-nutrition, especially in the poorest social groups.
- ✎ The high risk of ill health in mothers and children, especially in adolescent mothers.
- ✎ The increased threat of disease due to poor living environments, stressful, low-quality lifestyles and poverty.
- ✎ High levels of morbidity in children and mothers at childbirth, as well as due to the resumption of a high incidence of diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria and cholera.

Resolving these problems demands strong political will to undergird a robust public and primary health care system approach and the prioritization of health care in budget allocations. It also demands the systematic integration of public health into the various spheres of economic planning and activity, so that production and social systems do not generate unnecessary health costs.

## **HEALTH GOALS AND PROGRAMMES**

A healthy society cannot be achieved through medical sector intervention alone. The most important health strategy is the promotion of health and the prevention of diseases. The present situation demands that disease prevention is taken up across all sectors through a major public-health campaign. The MDC's goals will be incorporated into a number of key areas of economic and social policy.

### ***Health Rights***

A minimum platform of health rights will be incorporated into the national constitution, with requirements for the State to take reasonable legal and other measures to realize them over time. These rights will include:

- ✎ The right to a clean environment that is not harmful to health.
- ✎ The right of access to adequate food and safe water.
- ✎ The right to make informed choices on reproductive health.

- ✎ The right to emergency medical treatment irrespective of an ability to pay.
- ✎ The right to equity in access to health-care services.
- ✎ The right of children to adequate nutrition, safe environments and health services.
- ✎ The right of working people to a work environment that is not harmful to health.
- ✎ The right of patients to mental/physical integrity, to information and consent.
- ✎ The right of patients to privacy, to humane care, to participate in treatment, and to redress when aggrieved.
- ✎ The right of people with disabilities to respect and human dignity.
- ✎ The right of people to access essential medicines.

### ***Legislation***

The current legal framework for public health and health care will be reviewed, given its fragmented (with seventeen different laws) and outdated (the Public Health Act having been passed over fifty years ago) nature. A national comprehensive Public Health Act, repealing outdated laws, will be put into place to ensure the achievement of core public-health standards across households and workplaces, at local authority and sector level, with mechanisms for their implementation and enforcement and to ensure compliance. Specific measures will be put in place to facilitate implementation in poor communities.

### ***National Health Board***

A National Health Board, integrating key economic and social sectors and stakeholders, will be set up to integrate public-health standards into various areas of economic and social activity. This Board will:

- ✎ Monitor, oversee and report to Parliament on the implementation of health impact assessments in key development areas.
- ✎ Ensure that high health costs are prevented or addressed within major development programmes.
- ✎ Stimulate and support local authorities to implement their obligations to ensure good public health and promote community action on public health.
- ✎ Motivate and sponsor research on public health as a central element of development strategy.
- ✎ Promote public-health training across a number of professional disciplines.

The Board, its inspection and executive arm and research will be funded through a core budget grant.

## **EQUITY IN HEALTH SERVICES**

Equity in access to health services is a central MDC policy focus. Specific measures

taken to ensure that resources are allocated differently to groups with different needs (and implicitly with greater resources allocated to those with greatest need) will include:

- ✎ Formulating the resource-allocation formula for the global budget to manage family size and to reduce poverty levels, improve local revenue-generating capacities and functions provided within districts that service provincial or national communities.
- ✎ Lifting of tariffs and taxes on all drugs and formulating bulk-purchase savings strategies for chronic-care drugs to enable access in the lowest income groups. Legal reforms will also be implemented to enable compulsory licensing and parallel importation of identified essential drugs for major public-health problems within the context of the WTO agreements.
- ✎ Allocating resources by total district workload and not only by the hospital workload, with a transparent split between hospital and periphery, and with adequate support for outreach, particularly to remote areas.
- ✎ Providing incentives for health worker employment within primary and secondary care structures, and within rural or underserved areas.
- ✎ Monitoring and publicly reporting on inequalities in health status and access to basic health services between population groups, districts and provinces, and using this to direct policy attention towards closing identified gaps.
- ✎ Promoting the allocation of specific central and district resources for reducing barriers to health services in key vulnerable groups – including low-income youths, the elderly and disabled people, and orphans – within the context of wider community services and actions.
- ✎ Ensuring an adequate balance between home-based care (HBC) and hospital-based care, with clear guidelines, training, resources and support mechanisms for HBC and care-givers, and clear referral procedures between services, to ensure that communities do not take on an inappropriate burden of care-giving.
- ✎ Building forms of political participation that enable equity-oriented choices to be made, with the inclusion of low-income representatives (from civic and elected structures) into management and policy committees and boards. Such boards will publish their memberships, agendas and minutes in a prompt, transparent fashion.

### ***Sustained Development of Quality Health Services***

As noted above, improved functions of the health system and referral system` and improved interaction with other health providers depend on restoring quality services, with a focus on urban and rural district-level services in the first phase. This calls for a range of measures, including:

- ✎ Setting and disseminating reasonable standards of care at each level of the health system to promote public awareness and effective use of services, and

using participatory mechanisms such as committees and boards to review and discuss measures to improve quality-of-care standards.

- ✎ Development of a maintenance plan for existing facilities (infrastructure and equipment) before new capital projects are implemented, except for the upgrading of polyclinics in urban areas to set up quality district-level services.
- ✎ Establishing a National Employment Council to supervise the employment of public health personnel and facilitate industrial collective bargaining, leading to improved working conditions and health and safety and the negotiation of benefits.
- ✎ Improving the conditions of service of health workers and using professional incentives to direct them towards critical areas of public health systems in a manner that builds and supports in-service learning within health systems. Removing unfair areas of discrimination in professional practice and glass ceilings for key professional staff, such as nurses and clinical officers.
- ✎ Staffing all clinics with a health-professional cadre with nursing skills able to support community programmes and to carry out basic clinical and Health Centre management. This will involve setting up the professional criteria for such a cadre, identifying core and in-service curricula, incorporating this training in nursing schools, and ensuring adequate supervision.
- ✎ Providing adequate mechanisms to ensure that private health services and purchasers pay full costs for use of public services, and contribute substantially to public health training programmes.

### ***Human Resources***

To staff health facilities adequately a new approach to human resource development will be required. The key elements of such a human resources policy will be:

- ✎ The acceleration of training for State Certified Nurses (SCNs) with eighteen months' training at all mission and provincial hospitals.
- ✎ Accelerated training of State Certified Midwives (SCMs): one year at mission and provincial hospitals.
- ✎ Expanded training programmes for clinical officers (COs) at central and provincial hospitals with specialists. International partners will be requested to second specialists to these CO training hospitals to ensure that COs can be trained rapidly.
- ✎ Encouraging SRNs, doctors and pharmacists to return to Zimbabwe with the waiving of registration fees, recognition of experience, and assistance with relocation.
- ✎ Encouraging specialist doctors to return with the same incentives, making them eligible for unpaid leave to undertake short-term specialist work in other countries.

- ✎ Encouraging career mobility such that, for example, SCNs with adequate experience could be upgraded to SRN or study for specialist qualifications that would prepare them for appointment as a DNO. Clinical officers with adequate experience could study for an MPH and be eligible for appointment as a DMO or PMD.

The aim of such reforms will be to ensure that, within three years, each Health Centre is staffed with at least SCNs or SCMs, and that each district hospital is staffed with at least two COs or one CO and one doctor.

### ***Malaria***

Malaria will be recognized as a serious disease that impacts children and adults in a devastating fashion. A broad policy approach will be used to address this threat:

- ✎ Prevention will be undertaken by communities through reducing mosquito breeding sites and through community spraying and bush-clearing activities.
- ✎ Spraying of DDT in rotation with synthetic pyrethroids will be undertaken in all areas of high malaria transmission.
- ✎ Impregnated bed nets will be provided and a system for reimpregnation will be established.
- ✎ Effective antimalarial medicines (ACTs) will be provided free through the public-sector facilities and through private-sector facilities.

### ***Maternal Health***

For every maternal death there are probably a hundred ‘near miss’ events. Every maternal death leaves an orphan to care for and a family destroyed. The MDC will work to prevent such tragedies by:

- ✎ Providing free ante-natal, delivery and post-natal care.
- ✎ Improving communications from health centres to hospitals where emergency care can be provided via telephones and radios and emergency ambulances.
- ✎ Ensure that at district hospitals emergency operative facilities and blood-transfusion services are fully functional.
- ✎ Investigate every maternal death to identify preventable factors and publish an annual report on maternal mortality.

### ***Child Health***

To ensure that every child benefits from preventive and promotive services, the MDC government will:

- ✎ Provide free immunization, growth monitoring and child health services.
- ✎ Require that every child should provide documentation of immunization status prior to school entry.
- ✎ Support outreach services to provide child health services to remote communities.

## ***Tobacco***

Despite the fact that Zimbabwe produces tobacco, the MDC recognizes the severe health hazards associated with tobacco smoking. To address this, the MDC will:

- ✎ Sign the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.
- ✎ Ban smoking in public places, government offices and buildings.
- ✎ Increase taxation on tobacco products.
- ✎ Ban the sale of tobacco products to minors.
- ✎ Require health warnings on all tobacco products or advertisements.

## ***Domestic Violence and Child Abuse***

In line with its commitment to gender awareness and a focus on the protection of the most vulnerable, the MDC government will:

- ✎ Require health workers notify the police of any suspicious injuries to women or children.
- ✎ Provide a refuge (a place of safety) in major urban areas for women and their children who have been ‘battered’.
- ✎ Require police to remove the perpetrator of violence from the domestic setting if they are called to a home.

## **ACCOUNTABILITY AND PARTICIPATION IN THE HEALTH SERVICES**

Community groups and ministry officials in both rural and urban areas have noted that while communities have played a role in implementing health activities they have not participated in health planning, nor have they been adequately updated and informed about new public health strategies. People do not know what is taking place in relation to health budgets, in the priorities set for health services, and in improving the quality of care.

The MDC government will ensure an informed and proactive public, interacting with a fully accountable health system. This means that people will:

- ✎ Take responsibility for their health and implement health interventions.
- ✎ Identify their health problems and needs and obtain relevant health information.
- ✎ Know and contribute to health policies, local health standards and goals.
- ✎ Mobilize health resources and be involved in decisions in the allocation thereof.
- ✎ Monitor and evaluate health activities.

The MDC recognizes that the achievement of this will require:

- ✎ A deeper level of devolution of authority and resources to local government than has been the case to date.

- ✎ Establishment of district health boards, hospital boards and Health Centre committees that are democratically elected and appointed and are accountable to the public and to Parliament.
- ✎ Intensified public/civic health education.
- ✎ Funds earmarked for community health activities, including for Community Health Workers, chosen by, and reporting to, communities.
- ✎ Public input and feedback on local government budgets in pre- and post-budget meetings.
- ✎ Wide public dissemination of information on funding sources and the employment of such funds, with transparency in all aspects of policy-making and decision-making.

### ***The Private Health Sector***

The MDC recognizes the growth and expansion of private medicine in Zimbabwe, and notes that, while costs are rising, subscriptions to Medical Aid Societies are relatively low by world standards, and that medical facilities available are generally above the standard found in most other African countries. However, the MDC also recognizes a missing link in the co-ordination of the private and public health sectors in the planning, regulation and delivery of health services in the country. To this end, the MDC will ensure that a role of the Medical Services Board will be to co-ordinate and make recommendations to the Ministry of Health on all factors relevant for improvement.

The private health sector will form part of the national health arrangements at all levels, including ensuring quality standards and that the private sector delivers on important national health goals.

### ***The Traditional Health Sector***

The MDC government will recognize the significance of traditional medicine in our society. A department of traditional medicine will be set up in the Ministry of Health, which will be staffed by a director with adequate knowledge and interest in traditional medicine and allocated adequate resources for research and development of traditional medicine.

This department will facilitate collaboration between traditional and modern health practitioners, will actively promote, in collaboration with all partners, the protection of intellectual property rights and traditional medical knowledge, and will establish an environment of mutual trust in order to facilitate dialogue between traditional health practitioners and modern practitioners.

The council for traditional health practitioners will be also strengthened.

## THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE SYSTEM

### *Institutional Arrangements and Programmes*

There is an urgent and critical need to restore confidence in, and therefore the use of, the public health system by the majority of people through sustained and consistent improvements in quality, reliability and accessibility of public health services.




The recognition of the right to health will be rendered operational progressively through a core of universal public-health services, organized by the State according to a publicly defined and reasonable standard of health care, provided through a network of health services. These will be equitably distributed, directed towards priority problems and be adequately staffed. Drugs and other supplies will be brought into free supply based on need. To achieve this, it is important to build on positive health-system legacies, and to address the weaknesses that now exist.

Health facilities are currently in poor state of repair, with inadequate equipment and basic supplies. There are outreach and resource constraints in primary health care support services. The referral system is no longer working as people bypass poor-quality lower-level services and self-refer to central hospitals. Drugs are in increasingly short supply at all levels and poor ambulance, telephone and transport services undermine access to care.

Health workers' earnings have fallen relative to other areas of the economy and to surrounding countries, leading to high attrition rates out of the public sector and out of Zimbabwe, leaving vacancy rates of about a third of public-sector posts. High-skilled personnel are concentrated in urban central facilities, with two thirds of doctors functioning at this level, and the country relies on expatriate doctors for provincial and district government posts.

Health workers have become frustrated by poor conditions, unsafe work environments, stress and burn-out, and this is reflected in negative attitudes to, and poor treatment of, clients. The industrial relations system has been slow, authoritarian and counter-productive, and has further reduced health workers' confidence in the health system.

The MDC recognizes that this mix of past investment, existing capacity and poor status of the entire health-delivery infrastructure signals a need to direct future investment towards:

-  Maximizing the gains from past investments.
-  Tapping capacities more effectively and removing barriers to their use.
-  Directing reconstruction and recovery resources towards halting and reversing the decline in all spheres of State health-care activity.



✎ Providing for an acceptable platform of health services.

The MDC government's programmes to give effect to this will:

- ✎ Define a minimum package of services that will be provided at different levels of the health system.
- ✎ Improve working conditions for all health-service personnel within a soundly based and administered system of human resource management, associated with the establishment of National Employment Council for the health sector.
- ✎ Direct resources towards consistent and reliable support for the preventive, primary-care and district-level services used by the majority of the population.
- ✎ Improve the functioning of the referral system by making improvements in the quality of lower-level services in urban and rural areas.
- ✎ Restore district and provincial hospitals, and the major national hospitals, to their previous standards, adequately funded so as to be able to support an acceptable standard of health-care delivery at all levels.

### ***Localized Management of Services and Performance Monitoring***

The MDC's organization of health services will seek to ensure access to appropriate-quality health inputs and services within the communities, and that they are distributed equitably. It will direct particular attention initially to improving the quality of care at the lower levels of the health system.

## **INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**

### ***Community Services***

These will be the responsibility of Community Health Workers (CHWs) employed by local authorities and based in the community for which they have responsibility. They will liaise with community-based organizations and will be trained by a variety of organizations, including civil-society organizations such as the Red Cross, as well as government.

### ***Community Health Centres***

This system will incorporate local community-based clinics, rural hospitals and mobile clinics. These institutions will undertake: community outreach; preventive care; case tracing; home-based care support; environmental health and health promotion; primary-care curative services; disease surveillance support; supervision of community-based health programmes; and quality-of-care reviews. They will be governed by Health Centre Committees elected annually by the communities they serve.

### ***District Health Authorities***

These will be located in each administrative district of the country and will support district and mission hospitals within the district. They will provide a wide range of medical services, including basic surgery, maternity care, occupational health, mental health and rehabilitation services. They will be governed by a District Health Board and Hospital Management Boards.

### ***Provincial Health Authorities***

These will take responsibility for provincial hospitals where specialist medical and surgical services, maternity, rehabilitation, occupational-health and mental-health services will be provided. In addition, these hospitals will provide training, management, audit and support services for the province as a whole, and specifically provide support for the District Hospitals. They will be governed by a Provincial Hospital Management Board.

### ***Central Health Authority***

This will oversee the Ministry of Health head office as well as the management and control of the central referral hospitals, where specialist care will be provided. It will oversee private, and not-for-profit specialist referral centres, all occupational health (NSSA) training, and management, audit and support services. Quality assurance and improvement will be the responsibility of this authority. It will be governed by the National Health Board.

### ***Health Professions Council***

This will be responsible for the control and supervision of medical nursing, pharmacy and laboratory standards, as well as for the registration of all professional health personnel.

A dramatic improvement in transparency in all processes related to the HPC will be required, with the election of members by different professional groups, publication of agendas, summary minutes and annual performance reports, including such indicators as the average, maximum and minimum times to register different professions. Registration fees will be waived for professionals who left Zimbabwe and have returned. Community representatives will be appointed to all disciplinary committees, and the press will be entitled to report on proceedings.

### ***Faith-Based Medical Services***

These will operate independently of the State system but will be fully supported and integrated into the national health-delivery system. These institutions will be exempt from taxes and duties, and will be eligible to purchase medicines and equipment from the National Medical Stores at cost.

### ***Primary Health Care***

Primary Health Care will be the main vehicle for improving health care and will cover:

- ✎ Health education in communities and schools.
- ✎ Nutrition education and food production.
- ✎ An expanded programme of immunization.
- ✎ Control of communicable diseases such as diarrhoea, malaria and TB.
- ✎ Building safe and accessible water supplies and sanitation.
- ✎ Ensuring appropriate treatment of common diseases.
- ✎ Ensuring adequate generic drug supplies.
- ✎ Providing basic and essential preventive and curative care.
- ✎ Maternal and child health care, including family planning and nutrition.
- ✎ Ensuring the participation of communities in their health care.
- ✎ Orientation of health workers to a more client-focused approach.
- ✎ Horizontal integration of health programmes.
- ✎ Training and deployment of Community Health Workers.
- ✎ Training and deployment of primary care cadres.

### ***Service Standards***

At each of the different levels of health services mentioned above, the Ministry of Health, in consultation with service providers and clients, will develop core service standards, including:

- ✎ Norms governing human resource distribution, essential drugs and equipment supplies.
- ✎ Procedures to be followed at each level.
- ✎ Outreach support and supervision to lower levels.
- ✎ In-service/refresher training.
- ✎ Support and supervision from higher levels.

These standards will be publicly disseminated, monitored across geographical areas and levels of services, and reported through the National Health Board and Parliament. Local authorities, in co-operation with statutory bodies, will be responsible for inspection and reporting on these standards. Where there is inequity in these indicators, the government will reallocate available resources to address the situation.

### ***Participatory Co-ordination***

At each level – health centre, district, provincial and national – stakeholder bodies will be established with the authority to:

- ✎ Identify health needs and priorities.
- ✎ Plan, monitor and report on services.

- 👉 Review the quality of care issues.
- 👉 Receive, review and provide information to the next level.
- 👉 Co-ordinate health activities.
- 👉 Organize and monitor the mobilization and allocation of resources at that level.

These bodies will incorporate all health providers, including traditional service providers, civil, elected and traditional leaders and purchasers of health services.

## **SERVICES**

### ***Community Level***

- 👉 The Community Health Worker will be the entry point of the primary health care system, accountable to the community, supported by the Community Health Centre staff and Committee, and working in co-operation with the environmental health technician.
- 👉 Funds allocated to the Health Centre from the Ministry of Health, as well as community resources mobilized locally, will be used to support the input needs of the CHW.
- 👉 The CHWs will be compensated meaningfully to encourage them to allocate their prime time to community health work without endangering their own social and economic well-being.
- 👉 The work of the CHW will be directed primarily towards prevention and health promotion. CHWs will link with other community-based cadres, including home-based-care providers, community distributors, local civic organizations, health personnel (such as occupational health and safety shop-stewards), community pump minders, etc.
- 👉 The CHWs will hold regular meetings at the Health Centres to support, network and provide in-service training to community-based health workers, and to enable organized dialogue with the community on their work through the Health Centre Committee.

### ***Health Centre Level***

- 👉 The Health Centre will be recognized as the core of the health system, and appropriate, accessible and quality care will be provided at this level in order to avoid the unnecessary cost to communities and health systems when people bypass primary health care services.
- 👉 Clinics will be allocated transparent budget resources and receive outreach services allocated from budgets earmarked for those purposes from central and local government.
- 👉 Health Centre Committees will be established at each clinic, chaired by

the local councillor and including representatives of health providers, civil, elected and traditional structures, and will ensure a gender balance.

- ✎ The Health Centre Committee will be responsible for identifying health needs, planning health activities, managing local health resources, reviewing the quality of care issues, and for information flow to and from higher levels of the health system. Meetings will be public.
- ✎ Communities will be organized and supported through the upgrading and training of staff, particularly at nursing level, and through the identification, formal recognition and training, in co-operation with the nurses' association, of a nursing cadre with adequate competencies to manage the outreach work – prevention and health promotion, curative work, CHW supervision and health planning – done at that level.
- ✎ Clinic-level services will open for hours agreed between local authorities, professional associations and clients in order to avoid excess flows of patients to higher-level health services because of clinics' closing times.
- ✎ Patients who are referred from Health Centres to higher-level facilities will receive priority service, with minimal queuing, and be funded by the primary health care centre from local medical aid funds.

### ***District Level***

- ✎ District-level services will be co-ordinated through the District Health Board (DHB). The Ministry of Health will delegate its management and technical roles to the District Health Team (DHT) and policy supervision to the DHB.
- ✎ The District Hospital Board (DHoB) will be designated the authority to manage the district hospitals, reporting to the DHB, and will be allocated sufficient funds by the Ministry of Health to meet all essential service requirements.
- ✎ All urban and rural districts will have designated district services. Where district services are provided from provincial or central hospitals, separate and earmarked budgets, personnel and facilities will be identified, preferably using existing infrastructure, to perform these services.
- ✎ In the long term, district functions (such as outpatient services) of central and provincial hospitals will be totally delegated to district and primary care services. In the immediate future, districts (DHB and DHT) will be given greater authority through the DHB to review revenue mechanisms and rates according to clear procedures set at central level, and will ensure, inspect and enforce health services standards.

### ***Provincial Level***

- ✎ Provincial-level services will be organized as the first level of specialist services across public health, medical, occupational health, rehabilitation, mental health and other services.

- ✎ The province will provide technical support to lower-level services, provide referral services for cases not managed at district level (in both community and individual services), co-ordinate service providers and ensure that policies are implemented, monitored, reported on and reviewed.
- ✎ Provincial-level services will ensure or organize core inputs for health services, including:
  - ✎ Reliable, cost-effective, appropriate and timely drug procurement and distribution.
  - ✎ Training and distribution of personnel.
  - ✎ Policy review and reporting.
  - ✎ Monitoring and reporting on health standards.
  - ✎ Supporting the establishment, capacity development and functioning of governance structures (DHB, Health Centre Committee, etc.).
- ✎ The Ministry of Health will delegate the management of the provincial hospital to a Provincial Hospital Board (PHoB).

### ***Central Level***

- ✎ Central-level services will be organized as quaternary referral services and the second level of specialist services across public health, medical, occupational health, rehabilitation, mental health and other services. They will also be responsible for and receive a share of budget funding for the training of personnel.
- ✎ Central-level hospital boards will be responsible for managing the hospitals and for arrangements for leasing or use of a defined share of services, depending on utilization rates by other providers, on contractual arrangements that provide returns for cross-subsidy of low-income patients, training inputs, specialist services or other arrangements. Legal barriers to such arrangements will be lifted.

### ***Medical Services Board***

- ✎ Standards and norms for medical services across all levels and providers will be regulated through a Medical Services Board, which will include representation of all providers, clients, professional associations, health financiers and government, State and Parliament.
- ✎ The Board will work with the Health Professions Council to set, ensure and enforce standards of professional practice, with district health authorities and the DHBs to ensure and enforce service standards, and will establish a committee that includes providers, purchasers (e.g. medical aid, clients), clients and government to set and disseminate guidelines for health-service charges that can be used in district-level consultations.
- ✎ The Medical Services Board will support and report nationally on the performance of hospital boards.

### ***National Health Board***

- ✎ The National Health Board will provide guidelines for and monitor preventive, medical and curative services in terms of resource allocations and meeting key public-health and medical-care standards and policy objectives.
- ✎ The National Health Board will support and report nationally on the performance of the District Health Boards and provincial hospitals.

### ***Ministry of Health***

The Ministry of Health will provide the technical and organizational support for:

- ✎ Setting health policy.
- ✎ Setting standards and laws for health services and public health.
- ✎ Co-ordination of providers.
- ✎ Support and monitoring of delegated authorities.
- ✎ Setting human resources standards and norms.
- ✎ Supporting and monitoring strategic planning and programme evaluation.
- ✎ The development of effective disbursement mechanisms for budget allocations from tax revenues.
- ✎ Co-ordination of training programmes occurring in government hospitals.

Other technical committees for specific areas will be sustained or established as required, co-ordinated with the NHB/MSB above. Within this institutional arrangement of services, specific measures will be taken in the short term to ensure equity and sustained quality of the health system.

### **HEALTH CARE FINANCING**

The MDC notes that problems in the financing of health and health services are evident throughout the sector and will put in place measures to finance the priority health programmes under the following principles:

- ✎ The government will allocate a minimum per capita budget to preventive health in order to achieve publicly defined monitored goals.
- ✎ The current level of funding of the health sector will be improved through the development of a resource mobilization plan, based at its centre on a per capita allocation to finance a minimum core of public health services, equitably distributed between different communities according to a resource-allocation formula that incorporates population density, the actual population served and poverty levels.
- ✎ Public funds for health will be mobilized in the short term from funds secured from a set proportion of national tax revenues and from special funding secured from the international community for the rehabilitation of health-care services.
- ✎ Increased finances and health-care resources (including drugs and staff)

will be directed to the primary care clinics and district hospitals, earmarked within district budgets and reported to and monitored by the participatory mechanisms (health boards) discussed earlier.

- ✎ Communities will mobilize resources for health that are complementary to public-sector inputs and used to support health interventions that are decided on by stakeholders. Locally collected funds will be administered and retained at local levels to complement and not replace core government budget allocations.
- ✎ Essential-drug costs will be controlled through bulk purchase and distribution through a parastatal; through cross-subsidy from other drugs used where generic drugs are available; through relief from import duties; and, in the long term, through planned localization of production in the SADC region.
- ✎ Efforts will be made to improve the rational use of medicines through the use of standard treatment guidelines, audit of and feedback to prescribers at all levels, education of both patients and prescribers, and by encouraging pharmacists to be active in promoting rational use.
- ✎ HIV/AIDS will be declared a developmental crisis.
- ✎ Overall, as a short-term measure, the MDC government will increase the current central government contribution to health sector to at least the level of US\$23 per capita recommended by the World Health Organization, while in the long term further increases will be made gradually.

The MDC government will ensure that all stakeholders (inclusive of civil society) within the health sector are involved at all levels in the budget process from an early stage. This will enhance equity, accountability and good management of resources.

The MDC government will, in consultation with stakeholders, establish social health insurance for formal and informal sector households.



# HIV/AIDS

## *A holistic response to a national emergency*

Zimbabwe is one of the countries with the highest HIV prevalence in the world. About 3,000 people are estimated to be infected every week, and around 3,500 HIV/AIDS-related deaths occur weekly. The already grave situation is further exacerbated by the current harsh economic climate, high unemployment, malnutrition and a collapsed health-delivery system. The psychological impact, combined with the physical illness and difficulties, will see infected people progressing much more rapidly into full-blown AIDS.

Zimbabwe is losing its most productive and economic population to this pandemic. Its most disturbing long-term feature is its impact on life expectancy, now 34 years in women and 37 years in men, presenting a serious threat to the country's social and economic development.

There is still no cure or vaccine. The only options are to prevent the further spread of HIV/AIDS, to minimize its impact, to mitigate its effects, and to provide a caring and compassionate environment for those infected and affected, which includes the provision of antiretrovirals (ARVs). This calls for an expanded and intensified response to mobilize all players to take action that is aimed at slowing the spread of the pandemic and managing its impact.

### ***The MDC's Response***

Zimbabwe's response to the epidemic was slow, with a notable absence of political will and leadership. It initially confined the epidemic to a medical issue alone, excluding the socio-economic and developmental aspects. Commendable and committed responses and efforts since 1985 came from various private-sector and NGO groups, participating actively in HIV/AIDS awareness, prevention and control of sexually transmitted infections, condom procurement and distribution, home-based and community-based care, counselling and impact mitigation.

However, despite increased awareness, there appears to have been insufficient behaviour change. The scale at which the pandemic continues to spread evidences this. Enhanced commitment will need to be as broad as the epidemic itself and intense enough to make up for the late start.

The MDC will therefore mobilize all stakeholders – political leadership, civil society, the private and public sectors, the traditional sector and NGOs – to face the harsh realities of the epidemic head-on, and will work to drop those areas of conventional

wisdom which no longer work, and differentiate clearly between myths that hold us back and proven good practice and knowledge that we should be implementing.

Confining the responsibility for HIV/AIDS solely to the health sector is seen as a major stumbling block to drastically reducing the spread of HIV and TB. HIV/AIDS must be recognized as a socio-economic and developmental crisis, as well as a health issue. The MDC government's agenda for HIV/AIDS prevention will therefore take into account those socio-economic issues that exacerbate the spread of HIV/AIDS and include:

- 👉 The harsh economic environment.
- 👉 High levels of unemployment and poverty.
- 👉 Lack of empowerment of, and poor economic opportunities for, women.
- 👉 Stigma of, and discrimination against, those infected and affected.
- 👉 Housing, security and overcrowding.
- 👉 Poor water and sanitation delivery and access.
- 👉 A collapsed health-delivery system, particularly in rural areas.
- 👉 Availability of, and access to, essential drugs and the cost involved.
- 👉 Breakdown in the rule of law, resulting in condoned 'political' crimes such as rape, torture, and physical and mental abuse.
- 👉 Lack of universal access to effective ARV therapy.

These elements are inextricably linked. The spread of HIV and progression from HIV to AIDS are most rapid where there are substantial social and economic inequalities between the rich and the poor, between women and men, where people lack adequate and secure housing, where there is employment insecurity or where families are split, where parent-child and partner communication is weak, where people lack access to adequate food, are unable to access health services, and where there is political instability and a breakdown in the rule of law.

This situation represents one of the greatest challenges to a new MDC government, and the responses required to mitigate the impact of the pandemic must be multi-sectoral.

### ***The Way Forward***

The MDC's position on the challenges for tackling the HIV/AIDS problem is one of recognizing the importance of leadership to tap organizational capacities in order to implement the various action options available.

The MDC government will take immediate measures to recognize the pandemic (in policy and law) as a national emergency in view of its devastating impact on both social and economic development.

The MDC believes that the core elements of a response that begins to match the scale and seriousness of the pandemic are:

- ✎ Visible and committed leadership from the top levels of government, and the public and private sectors in preventing the spread of HIV, with clearly assigned responsibilities for dealing with the pandemic.
- ✎ Co-ordination of a national response that involves and mobilizes *all* social and economic institutions.
- ✎ Identifying priority areas for action for prevention and care based on best practices.
- ✎ Mobilizing resources and identifying priorities, ensuring that these reach the target groups with meaningful and effective support services.
- ✎ Providing public information to support changes in KAPB (Knowledge, Attitude, Prevention and Behaviour) practices around HIV/AIDS.
- ✎ Management of the wider social and economic determinants of HIV/AIDS through specific programmes for improving access to education (especially for the most vulnerable), housing and health care, outlined in other policies.
- ✎ Attainment of best practice in HIV medicine as far as possible in terms of:
  - ✎ The correct use of antiretroviral drugs.
  - ✎ Assessment of ARV resistance in the population and taking appropriate measures in the light of available data.
  - ✎ The establishment and sustainable support of laboratory services for the proper case management of HIV/AIDS.
- ✎ Universal access to care and treatment through public, private and mission facilities.

### ***Policy Issues***

A national HIV/AIDS policy, involving wide stakeholder consultation, was drafted in December 1999. The MDC recognizes the valuable contributions made by many social groups in this process and does not seek to duplicate it. The national policy provides for health and human rights, policies on care for people living with HIV/AIDS, gender and workplace rights, and policies on information.

However, some policy areas have not been fully resolved, and the MDC government will continue to ensure informed public debate and dialogue on issues such as partner notification, shared confidentiality, reproductive health education for adolescents, commercial sex workers and prisoners, and the promotion of gender equality in a manner that respects social norms but also confronts those that are leading to the spread of the disease and impeding its effective management.

Many policy areas that have been resolved upon are not being followed by implementation owing to pitfalls in the legal or institutional framework, the lack

of political leadership, or the absence of a clear strategy for resource allocation. The MDC government will ensure that its highest political offices are used to move policies into practice and to organize the necessary institutional and other resources to achieve this.

The MDC government will, for example, ensure that:

- ✎ Labour market institutions actively enforce non-discrimination in the workplace.
- ✎ Public health institutions are properly equipped to manage the pandemic.
- ✎ National campaigns are carried out to reduce the incidence of STIs and TB.
- ✎ Condom distribution is increased.
- ✎ Hospital and palliative care for people with HIV/AIDS is improved, with a minimum platform of resources and professional supervision observed.
- ✎ Voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) facilities are increased and accessible to all population groups.
- ✎ Minimum safety standards are legislated and implemented in all settings where health-care providers are in contact with body fluids, and that post-exposure prophylaxis is available for all occupational exposures.
- ✎ The allocation of resources to youth programmes is increased to ensure that in- and out-of-school youths have access to appropriate information on life skills, reproductive health services, counselling, VCT, etc.
- ✎ Information, education, counselling, male and female condoms, and STI care services are made available to commercial sex workers.
- ✎ Appropriate, strong measures are taken to prevent and penalize gender violence and sexual abuse in all forms, especially against children.
- ✎ Far greater attention will be given to the risk environments that increase the spread of HIV, and, in particular, support more-rapid and intensive housing programmes for low-income groups, and sustained access to formal education for youths, particularly female adolescents.
- ✎ Public- and private-sector employees (e.g. teachers) are not separated from their families in their employment, that they are adequately housed, and that, where possible, specific measures are put in place to reduce the time of family separation.
- ✎ Access to health information and services is available for mobile workers, particularly truck drivers.

### ***Future National Responses***

The MDC government will lead the national response by integrating HIV/AIDS measures as an employer, as a provider of essential services, and as a facilitator of social security. It will put in place measures to implement government responses to HIV/AIDS in all these spheres:

- ✎ Recognize the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a national emergency.
- ✎ Set up and support a national HIV-prevention network, co-ordinating and ratcheting up existing prevention work.
- ✎ Procure low-cost treatments for HIV-related opportunistic infections.
- ✎ Prevent mother-to-child transmission.
- ✎ Provide post-exposure prophylaxis for health workers and victims of sexual abuse.
- ✎ Establish the clinical facilities, drug procurement channels and financing mechanisms for treatment of AIDS.
- ✎ Institute ‘opt-out’ testing policies, providing HIV testing to everybody who attends a health facility unless the individual refuses testing.
- ✎ Request international donor support to place CD4 machines in all district and provincial hospitals, and viral-load counters in all provincial hospitals, to ensure that ARV treatment initiation can occur at every hospital.
- ✎ For stable patients, establish satellite treatment centres at Health Centres for treatment continuation.
- ✎ Provide for adherence support at every ARV treatment centre. This would include payment of adherence counsellors and ‘expert’ patients who would help new patients become fully adherent.

The MDC government will ensure that public spending on treatment for HIV/AIDS or related infections does not only, or preferentially, reach groups that currently have better access to health services, by improving the health service infrastructure.

It will immediately put in place legal reforms to allow for compulsory licensing for public health emergencies, declare HIV/AIDS such an emergency, and procure drugs at lowest cost for the treatment of AIDS and HIV-related opportunistic infections.

The MDC government will review both the National Aids Council and the National Aids Trust Fund, which will be run by a Board of Trustees appointed by Parliament. The Trust will report annually to Parliament and will be required to obtain approval for its annual budget at the same time. The Trust will assist in financing the network of prevention programmes, the additional resources needed in the health sector to guarantee the prevention and treatment of STIs, TB and HIV-related infection and the prevention of mother-to-child transmission, the support of any community-based caring, and the support of orphan care, education and health needs.

Trust funds will be disbursed through community orphan support and fostering schemes, community prevention networks, linked to multi-stakeholder district AIDS committees and to the local authority. A proportion of the funds will be applied

to building or reinforcing these community-based mechanisms in all parts of the country. All receipts and disbursements will be reported in a transparent fashion.

In all its programmes and processes, the MDC government will open up to wider stakeholder and civil-society participation. This will allow for the incorporation of, and response to, community views to tap and support community institutions, and also improve reporting, monitoring and accountability to/from communities on the responses.

At the same time the MDC government will participate actively in regional platforms that seek to build an equitable and sustainable global response to the pandemic through improved channelling of global resources to community and public infrastructures, reduced trade, cost and tariff barriers to drugs and other inputs for AIDS management, and through providing recognition of the links between AIDS and poverty.








# EDUCATION

*Developing people socially, intellectually and physically for productive participation in society*

The MDC is unequivocally committed to establishing an education system in Zimbabwe that is imaginative, holistic and will assist in the creation of a culturally, socially, mentally, physically and economically prosperous and democratic society.

We will ensure that every Zimbabwean has access to a high-quality education that will enable them to optimize the use of their talents and make their way in a competitive world. Both society and the individual must benefit from public expenditure on education. Special emphasis will be given to the education of the girl-child in view of the discrimination exercised against girls in traditional society.

Education policy under an MDC government will be guided by social democratic values that emphasize an equitable distribution of resources, fairness and justice to all regardless of their race, political or religious affiliation, gender or place of origin. In addition, the following general principles will apply:

-  The provision of adequate financial, material and human resources to manage and administer the education system competently, transparently and accountably.
-  Ensuring that all educational institutions design and follow relevant curricula and methodologies, and offer education and training that is relevant to the needs of the country and its economic and social system. Particular emphasis will be given to mathematics, scientific and technical subjects.
-  Consultation with parents and encouraging their involvement in all aspects of school life.
-  Expanding vocational and technical education to a level that will adequately cater for the needs of a growing and competitive economy.
-  Fostering the continued development of the indigenous languages of the country and their use in society.
-  Ensuring gender equality throughout the education system.
-  Equipping all graduate pupils and students with survival skills for the modern world.

## **POLICY PRINCIPLES**

The decline of the economy since 1998 has meant that funding for all aspects of State-controlled activity has reached very low levels. The education system in particular has been decimated by this turn of events and most of the progress made since independence wiped out. Today the State-controlled education system has

collapsed, with shortages of virtually everything that is required to sustain it. This collapse has affected all educational establishments, no matter what their origin. Only the private sector continues to provide a sound education to a small privileged minority.

To achieve the its objectives, the MDC commits itself to merging the existing Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, Ministry of Science and Technology Development and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education into a single ministry to be known as the Ministry of Education. A new Education Act will be presented to Parliament for its approval as soon as possible and will prescribe the role of the amalgamated ministry.

The Education Act will, *inter alia*, make provision for the following:

- ✎ Children’s fundamental right to education with relevant support services and within a conducive environment.
- ✎ Financial resources, educational resources, and facilities for all levels of education and at all educational institutions.
- ✎ The establishment and mandating of Education Charters, Ordinances, Boards, Agencies, Councils and Commissions – such as the Teaching Professions Council, Examination Council, National Language Council, Teaching Service Commission – and other bodies deemed necessary for the provision of high-quality education.
- ✎ Conditions of service and a code of ethics for teachers and educational staff.
- ✎ A national language policy.
- ✎ Gender equity and equality in education.
- ✎ Children with special learning needs or difficulties, as well as for gifted children.
- ✎ The decentralization of educational management and administration.
- ✎ The administration of Examination Boards.
- ✎ Restructuring of curricula with deliberate bias towards Science, Mathematics, Information Technology, Technical subjects, Commercial and Management skills, Civic and Environment Education, HIV and AIDS Education, and Population Education.
- ✎ Staff development programmes for teachers.
- ✎ Adult education to be available at all schools and colleges.
- ✎ The classification and registration of educational institutions such as schools, colleges and cultural centres.
- ✎ Private schools and other private educational institutions.















In relation to primary and secondary schooling, the MDC government will:

- ✎ Develop effective evaluation and testing to ensure that children undergoing primary-school education are prepared and evaluated for secondary-school education. A Grade 7 examination and qualification will be established to facilitate this.
- ✎ Develop effective evaluation and testing to ensure that children undergoing secondary-school education are prepared for their subsequent careers.
- ✎ Establish a Junior Secondary School system that will give all students coming out of the primary-school system at least two years of post-primary education. A public examination and qualification at the end of Form II (the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate) will be established.
- ✎ Ensure that those students who complete Junior Secondary School progress either to further academic qualifications or towards qualifications in technical, commercial or vocational subjects.
- ✎ Strengthen the capacity of the Ministry to supervise systems and procedures at all schools and to monitor the standards and quality of education.
- ✎ Introduce a system of staff development to ensure that the professional competence of teachers is constantly renewed.
- ✎ Ensure that girls are not hindered in their access to secondary education.
- ✎ Ensure a broad-based education that includes academic, practical and technical subjects.
- ✎ Improve the conditions that will encourage the pursuit of mathematics and scientific and technical subjects.
- ✎ Ensure that modern information and communication technologies (ICTs), which will include high-speed Internet access, are available in all schools, particularly rural schools, and that computer and information skills courses are taught to all students.
- ✎ Promote enquiry and active learning, and enhance discovery, creativity and problem-solving skills.
- ✎ Ensure that learning resources for independent learning are available in school libraries staffed by suitably qualified personnel.
- ✎ Make provision for individualized remedial education whenever possible.
- ✎ Eliminate hot seating.
- ✎ Ensure that the teaching of indigenous languages takes its rightful place in school.
- ✎ Ensure that sex education is included in the official curriculum and that HIV and AIDS education, as well as counselling, is fully integrated into such programmes.
- ✎ Strengthen the provision of sports, cultural and recreational activities at schools, and facilitate sporting and cultural-exchange programmes with other countries.

## **EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION**

It is the view of the MDC that all children would benefit from some form of early childhood education (ECE), i.e. before the age of six, and that this would also improve the effectiveness of the first two years of schooling at primary level. ECE is crucial for the development of cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains. The MDC will treat ECE as an integral component of the education system. To this end the MDC will aim to establish capacity for all children to attend ECE schools, initially for at least one year and ultimately for two years. It is estimated that 12,000 new ECE schools would have to be established and 42,000 teachers trained to achieve this objective in year one.

In catering for ECE, the MDC will:

-  Conduct a national audit of ECE schools.
-  Ensure that all ECE schools are registered with the ministry.
-  Encourage, and later enforce, attendance at an ECE school for at least one year prior to entry to the primary-school system.
-  Provide ECE in a child's mother tongue, with increasing use of the English medium where it is not the mother tongue.
-  Provide adequate grants to ECE schools to meet basic needs.
-  Foster the development of curricula to ensure equity and quality control.
-  Introduce notions of science and mathematics at ECE schools.
-  Provide adequate structures for monitoring all ECE schools.
-  Provide for infants with special learning needs.
-  Establish capacity to train ECE school teachers on the scale required.
-  Involve the community in the operations of the ECE schools.
-  Uphold the rights and responsibilities of the child.

## **PRIMARY EDUCATION**

One of the key millennium goals set by the United Nations is the attainment of universal access to primary school education for a minimum of seven years for every child. The MDC believes this is attainable and desirable and will aim to make primary schooling ultimately compulsory and free for all Zimbabwean children starting in the year they turn six.

To achieve this target it will be necessary to ensure that there are up to 90,000 primary-school teachers available to teach in 6,000 primary schools. It is recognized that there are a large number of untrained teachers in the schools. The available pool of trained and experienced teachers will therefore be spread as widely as possible throughout the system so that they are able to mentor untrained teachers. At the same time, all teacher-education establishments will be required to establish in-service training programmes designed to train the untrained teachers in the system.

The existing system of administration through school boards elected by parents and teachers will be retained and strengthened. These boards will have responsibility for the administration of school funds and the raising of supplementary resources to help with school costs and development. Heads will be responsible for the overall administration of schools and school development, and will also be fully responsible for staff recruitment and in-service training, implementing curricula and teaching standards, monitored by the Ministry of Education inspectorate.

Funding provided by the State will be in the form of per capita grants for every pupil enrolled at the school at the beginning of each school term. The level of such grants will be established by negotiation with the National Association of Primary Schools, represented by individuals elected by meetings of heads and school board chairpersons. Fee-paying schools will not be eligible for these grants.

The Standards Control Unit of the ministry will be strengthened to enable it to determine the need for the rehabilitation of school infrastructure and new development. This will be carried out against a set of standards established by the ministry in consultation with the National Association of Primary Schools, and based on the need to establish and maintain a pupil–teacher ratio of 30 to 1.

Special facilities for gifted, disabled and mentally handicapped children will be established in all districts on a demand-led basis. Training for specialist teachers for these children will be established at colleges and universities.

## **SECONDARY EDUCATION**

While primary education is regarded as essential in terms of preparing for secondary schooling, secondary education is designed to prepare students either for higher education or for work. After independence it was attempted to give every child an academic secondary school education up to O level. Not only was this an unrealistic goal, but only a minority (about 25 per cent) of all children coming out of the primary-school system are thought to be suited to this sort of academic education.

The MDC therefore proposes to establish a Junior Secondary School system that will give all students coming out of the primary-school system at least two years of post-primary education. Children will be selected for their suitability for the academic O-level system initially on the basis of their Grade 7 exit examination results. This selection process will be further refined during the two years at Junior Secondary School level, at the end of which all students will sit a public examination (the Junior Certificate) that will be supported by certification and school reports.

Students will then either remain at secondary school and have the opportunity to proceed to O-level and possibly A-level examinations, or will have the opportunity to attend a technical secondary-school system that will offer a wide variety of commercial and technical subjects that offer alternative qualifications in preparation for employment or for further training at colleges.

The system will be funded in the same way as the primary school system, with each student attracting a per capita grant that is paid to the institution with which they are registered each term. The National Association of Secondary Schools will negotiate the level of the grant with the Ministry of Education.

The existing system of administration through school boards elected by parents and teachers will be retained and strengthened. Such boards will be given responsibility for administration of school funds. Heads will be responsible for the overall administration of schools and school development. Heads will also be fully responsible for the recruitment of staff and implementing curricula and teaching standards, monitored by the Ministry of Education inspectorate.

The Standards Control Unit of the ministry will be strengthened to enable it to determine the need for the rehabilitation of school infrastructure and new development. This will be carried out against a set of standards established by the ministry in consultation with the National Association of Secondary Schools, and based on the need to establish and maintain a pupil–teacher ratio of 25 to 1.

Special facilities for gifted, disabled and mentally handicapped children will be established in all districts on a demand-led basis. Training for specialist teachers for these children will be established at colleges and universities.

## **HIGHER EDUCATION**

### ***Vocational and Technical Training***

It is accepted that up to three quarters of all children in the school system will not be suited to a purely academic education. At the same time there is no reason to expect that such students will not be able ultimately to proceed to university or college for further education.

The MDC believes that the boundaries between vocational and technical education and other forms of training should become increasingly blurred. This will involve recognition of credit transfer systems and prior learning. The objective of these vocational and technical training programmes will be to prepare students for training and work in recognized fields. Graduates from this system could be absorbed

directly into the job market or find their way into work-related training programmes (apprenticeships) or institutions of higher learning (university or college).

To achieve this desired goal, an MDC government will:

- ✎ Create pathways between vocational, technical and teacher-training establishments and universities with provision for credit transfer and articulated courses.
- ✎ Foster the mounting of joint curriculum development courses and programmes.
- ✎ Encourage alliances between academic, vocational and technical institutions.
- ✎ Ensure an equitable distribution of training institutions throughout the country.
- ✎ Introduce skills-training programmes in the private sector to complement those of institutions.
- ✎ Equip such institutions with required facilities.
- ✎ Undertake regular employment surveys to ascertain the effectiveness and relevance of training.
- ✎ Ensure that all students are given guidance and career counselling.
- ✎ Regard technical and vocational education and training as preparation for effective participation in the world of work.
- ✎ Ensure that at least one third of all students enrolled for skills training are women.
- ✎ Line up staff development programmes to upgrade performance.

### ***Teacher Education***

It will be essential to train adequate numbers of teachers annually. Initially the Ministry of Education will require emergency programmes to provide in-service training for teachers recruited to fill gaps in the shortest possible time.

All institutions of higher learning will be required to examine the possibility of issuing education diplomas and university degrees. These activities will be integrated with the specialist teacher education establishments that already exist.

In support of this an MDC government will:

- ✎ Recognize teaching as a profession.
- ✎ Ensure the provision of adequate training institutions to meet the demand for teaching skills at all levels.
- ✎ Ensure equitable enrolment of women and minorities.
- ✎ Ensure minimum entry qualifications and maintain the relevance of curricula for the training of teachers, including modern information technology.
- ✎ Provide in-service courses for trained teachers to improve their competence.

- ✎ Provide adequate financial support to all training institutions so as to enable them to meet students' needs for catering and accommodation.
- ✎ Enhance the supervision of training institutions to ensure the output of high-quality teachers.
- ✎ Bond students who are State-sponsored to teach at State schools for a period equal to the time for which they received support.
- ✎ Engage teachers in intellectual debate on ways to improve the education system.

### ***University Education***

Universities provide the pinnacle of education in any society. They are centres of intellectual development and thought and also key training establishments and research centres. No society can function or develop without a sound network of university level institutions that are operating at First World standards.

Existing university establishments are now operating at very low levels, both in terms of the number of students accommodated and the quality of the output. Research and other key functions have virtually come to a halt. However, it is accepted that the number of universities that can be sustained by a small country such as Zimbabwe is limited.

An MDC government will therefore:

- ✎ Review the status of all recently established universities with a view to upgrading their capacity to operate at university or college level.
- ✎ Undertake a full audit of the universities' facilities, and require universities to develop plans to restore their facilities to a standard that will enable them to function effectively.
- ✎ Immediately review the composition and structure of all university councils to ensure that they have complete independence from the State and perform as professional bodies that are able to give direction and advice to the university's administration.
- ✎ Review the procedures required for the appointment of chancellors and vice-chancellors.
- ✎ Work with the universities and colleges with a view to increasing the number of graduates required in specific fields to meet the shortage of high-level skills in the labour market.
- ✎ Revise the funding systems for all institutions of higher learning in order to provide a system of government-funded student grants that will enable such institutions to conduct their activities on a financially sound basis.
- ✎ Ensure adequate provision of accommodation, both on and off campus, and catering services for all students studying at institutions of higher learning.

- ✎ Encourage the growth and development of private-sector colleges and universities to complement the State-funded and State-operated institutions.
- ✎ Foster, in consultation with the universities, the concept of distance education as well as the establishment of specialized schools and institutes within university operations.

### **PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

The MDC recognizes the important role played by private institutions in the provision of education at all levels, e.g. churches, trusts, mines, farms, etc. The MDC government will encourage and foster stronger partnerships with those players in the provision of education, ensuring that all such schools are registered and meet the standards required by the Ministry of Education.

### **ADULT EDUCATION AND INFORMAL EDUCATION**

The MDC government will ensure that a department within the Ministry of Education has responsibility for adult literacy and numeracy, and that all adults who wish to obtain the requisite skills can access a suitable programme at a nearby educational establishment. In support of this it will:

- ✎ Establish basic literacy districts to deal with community-based literacy.
- ✎ Emphasize functional literacy linked to community projects.
- ✎ Revive radio and television broadcasts on adult literacy.
- ✎ Encourage the development of study groups.

### **FINANCING EDUCATION**

The MDC envisages an education system that is made up of thousands of independent institutions that manage their own affairs. In most cases, each will have its own board, elected from the local community and the staff of the institution itself, which will govern and manage the institution. These representative bodies will determine their own internal priorities, and will recruit staff and set local working conditions.

Teachers within the system will therefore not be civil servants but will be employed by the institution for whom they work – even if the core funding comes from government and the origins of the institution is in the State itself.

A good education system is the very foundation of a successful society and competitive economy. It is also the key to equal opportunity and equity in society, and therefore the MDC will ensure that women and other disadvantaged groups, including the children of the absolute poor, do not lose out on educational opportunities.

The MDC recognizes that this will not be a cheap exercise and will require the undertakings given in support of the UN millennium goals by developed countries,

as well as commitments made by many others to help Zimbabwe recover after its transition back to democracy, to be made good.

The MDC's own undertaking will be to spend at least twenty per cent of the national budget on education. These funds, combined with contributions from funding agencies and the private sector, will be used to ensure that teachers are properly remunerated for their services as professionals, that deserving students are able to obtain adequate grants and loans, and that schools can access the required resources.

In the majority of cases the system of funding will be in the form of student grants that will be paid monthly to schools and colleges by the Ministry of Education, based on the enrolment of students at the start of each term. National associations of institutions at each level will negotiate these grants in the system – ECE, primary schools, and so on.

In addition to these grants, institutions will be allowed to apply to the ministry for grants to improve their infrastructure. The Standards Control Unit of the ministry will visit applicant schools to determine the extent of work required for the purpose of raising the standard of the institution to the level required by the ministry. They will review the applications and recommend approved applications for funding.

All institutions receiving funding in any form from the state will be required to produce annual audited accounts for scrutiny and review, without approval of which the institution will not be eligible for further funding from the State.

## **EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL SECURITY**

All those engaged in the education system will be required to belong either to a national body representing them as institutions or to a professional body representing them as individuals. Each level in the system will be required to form a National Employment Council (NEC) and the associations representing employers and employees, respectively, will constitute this.

The NEC will be responsible for the negotiation of working conditions of staff, for the establishment of a pension and social security fund, and for the resolution of all disputes between employers and employees.



# INFRASTRUCTURE



# ENERGY

## *Least-cost and renewable energy supplies to drive a growing economy*

Of the many priorities the new MDC government will face, restoring normal supplies of liquid fuels and ensuring supplies of electricity will be among the most urgent. In addition to addressing these immediate problems, there are structural issues in the energy sector which the MDC will also begin tackling from the start. Much of the technical work for reform of the liquid fuels and electricity sectors has been done, but structural reform is stalled because the present government does not wish to relinquish control. The costs to the economy of this stance, especially over the past two years, have been enormous.

The MDC's approach will be to give the private sector a greater role, thereby tapping the financial and other resources that local and international energy companies have to offer, but doing so within the framework of professional regulation which protects consumer interests and promotes national energy goals.

## **LIQUID FUELS**

An MDC government will immediately establish a consortium of oil companies to undertake the procurement of liquid fuels on a transparent, best-practice basis. This will be followed by the negotiation of temporary regulatory arrangements (including an automatic price formula), pending the refocusing of NOCZIM into a statutory regulator whose responsibility will be to supervise the activities of the private sector in the procurement, pricing and distribution of liquid fuels.

NOCZIM has become a major player in the market, with both bulk storage and distribution facilities and retail outlets and road transport. The organization will be placed under new management and control and required to operate on a competitive basis within the liquid fuels market with the long-term goal of creating one regulatory authority for energy. The issue of what to do with the underground storage facilities at Msasa in Harare will be the subject of further investigation and review. The State will eventually withdraw completely from the industry, selling off its commercial and industrial oil industry assets to the private sector.

Until foreign exchange becomes readily available through the open-market system that will be established by the MDC government, the procurement of liquid fuels will be supported by the Reserve Bank.

The immediate impact will be to restore fuel supplies to normal levels and reduce market prices by restoring the economies of scale and delivery that are now simply

not possible. These arrangements will also facilitate front-loaded supplies from the oil majors, who have indicated willingness to do this once the NOCZIM stranglehold is removed. This will give the country some relief from the persistent shortages and rationing of these essential supplies, while lasting arrangements for fuel supplies will be negotiated on the basis of the new government's restoration of the rule of law and the introduction of a coherent economic policy stance.

### ***Liquid Fuels Regulator***

The MDC government will not get involved in the commercial aspects of the liquid fuels market. This will be left to the private sector, which will be expected to operate on a free-market, competitive basis. Collusion and price-fixing by private companies will be specifically prohibited and violations subjected to criminal prosecution.

However, to protect the interests of consumers and to ensure stability in fuel supplies, the MDC government will establish an energy regulator, the Zimbabwe Energy Regulatory Commission (ZERC), an independent professional body accountable to Parliament that will be set up in consultation with the private sector and mandated to deal with issues such as:

- ✎ Licensing of liquid fuel companies.
- ✎ The establishment and supervision of liquid fuel stocks to ensure continuity of supply in the event of any serious international or regional dislocation in deliveries.
- ✎ The adoption and management of a set formula for the determination of wholesale and retail fuel prices.
- ✎ The supervision of retail fuel stations that will be allowed to charge consumers prices above and below the published prices but at the same time advertise their prices on billboards provided for this purpose in clear view of consumers at all times.
- ✎ The testing of liquid fuel supplies to ensure compliance with published standards.
- ✎ Supervision of the entry and distribution of new fuels as and when they become available.

### ***The Beira to Harare Pipeline***

This is presently owned by a consortium of interests and is being used to charge above normally accepted tariffs for pipelines of this type. While the private sector will be left to correct this anomaly, it will be supported in its efforts by the MDC government, using its diplomatic and economic influence. In the longer term, and in consultation with other land-locked countries in the region, consideration will be given to enhancing the capacity of this pipeline to facilitate deliveries for onward shipment to other countries in the region.

## **ELECTRICAL ENERGY**

The MDC government will tender for experts to assess ZESA's capabilities and requirements and to establish the country's current, medium-term and long-term electricity requirements. They will be expected to come up with realistic solutions for rural electrification in the short term, as the regeneration of rural areas requires electricity. It is anticipated that rural areas will initially benefit from favourable tariffs to enable new business start-ups. The experts will also be expected to recommend new cost-effective energy sources.

The exact nature of the immediate actions in respect of the unbundling and privatization of the electricity sector will depend on the state of the industry at the time. An Electricity Consumer Consultative Council will be formed to provide a forum for public participation – a channel to provide the rationale for any increases in tariffs that may be necessary to restore the economic viability of the utility, and to give consumers a medium through which they can air issues and concerns.

ZERC will be established as quickly as possible and, although it will not be fully functional until the relevant legislation is passed, immediate steps will be taken to get its essential elements in place as soon as possible and to initiate training of the three commissioners and support staff.


While ZERC will monitor tariffs and other charges related to the energy sector, the MDC government will allow major consumers to negotiate electrical energy supplies with power generators in the region and delivery tariffs with the main distribution system operator. Local authorities will be encouraged to take this route and to undertake thereafter the retail distribution of power supplies.

### ***Legislation***

A new Electricity Act and Rural Electrification Fund Act will be finalized and submitted to Parliament as soon as possible. These Acts will provide for orderly private-sector participation in the energy sector, will give the legal basis for ZERC and will establish a mechanism for accelerating rural electrification by leveraging private-sector resources to complement the rural electrification levy that is already in place.

## **LONGER-TERM DEVELOPMENT**

Over the longer term, the MDC's energy policy will address the fundamental energy-sector goals of ensuring least-cost energy supplies adequate to meet growing domestic and productive needs, universal access to modern forms of energy, and environmental friendliness.

-  In the electricity sector, meeting these goals implies making the most of opportunities to import low-cost hydro-power from the Southern African

Power Pool (SAPP), including investing in new projects in neighbouring countries, as well as developing new power stations (where competitive) within Zimbabwe.

- ✎ Coal-bed methane has been discussed for over a decade: the MDC believes its new mining policies will create the framework within which private-sector investment to exploit this important resource (for power generation, petrochemical feedstocks, and irrigation in Matabeleland North, as well as direct energy usage) can be attracted.
- ✎ Hwange Colliery Company's monopolistic stranglehold on coal will be addressed through ZERC. The MDC will encourage the opening of other coalfields throughout the country, which will provide new focuses of development in the rural areas, as well as making coal available in areas where the price is presently excessive when transport from Hwange is factored in.
- ✎ International concerns about climate change have created an environment in which Zimbabwe could receive significant grants to support attempts to prove new concepts in 'greenhouse-neutral growth'. Small biomass-fed electricity generators located near urban centres, electric light-rail commuter trains, and possibly methane-powered fuel-cell vehicles, wind and solar energy systems, are some of the technologies that the MDC would encourage be explored. As far as possible, Zimbabwe should then become involved in the manufacture of equipment and dissemination of the new technologies.
- ✎ Ethanol production by the private sector will be encouraged and facilitated using resources within the agricultural industry; however, care will be taken to ensure this does not impede the production and supply of basic foods.
- ✎ Low-income households have energy needs which at present are met in a haphazard manner and which threaten the environment in many ways. It is estimated, for example, that six million tonnes of wood fuel are used annually. The main thrust of The MDC's approach on this will be to expand access to and affordability of electricity (in part through 'lifeline' tariffs for basic levels of consumption). In addition, the MDC government will develop extensive woodlots as renewable energy sources.
- ✎ The MDC recognizes that the global energy market is changing rapidly and that environmental concerns will both accelerate and direct likely future change. In this context research into energy supplies and systems is regarded as being an essential national priority.

# THE ENVIRONMENT

## *Living sustainably within the limits of the natural world*

Zimbabwe is classified as one of the countries that will suffer significantly from global warming. The main areas of the country that are most likely to be affected are those that are already arid to semi-arid, and this, together with predictions of more extreme weather, must be taken into account by any incoming government that is serious about planning for the future. The MDC government will therefore accede to best-practice environmental protection agreements.

In addition to this global concern, over which Zimbabwe has, at best, a very marginal influence, there has been a serious deterioration in the country's environment in recent years. Water systems are severely polluted, air pollution from uncontrolled emissions and poorly maintained vehicles is an issue in the urban areas and bush fires in the rural areas are completely out of control. In this respect it must be noted that wild fires in Africa, many of which burn for days, are significant contributors to global warming. It is therefore not true to say that Africa makes an insignificant contribution to atmospheric pollution.

Land degradation as a contributor to rural poverty and environmental degradation is widespread. The search for income as a result of the economic decline has led to an enormous increase in gold-panning and the felling of trees for sale as fuel wood, both of which have had significant impacts on the environment. Some areas of the country are in fact in danger of becoming desert, and the growth of the Kalahari Desert in Botswana is a very real threat to the south-western districts of the country. Flash floods and dry riverbeds are a common feature, and the nature of such floodwater is testimony to the land erosion now taking place in all areas. This threatens urban water storage and irrigation systems and is depleting Zimbabwe's ability to sustain agriculture as a productive, profitable part of the national economy.

Halting and then reversing this situation will require a holistic approach to the environment that embraces all aspects of national life. Environmental policy will have to be brought to bear on land-use planning, land-use practices, tenure systems, the protection of the natural environment, flora and fauna in special areas, preservation and management of our natural forest areas as well the establishment of new forest industries in suitable agro-ecological regions. It is recognized that much work in this area has already been done by Agritex, which will in future be closely involved with national environmental activities.

All new developments will be required by law to submit Environmental Impact Assessments, and all businesses must meet minimum environmental standards for emissions and water and land management. All vehicles will be required, over time, to meet new standards for emissions. Maximum use will be made of renewable energy sources such as hydroelectricity, solar power, etc., and, where fossil fuels are used, strict standards for carbon emissions laid down.

Because the protection of the environment will impinge on all aspects of national life, it is the view of the MDC that responsibility for this function should be centred in one ministry. All agencies working in this field will be consolidated into a single integrated agency responsible for the environment, and appropriate ministries, under the guidance of this agency, will then implement the policies emanating from it.

### **POLICY OBJECTIVES**

In implementing its environment policy, the MDC government will:

- ✎ Seek to ensure sound environmental standards that contribute positively to economic and social development and a better quality of life for every individual.
- ✎ Strive to upgrade the environment on the national scale of priorities and to assimilate this into the decision-making processes of central and local government.
- ✎ Encourage the wise and prudent use of environmental resources, while encouraging conservation and preventing irreversible damage to resources through planning, technological and economic measures.
- ✎ Establish a two-way communication system that recognizes the views of the public, a full partner in environmental activities, and take steps to deepen public participation through integrated activity in three spheres:
  - ✎ Cultivating environmental values and behavioural norms based on protecting the environment and working on its behalf.
  - ✎ Recruiting corporations and organizations as active partners in dealing with all environmental issues.
  - ✎ Harnessing local authorities to cultivate environmental quality for the benefit of their residents.

The intention of the above is thus to foster environmental awareness and stewardship through education, outreach and assistance. Environmental education will be taught on a multi-disciplinary basis and integrated into ongoing curriculum review at the pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary levels.



## **POLICY PROGRAMMES**

The MDC government will:

- ✎ Strive for regional and international environmental co-operation, since environmental resources in Zimbabwe impact on and are impacted by neighbouring states. The purpose of this would be to foster regional and international co-operation through agreements, conventions and treaties on the sustainable utilization of natural resources and environmental management.
- ✎ Develop an integrated database that will provide an updated picture of the state of the environment and of environmental risks in Zimbabwe, and of future trends and processes underlying environmental changes. This will serve as a basis for decision-making and policy-making, will provide feedback on all activities, and will serve as a tool for assessing achievements.
- ✎ Integrate responsible environmental practices into business operations by establishing goals, measuring progress, and reporting performance through a comprehensive environmental management system. The aim is to encourage the efficient use of resources, reducing emissions into air, water and soil, and managing the hazards of waste.
- ✎ Encourage research and development and require EIAs for all new developments and expansion, leading to the development of technologies and expertise to serve the public good by finding new and better solutions for environmental protection.
- ✎ Encourage the development of eco-friendly products and provide incentives for the production of the same. This is intended to eliminate the production of environmentally hazardous products and substances.
- ✎ Integrate the Environmental Management Agency into a new Environmental Agency and ensure that the new agency has the capacity to become an autonomous environmental affairs institution that is legally constituted and derives its authority under provisions of a broad legal framework for environmental management. The new agency will have a legal mandate to enforce compliance with national standards and have legal authority to seek legal redress whenever there is non-compliance. It will adopt a 'polluter pays' policy and businesses will be required to measure their own emissions to ensure they are within the laid-down standards.

The MDC will support research into the protection of natural woodlands, renewable sources of energy, water harvesting – in fact, all activities that will help Zimbabweans to conserve our country's natural resources.

The MDC recognizes that the provision of water will be one of this century's biggest challenges, and wise development and conservation of the country's water resources will be a priority. Existing riparian rights will be reviewed with a view to ensuring that they are just and viable.

The country will be divided into catchment areas according to river systems, and these will receive specific attention to ensure proper land conservation, land-use planning, the protection of wetlands and river banks, and the integrated management of water systems.

***The Natural Resources Board***

The NRB has played an important role in the management and conservation of natural resources in rural areas in the past. The MDC government will relocate the NRB into the ministry responsible for the environment, and consider its inclusion in the new national Environmental Agency.

The NRB will be given increased resources and responsibilities and be required to operate throughout the country as a custodian of natural resources and as a conservation agency. As at present, it will be able to grant orders to land-owners, mining companies and local authorities that will require remedial action to be taken where the Board deems that damage to natural resources is taking place.

# TRANSPORT

## *Networks that move Zimbabwe forward*

Zimbabwe has one of the most developed transport networks in Africa. Much of this was inherited at independence in 1980, but it has been significantly extended since then. Zimbabwe is also in a key geographical position in the region, occupying a strategic role as a transport hub through which much of the region's imports and exports must transit to the ports on the east and west coasts. However, the Zimbabwean transport network is in a deep-seated structural crisis and requires fundamental reconstruction. The rural areas and resettlement areas are the most affected in terms of road networks to link them with main roads and cities.

With the recovery planned for agricultural output and the expected response from new resettlement areas, dramatically increased production of various agricultural products is anticipated. In addition the introduction of sound policies for the mining industry is also expected to lead to a sharp rise in mineral production and exports. These developments, together with the overall recovery of the economy and the resumption of normal coal and liquid fuel supplies, will place an immediate and substantial burden on the transport network.

In the global economy of today, where national growth is often predicated on international trade, transport and communication are critical elements in the process of growth and development. As the national economy becomes more fully integrated, and as Zimbabwe increasingly becomes part of a larger global economy, transportation's role will only become more important. Furthermore, as a land-locked country, Zimbabwe is more dependent on regional and national transport systems to reach ports and markets than many other countries. Transportation is the key to opening up new markets and enabling the quick, economical movement of the people and goods that power the country's economy's growth.

Because of the collapse of the national economy since 1997, the transport grid is very run down and will require considerable investment to get it back into normal operational condition once the required political changes take place. The MDC government will immediately put in place strategies to ensure that Zimbabwe moves to regain its position as a regional leader in the operation and management of transport networks, both road and rail, that link the whole region.

To ensure that transport is underpinned by the principles of safety and responsiveness, transport policies will ensure high standards of health, safety and personal security for all people, including users, workers and operators.

Transport must support both traditional and new forms of production and processes, adapt quickly to the changing international environment, and respond to the different issues facing urban and rural communities. This will require a transport system that is efficient, reliable, affordable, flexible, innovative and resilient.

### ***The Links to Mozambique Ports***

It is recognized that these links, using rail, road and pipelines, constitute an essential route to ports on the eastern seaboard. They are therefore vital to the future growth and prosperity of both Zimbabwe and its northern neighbours. The MDC government will initiate talks at the highest level with the government of Mozambique to ensure that these rail, road and pipeline links have sufficient capacity to handle all traffic and to move exports and imports on a cost-effective and secure basis.

### ***The National Transport Investment Agency***

The MDC government will set up an investment agency whose responsibility will be to encourage private-sector participation in rail, road and air transport services and to review existing private-sector investment such as that involving the Bulawayo Beitbridge Railways (BBR). While the government will run public transport utilities in rail, road and air services, the agency will ensure that the private sector is encouraged to invest in these critical transport services for the convenience of the travelling public in line with the major policy objective of ensuring a reliable, fast and efficient transport system. The investment agency will report to Parliament.

## **RAIL TRANSPORT**

The objective is to have a professional, fast, reliable and safe railway transport network across the country which facilitates the smooth movement of goods and people. The MDC government will immediately launch a programme for the rehabilitation of the main railway network with the focus on increased train speed, safety and customer satisfaction.

The rail transport system of Zimbabwe forms a critical link in the regional railways system of SADC. Through links with Spoornet of South Africa and Botswana Railways, the system provides connections to Zambia, Namibia, Swaziland, the DRC, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Malawi. With an extensive system of nearly 3,000 kilometres of railway lines covering the whole country and five rail connections to neighbouring countries, rail plays a key role in the movement on a cost-effective basis of some 2.5 million tonnes of traffic a year.

### ***National Railways of Zimbabwe***

Currently the National Railways of Zimbabwe has sufficient functional rolling stock to run only six to ten trains a day on the whole system. The South African railways

operator, Spoornet, is augmenting this limited capacity. Spoornet provides rolling stock and locomotive power on the Beitbridge to Victoria Falls line. Botswana Railways also helps with the capacity on the line from Bulawayo to Lobatse and then on to South Africa.

On top of these problems, the Centralized Train Control System has collapsed completely, and the railways have been forced to revert to manual and telephone-operated systems that limit line capacity and transit times. Close co-ordination with other modes of transport, especially road, regional rail organizations and transport operators is essential to promote sustainable development in the transport sector. The NRZ faces the challenge of operating high-quality conventional rail systems that extend services to regions underserved by passenger or freight trains and additional trains to established routes. It should also aim at generating enough positive operating cash inflows to help support its investment requirements and eliminate dependence on government subsidies.

To address the challenges of the rehabilitation of the National Railways of Zimbabwe, the MDC government will reconstitute its board with representatives of all major users and selected specialists with appropriate knowledge and experience. It will also open up the rail routes to private operators, recognizing the huge financial investment required by this key transport link.

All railways staff will belong to a National Employment Council, and the board and management will act as the employer, the board taking the lead role. The NEC will be reorganized along the lines set out in the policy on social security.

## **THE NATIONAL ROAD NETWORK**

An immediate task of the MDC government will be to rehabilitate, expand and improve the existing road network. The MDC government will encourage local authorities to construct modern road networks to facilitate and open up potential investment areas as well as to enhance convenience for the travelling public.

The MDC government recognizes road safety as a priority in the quest to build a safe and secure nation based on the effective enforcement of traffic laws, road safety education, better driver training and licensing, and a reduction in incidents of drunken driving.

In this regard, the MDC government will immediately formulate a national road-safety strategic plan to address road-safety problems in a holistic manner, and will be responsible for the introduction of focused road-safety campaigns.

### ***Public Passenger Transport***

The MDC government will privatize mass public transporters, ensuring that they are safe, reliable and efficient (metro-bus services). Passengers will be able to buy monthly or annual fare cards for their convenience, while the government will fund concessionary fares for school children, the elderly and the disabled.

The MDC government will immediately set up a public transport service support fund within the National Transport Investment Agency for new owner-driven buses and minibuses. The fund will also set up a programme for the rehabilitation of buses in partnership with coachbuilders and bus operators. The MDC government will also plan and develop a mass-transit system for the major cities in Zimbabwe.

### ***The National Road Authority***

The MDC government will retain the National Road Authority to manage the National Road Fund and undertake the following tasks immediately:

- ✎ Review the condition of all national roads and make detailed recommendations for their immediate maintenance and reconstruction needs.
- ✎ Request all Rural District Councils and urban councils to undertake a similar exercise on roads in their areas and submit budgets to the National Road Authority for consideration.
- ✎ Prepare a detailed, audited set of accounts for the Fund, and recommend to the minister any action required on the problems discovered by this process.
- ✎ Identify independent experts for appointment to the board of the Fund.
- ✎ Review the staffing of the Fund and take appropriate action.
- ✎ Make recommendations to government on the levels of funding required for a three-year reconstruction and recovery programme and on how these funds might be sourced.
- ✎ Introduce a compulsory third-party insurance scheme.

### ***Funding the National Road Fund***

The MDC government will impose a levy on all imports of liquid fuels and oils for the motor industry and direct these funds to the National Road Fund. Local authorities will be permitted to apply for funding from the Insurance Fund to repair damage to road infrastructure arising from accidents.

Private contractors, appointed for this purpose after a competitive-tender process, will conduct all work on national roads. In addition, local authorities will apply to the Fund each year for a grant to undertake roadworks in their area of responsibility.

The Road Fund will require all such authorities to properly account for such funds, and to provide an audit statement supporting these reports within six months of each financial year-end. Local authorities that fail to meet these requirements will be suspended from the grant system until they comply.

Funds will be allocated to local authorities and to road projects based on statistics of road usage collected by reliable means throughout the country. These statistics will be updated annually and be used to justify expenditure and to guide future activities. The ministry will supervise this process.

### ***Cross-border Transport Agreements***

As Zimbabwe is a landlocked country, the MDC government will honour existing agreements and continue to negotiate with neighbouring countries in order to facilitate an unimpeded flow of goods and passengers within the region.

### ***Networking Rural and Farming Areas***

Roads carry the greatest volume of traffic and are an essential factor in economic development. The MDC government will develop a strategic national road network throughout the country from which feeder roads will radiate to various rural communities. The MDC government, using labour-based road construction methods, will ensure that every rural service centre and all resettlement areas are connected with a good accessible road as soon as possible to facilitate easy movement of both passengers and products throughout the country.

### ***Road Maintenance***

Labour-based methods of road construction and maintenance are potentially effective tools for creating employment. The MDC government will set up labour-based road-maintenance programmes by supporting the funding and training of local companies to be contracted to carry out road maintenance and construction, especially of tertiary and access roads in rural areas. Private-sector participation in roads maintenance will be especially encouraged and supported.

### ***Cost-recovery and Road-user Charges***

The current level of cost-recovery in the road sector is very low. Cost recovery will be an integral part of the MDC government's strategy to ensure that funds are available for the maintenance of the national road infrastructure. In this regard, the concept of road tolls, being one of the means of cost-recovery, will be pursued in collaboration with the private sector. Currently a road-user charging system is in place for vehicles travelling outside the SADC home countries, and the MDC government will continue to consult with member States to promote the smooth flow of goods and persons within the region.

The ministry will run weighbridges to monitor loads as a key component of carriage-way management and as a source of revenue for government. Tolls on new roads will also be considered.

### ***Vehicle Licence Fees***

Local authorities will be permitted to charge a licence fee on all road vehicles using their road systems. These fees will be set by the local authority and will be paid into a specific fund for the purpose of constructing and maintaining their roads.

The MDC government will review the current vehicle-registration system with a view to improving on it, and address the current confusion within the number plates system. The issuing of vehicle and driver's licences and permits will be decentralized to provincial levels. This will continue to be administered by the Vehicle Inspection Department, which will also remain responsible for the assessment of the road-worthiness of vehicles.

### ***Government Vehicle Management and Control***

The MDC believes in private ownership and will develop a system that enables public servants to own and maintain their own vehicles.

### ***Importation and Sale of Commercial Vehicles***



The heavy-duty vehicle fleet in Zimbabwe is the largest of any country in the region. This growth has been made possible by the provision of low rates of import duty on second-hand vehicles from abroad. These arrangements will be kept in place and, in addition, kits for the assembly of both pick-up trucks and other commercial vehicles will be made duty-free to encourage local manufacture.

## **AIR TRANSPORT**

### ***The Civil Aviation Authority***

The MDC government's policy thrust for aviation is to build capacity both in terms of infrastructure and institutional development to ensure safe, cost-effective and efficient air travel. The MDC government will upgrade airports in major towns and cities in line with international standards once air traffic warrants this.

The Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe will be encouraged to:

-  Market its infrastructure to stimulate increased utilization so as to generate additional revenue with appropriate cost-recovery measures.
-  Put in place a programme to rehabilitate, upgrade and establish airports in key tourist and business areas in Zimbabwe.



- ✎ Accelerate the expansion of the air-transport network through a variety of measures, including market liberalization.
- ✎ Provide adequate capacity and market access to facilitate the easy movement of domestic and international traffic to and from Zimbabwe. Update all bilateral air-service agreements, taking into account the potential benefits to other sectors of the economy, especially tourism, trade, commerce and investment, to meet the larger national interests.
- ✎ Ensure that Harare Airport has excess capacity, given that O. R. Tambo Airport may not be able to handle all the region's traffic for much longer.

Aviation security is facing serious challenges following the September 11, 2001, attacks in USA. The MDC government, in collaboration with other governments, will modernize and upgrade aviation security systems and establish, through additional training, a new aviation security staff to enhance responsiveness.

The CAAZ will also be required to consult all stakeholders – including cargo operators, clearing agents, aircraft operating companies, tourist agencies such as the Zimbabwe Council for Tourism and the Zimbabwe Tourist Authority, as well as major air cargo companies – on future traffic estimates and what is required in terms of investment to meet these demands. This will lead to the development of a three-year rehabilitation and recovery plan, with financial estimates for the consideration of the board and the minister.

### ***Air Zimbabwe***

The MDC government recognizes the need to develop tourism and to improve air travel services between the major business centres of the world, including strengthening economic and social ties within Africa.

The national airline has had considerable difficulties in recent years as a result of constant political interference with its management and operations. This, together with the decline and collapse in the economy, has led to a situation where the airline is now unable to service its routes within the region and overseas. As a result of these developments, Air Zimbabwe will have to revisit its strategies, e.g. either to remain an international airline or to become a regional feeder operator within a specific marketing niche.

The MDC government will appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the airline with terms of reference that will require the commission to make recommendations on future policy towards the airline industry.

In particular, the government will seek the views of the commission on, *inter alia*:

- ✎ The adoption of an ‘open skies’ policy.
- ✎ The different options available in respect to the future operations of the national airline, including a joint venture with a larger player, the dissolution of the airline altogether, and any other possible arrangements that might strengthen local air transport capacity and safety and improve services and lower costs.

# INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION




## *The right and freedom to know and to be heard*

The MDC's policy thrust on communications is to offer people access to information, education and entertainment. The MDC believes that the free flow of public information, giving citizens the right to know and be heard, is a hallmark of a functioning democracy.

The MDC government will repeal repressive legislation that restricts access to information, and encourage investment in a variety of media services. It will not own any newspapers, and it will open the airwaves to competition. It will encourage community media, and international journalists will be welcome. The MDC believes that an informed society is able to participate in the design and execution of public policies and is more resourceful and creative in addressing its social challenges. A major objective of the policy is to provide the public with timely, accurate, clear, objective and complete information about government policies, programmes, services and initiatives.

### **CORE PRINCIPLES**

The right to information and freedom of expression form some of the core principles of a healthy democracy. The MDC recognizes the importance of communication for:

-  Inclusiveness. All citizens should have access, in their own language, to information about matters of public concern. This means that information should be made widely available through a wide range of channels, including the mass media and new technologies such as the Internet. It also means that people from all walks of life in all Zimbabwean societies should be helped to develop the skills they need to access and use that information. This is particularly important in the case of minorities, disabled citizens and other groups that might be systematically excluded from participation in the public sphere.
-  Diversity. Zimbabweans citizens come from widely diverse social and cultural backgrounds and hold a wide variety of political views. The MDC will therefore respect the full range of views that are in public debate.
-  Participation. Citizens should have a right to express their views, be heard, and have the opportunity for dialogue with decision-makers.

### ***Communication as an Empowering Tool***

The MDC's communications policy will centre on citizens' needs. It will therefore focus on providing the tools and facilities – the forums for debate and the channels

of public communication – that will give as many people as possible access to information and the opportunity to make their voices heard. This policy objective will be achieved through:

- ✎ Improving civic education. Civic education is the responsibility of the government. Civic education is crucial for enabling people to exercise their political and civic rights and to become active in the public sphere.
- ✎ Citizen interconnectedness. The maintenance of interconnections between citizens is a vital component in society. This is a seedbed for respect and tolerance among citizens. The aim is to foster a sense of belonging and togetherness.
- ✎ Connecting citizens to government institutions. The MDC will make a deliberate effort to open feedback channels between government institutions and the country’s citizens. This two-way communication will foster democracy and seek to make institutions more responsive, open, accountable and accessible to citizens. Institutions must inform Zimbabweans about opportunities to participate in public consultation and citizen-engagement initiatives, thus also ensuring that institutions of the government are visible, accessible and accountable to the public they serve and that all government institutions work collaboratively to achieve coherent and effective communications with the public.

In order to encourage a variety of opinion and the free flow of information, no investor will be allowed to hold majority ownership in more than one communications/media area.

## **POSTAL AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS SERVICES**

The MDC will retain the Posts and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (POTRAZ) as a regulatory authority to deal with opening up private-sector participation in postal and telecommunication services.

### ***Postal Services***

It is accepted that a post office is an important institution in the daily lives of the people and that this remains an important system for the provision of certain services. To this end the Zimpost will be taken over by a new board reporting to Parliament. However, POTRAZ will make sure that the atmosphere is conducive for private-sector participation in this sector in order to decentralize postal services to all corners of the country. The board will operate under the following mandate:

- ✎ To turn postal services and the POSB into fully commercialized enterprises.
- ✎ To review all operations and staffing so as to enable the organization to meet its goals in terms of customer satisfaction and operational efficiency.

- ✎ To operate with a surplus of revenue over expenditure.
- ✎ To protect the savings of the people investing with the POSB, ensuring that this organization can undertake a full range of customer services, eventually taking on the character of a fully fledged financial institution with special attention being paid the needs of small-account holders.
- ✎ To ensure that audited accounts are produced within six months of the year-end each year and are submitted to the minister and to Parliament.

An MDC government will require that rural postal services operate with all the traditional services, as well as telephone, Internet, photocopying and typing services. These services will be established within a 20-kilometre radius of all rural communities.

### ***Telecommunications***

Internationally, the telecommunications industry is playing an increasingly crucial role in economic and social development. The availability of a good and affordable telecommunications infrastructure and, associated with this, a widening range of telecommunications services and applications at internationally competitive prices are decisive corporate-location factors. This sector has been the subject of considerable attention in recent years, and in many countries the system has been broken up and privatized, the reason being that a state-controlled institution finds it difficult to stay abreast of developments and that the private sector is in a better position to finance new development and respond to customer needs.

The MDC's communications policy programme is aimed at encouraging investment and innovation in the communications sector. The communications infrastructure will be developed on primarily commercial terms using competitive technologies. The availability of communications services will be ensured throughout the country; network construction will be promoted, also with public funding, in areas where such services are not commercially available. The government will improve the availability of high-speed connections by promoting the construction of optical fibre and wireless networks. The MDC government will therefore immediately review the existing arrangements in the industry and then adopt reforms that will:

- ✎ Transform all state-controlled organizations to ensure their independence and freedom to act in the public interest.
- ✎ Review the legal framework within which the media operates, with a view to liberalizing both electronic and print media to allow for open competition, ensuring, however, data protection and privacy, and safeguarding intellectual property rights, patents and copyrights.
- ✎ Maintain and improve the national grid and international telephone links via satellite.

- ✎ Ensure that POTRAZ licenses operators and monitors call charges, and acts against any collaboration between operators that might take place to the detriment of consumers.
- ✎ Create the conditions for genuine broadband services in all major centres.
- ✎ Adjust the allocation of radio frequencies for greater flexibility and efficiency. The registration of frequencies will be maintained within POTRAZ.
- ✎ Examine the contracts of private media companies currently operating in Zimbabwe to ensure that they meet worldwide standards of corporate governance.

### ***Mobile Phone Network***

The MDC government will open up investment in the mobile phone networks. Through POTRAZ, private-sector participation will be encouraged in this critical sector to enhance cheap and reliable networks with nationwide coverage that ensure that each person can communicate. The MDC will encourage cell phone companies to share distribution facilities.

### ***Fixed Phone Network***

While an MDC government will support a publicly funded fixed telephone company, POTRAZ will ensure that private-sector participation will also be encouraged in order to provide low-cost telephone services and to widen the options available to the public.

## **INFORMATION**

One of the most basic human rights is for individuals to have the right to information that will enhance their lives. Corruption thrives where there is secrecy. A lack of access to information about the work of government leads to an unaccountable public administration that is open to abuse. Where there is little transparency and limited scope for public scrutiny, public officials are able to hide or cover up corrupt practices and blunders.

In a democratic society, people need information in order to evaluate whether their representatives have performed satisfactorily and whether they deserve to be re-elected. In participatory structures, people are even more actively involved and have the opportunity to contribute to local and national government decision-making between elections. They can do this only if they are adequately informed.

In order to be adequately informed there must be not only an open, transparent system of government but also a variety of channels of communication, places where the information can be accessed, and the skills needed to understand, interpret and evaluate the information provided (information literacy).

There are a number of reasons why information literacy is important. More information is produced today than ever before, and individuals must be able to use this information to the best of their ability. With the proliferation of information being stored on computers, information literacy and computer literacy go hand in hand. However, the two are not synonymous.

Previous government initiatives have been based on computer literacy alone, without the realization that information literacy is a far broader and more difficult area to address. People need to be equipped with the skills necessary to be able to use information. Developing countries, especially, have a critical stake in how successfully they cope with the trade, environmental, energy, health, agricultural, industrial, population and other challenges facing them as they enter the Information Age. Putting in place national information laws and policies, including sector-specific information policies, is a key building block needed to meet those challenges.

An MDC government will not only remove barriers to information in terms of building networks and providing content, but will also take the lead by establishing initiatives and programmes to aid the promotion and education of the population with regard to information literacy. While it is important to educate and train information professionals, the goal should be that all citizens are information literate so as to increase their effectiveness in working life and enhance their ability to function in society.

It will be the intention of an MDC government to accede to the UNESCO Florence Agreement and its Protocol, which commit governments to facilitating the free flow of information across borders by reducing tariff, tax, currency and trade obstacles to the international circulation of educational, scientific and cultural materials.

There is no law in Zimbabwe that obliges public officials to supply relevant information when requested to do so by the media or to reply to questions put to them by the media. In the past it has been very difficult for the public and the media to extract information about public matters from government officials. The media has had to go through a lengthy and often futile process to obtain information from officials. The private media was often faced with the dilemma of whether to publish stories emanating from unofficial sources or leaks within government departments when it was not able to extract or confirm any information from official sources.

It is therefore necessary to come up with appropriate legislation to deal with these weaknesses, and to this end a national information policy will be devised. The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act is totally inadequate and in any event needs to be repealed. A new Freedom of Information Act is required to lay

down appropriate procedures for obtaining government information among other things.

### ***Censorship and Freedom of Expression***

The MDC subscribes to the general principle stated in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that ‘Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.’

However, the MDC also recognizes that freedom of expression is not absolute. It may cause harm to others and must take into account other rights and interests, such as privacy, the protection of children and public order. Limits to the freedom of expression are therefore inevitable. However, any restrictions should be the exception and free expression the rule. In any case, the rapid growth of information and communications technologies, and in particular the Internet, means that censorship has become increasingly difficult to implement as information can easily cross national boundaries.

The MDC believes that censorship should not be imposed unless it is truly necessary to protect some other vital objective. It is central in a democratic society that people should be left to make their own judgements about what they wish to say, read or see, free from State or other control, unless there will be real harm to others. The MDC government will therefore review the Censorship and Entertainments Control Act with a view to removing unnecessary regulations and controls.

### ***Voluntary Media Council***

An MDC government will immediately facilitate the creation of a voluntary media council, which will have the sole responsibility for the accreditation and registration of journalists. This self-regulatory council will also oversee issues of ethics of journalists and media houses. The regulation of the advertising industry will also be also be facilitated through this council.

### ***The Mass Media Trust***

Although this has private as well as public interests in its shareholding, it has been used by the government as a vehicle for the total control of the print media owned by the Trust. Because this is a business on its own, it would be the intention of the government to review its role with the aim of closing the Trust down and disposing of the various newspapers and businesses that it controls.



### ***The Public Broadcaster***

An MDC government will make sure that the airwaves are freed and liberalized. It will ensure the creation of a non-partisan public broadcaster that serves the interests of the people and provides a nationwide service. It will reflect the diversity and broad aspirations of the Zimbabwean people.

The MDC government will completely review the operations of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation and decide future policy towards the electronic media. It will look into:

- ✎ The full privatization of the electronic media.
- ✎ The future of public broadcasting both in television and radio.
- ✎ The introduction of more players in the broadcasting industry, with special emphasis on community radio.
- ✎ The introduction of competitive technologies that open up the industry and reduce the cost of access.
- ✎ The protection of the media from undue state interference and direction.
- ✎ The definition and protection of public interests.
- ✎ What should happen to the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, its accumulated debt and personnel.

### ***Zimbabwe Information Service***

The MDC government will retain the Zimbabwe Information Service as a government information service that is interconnected with bureaux throughout the country to enhance two-tier communication between central government and all parts of the nation. The ZIS will be the conduit between the government and the ordinary people of Zimbabwe and will be responsible for disseminating information to the public via library services, information centres, and mobile cinema and television units.

### ***Library and Information Services***

A network of properly equipped, resourced and staffed libraries provides the best opportunity for the public to access information throughout the country. The National Library and Documentation Service (NLDS) will therefore be re-branded and revitalized to be capable of co-ordinating an effective national public library and information service in both urban and rural areas. National bibliographic services currently operated at the National Archives will become the responsibility of the NLDS. In addition, other libraries (e.g. subscription, parastatal, university, research libraries, etc.) may opt to join as partners in its network.

The NLDS will endeavour to establish public library and information services in as many population centres as possible, all libraries acting as information hubs to allow members of the public access to the Internet in addition to printed material such as

newspapers and reference books. The government will also be able make use of these to disseminate information about its programmes, policies and services.

The NLDS will function as a consortium, providing centralized acquisition and processing services to member libraries, which would themselves be able to concentrate on the services they provide directly to their users.

Funding will be provided by central and local government in order to ensure that core services are available free of charge in all libraries, but this could be supplemented, for example, from charges for additional services. There are benefits in local communities controlling and administering local services, as this could give some competition to employ the best staff and to be able to provide the best service. All libraries would be expected to form library users' committees, elected annually by the communities they serve, in order to ensure they are responsive to users' needs.

The continued professional training of librarians to degree level at universities will be encouraged, as will the training of library assistants to certificate and diploma levels at technical colleges. The expansion of library and information services will offer many more job opportunities both at professional and paraprofessional levels.

A library will be part of the required facilities at all secondary schools, with core resources provided from per capita grants. School libraries will hold print and non-print information resources, as well as providing Internet access. To run their libraries, schools will employ a qualified school librarian, who will also educate students in information skills.

# **APPENDIX**

**SOME STATISTICAL ASSUMPTIONS  
AND A DRAFT BUDGET**

In preparing and developing its policy programme, the MDC needed to have an agreed statistical basis on which to base its policies. At present, statistics in Zimbabwe are difficult to obtain and are in many cases unreliable. This is partly because the traditional sources of such statistics are now unable to produce the required numbers or are being denied the right to publish them.

The brief outline of national statistics that follows is therefore based on estimates used from the most accurate available sources.

## POPULATION

At Independence in 1980, the national population was estimated to be expanding at 3 per cent per annum. At these rates of growth the national population of 8 million was expected to double in 23 years to almost 17 million. These estimates were based on live birth rates of 4.3 percent per annum and death rates of about 1.3 percent per annum. Migration was estimated to be marginally negative.

In reality, death rates have risen steadily, driven by poor health-delivery services, high HIV infections, and the emergence of epidemic levels of infection for malaria, tuberculosis and water-borne diseases. In addition, migration has accelerated along with the recent collapse in the economy, and it is now estimated that in excess of 4 million Zimbabweans are living outside the country.

Estimates of the national population vary but it is generally accepted that in 2000 the population was about 12.5 million. Estimates now put it as low as 8 million. The MDC is using a figure of 10 million as a basis for its social and economic planning.

The structure of this population is also a point of contention. Historically, 53 to 55 per cent have been under the age of 18 years. With life expectancies now estimated to be 34 for women and 37 for men, it is possible that this ratio has risen. The percentage of the population under 18 might therefore be as high as 60 per cent. Of this number 1.6 million are estimated to be orphans – the highest ratio of orphans in the world.

Using these statistics the MDC has determined that it might have to deal with the following demographic realities in its preparations for election to government in 2008.

National population		10,000,000
Age breakdown	0 to 5 years	1,650,000
	6 to 10 years	1,490,000
	11 to 15 years	1,350,000
	16 to 20 years	1,300,000
	21 to 25 years	1,250,000
	26 to 30 years	1,000,000
	Over 30 years	1,960,000

### *Urban/Rural Split*

When it comes to the question of what proportion of the population lives in urban and rural areas, the estimates are also subject to a great deal of controversy. Estimates

for the populations of the 25 urban councils are perhaps the best estimate of urban population, leaving the balance to be assumed as the rural population.

Current (2007) estimates for the population of the major urban centres appear in the table below.

Harare (including Norton and Ruwa)	2,000,000
Chitungwiza	1,000,000
Bulawayo	1,200,000
Gweru	350,000
Mutare	300,000
Kwe Kwe	300,000
Masvingo	250,000
All other centres	900,000
Total	6,300,000

This suggests a split of 63:37 between the urban and the rural population – very different from the traditional assumption of a 40:60 per cent split. If we assume that the population on commercial farms is about 700,000 (down from 2 million before the farm invasions) then the rural population could be below 3 million – very different from the levels assumed in 1980 and in 2000.

### ***HIV/AIDS***

The incidence of HIV infections is assumed to be unchanged at 25 per cent of the adult population. Recent reductions in infection rates are thought to be based on inadequate information and are deemed unreliable. There are no signs of any significant change in the general situation regarding behaviour and infection.

This suggests a population of HIV-infected adults of 1.375 million, and at present mother-to-child infection rates it is estimated there might be up to 125,000 children who are also HIV-positive. This suggests a total HIV-positive population of 1.5 million. This is below other estimates because of the migration and early deaths of HIV-positive adults.

The emergence of full-blown AIDS in the population is estimated to be about 300,000 cases and mortality at 182,000 a year – partly due to related infections and poor nutrition.

The figure for AIDS orphans is staggering – at 1.6 million at present, or one third of all children of school-going age. This number is growing at the rate of about 350 children per day.

## LAND DISTRIBUTION, PAST AND PRESENT

At independence in 1980 the government inherited a patently unfair distribution of land. About 6,000 white commercial farmers had access to 15.5 million hectares containing some of the best farmland, while over 760,000 smallholder farmers were expected to eke out a living on 16.4 million hectares of communal land – much of it in arid areas with poor soils. Over the following twenty years the government resettled only 71,000 families on 3.3 million hectares acquired on a willing-seller-willing-buyer basis. A negligible number of women were resettled.

Amid much fanfare the government passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1992 to speed up the land reform process. Despite the passing of this law, land reform was no longer the government's priority and progress was minimal. Scandals emerged in 1994 of land allocations to politicians and senior civil servants, while large swathes of land acquired for resettlement lay idle.

### *Land classification prior to the 'fast-track' programme in 1992*

<i>Natural Region</i>	<i>Sector (thousand hectares)</i>			
	<i>Communal Lands</i>	<i>Large-scale commercial</i>	<i>Small-scale commercial</i>	<i>Resettlement</i>
I & II	1,410	3,890	250	620
III	2,820	2,410	520	1,240
IV	7,340	2,410	530	1,240
V	4,780	2,490	100	620
TOTAL	16,350	11,200	1,400	3,720

*Source:* Rukuni Commission Report, 1992.

In 1998 the government held a land reform conference in Harare at which a number of far-reaching agreements on land reform were reached with all parties involved.

After February 2000, government brushed aside the undertakings it had given at the 1998 conference to resolve the land issue in a transparent, fair, lawful and sustainable manner. Stung by the people's rejection in a referendum of its draft constitution, and to maintain its grip on power, the government launched the 'fast-track' land reform programme, which was marked by illegal land seizures, xenophobia, racism, lawlessness and violence; 10.8 million hectares of commercial farmland were gazetted for acquisition, of which 6.4 million passed into the hands of 'war veterans', political elites and other ruling-party supporters.

Most of Zimbabwe’s skilled white commercial farmers were driven off their farms, and over 240,000 farm-workers and their families – an estimated 1,4 million people – lost their livelihoods and homes, as well as access to farm schools and other social amenities. Today, the large-scale commercial sector produces less than twenty per cent of the output of the 1990s, while millions of Zimbabweans are hungry, poverty stricken and dependent on food handouts.

The land classification in the table above is to be compared with the situation after the ‘fast-track’ process. The table below gives the land ownership pattern as at the end of July 2003.

***Land-ownership patterns after the ‘fast-track’ programme (as at 31 July 2003)***

<i>Category</i>	<i>Area (million hectares)</i>	<i>Percentage of total land area</i>
A1	4.2	11
A2	2.2	6
Old resettlement area	3.7	9
Communal	16.4	41
Large-scale commercial	2.6	6
Small-scale commercial	1.4	4
National Parks and urban	6.0	15
State Land	0.3	1
Other*	2.8	7
Total land area	39.6	100

*Source:* Utete Committee Report: Provincial Profiles

\* Refers to land that has been acquired for resettlement under Model A1 and A2 but has not yet been taken up by those allocated plots.

Under the guise of anti-colonial rhetoric and populist appeals, the programme has descended into flagrant land-grabbing and outright theft. The evidence of theft is contained in the Flora Buka Report (2002), the Utete Land Review Committee Report (2003) and the Presidential Land Resettlement Committee Report (2004). None of these reports has been made public.



## **ECONOMIC INDICATORS**

### ***Gross Domestic Product***

The GDP of the country was estimated in 1997 to have peaked at US\$8.7 billion. It is now estimated to be approximately US\$4 billion and may in fact dip below this level in 2007. The reduction in GDP estimated for 2007 is estimated at 12 per cent. This will be the biggest decline in GDP since 1999, when the first decrease in GDP was recorded; the economy has declined in output every year since then. The acceleration in the rate of decline is due to the recent measures taken against the private sector.

### ***Budget***

The budget deficit is expected to be maintained at over 60 per cent of GDP, funded mainly by printing money. This will maintain present inflation. Tax receipts are projected to fall significantly in real terms in 2007. The dependence of the current regime on borrowings and printing money will remain at unacceptable and historically high levels.

### ***Exports/Imports***

The value of exports reached a peak in 1997 of US\$3.4 billion or 40 per cent of GDP. Imports that same year were equal to 50 per cent of GDP, driven in part by the availability of foreign aid and assistance from the multilateral agencies.

Exports in 2007 are expected to reach US\$1.4 billion – assisted by very much higher global prices for minerals and precious metals. Imports will be higher, assisted by continued foreign aid, which is expected to reach over US\$600 million or 15 per cent of GDP. This is three times the average level of foreign aid for African countries at present.

### ***Inflation***

This is currently (December 2007) estimated to be over 100,000 per cent, if the high prices being levied in the parallel market are factored into the equation. Using official prices, inflation was last estimated by the Central Statistical Office to be over 26,470 per cent in November 2007. It is estimated that inflation will continue to escalate and that the present hyperinflation period will last for at least eighteen months – having started in March 2007 and running well into the third quarter of 2008. After that, on the assumption that the MDC wins the next elections and implements its radical stabilization plans, inflation is expected to fall to below three digits in six months and to double digits in twelve months.

## MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

The serious underutilization of production capacities throughout the manufacturing sector, constrained, in the main, by serious foreign-exchange shortages, is depicted in the tables below.

### *Percentage of firms operating at specific levels of capacity utilization*

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>&lt;30%</i>	<i>31%–49%</i>	<i>50%–73%</i>	<i>74%–99%</i>	<i>100%</i>
2005	14.3%	45.5%	40.2%	13.0%	2.6%
2006	18.1%	48.6%	33.3%	9.7%	0%

### *Weighting of the major factors that inhibited output in 2006*

Foreign-exchange shortages	69.4%
Raw material shortage (local & imported)	56.9%
Low demand	26.4%
Energy and fuel shortages	15.2%
Working capital shortages	9.7%

## AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK 2007/08

It is assumed that the coming season will be better from a rainfall perspective than 2006/07, when rainfall in the regions in the drier areas of Zimbabwe was well below average. However, land preparation in the winter of 2007 has been well below the level of 2006 because of severe shortages of fuel and traction capacity. The availability of seed and fertilizer is well below 2006 levels and will affect all types of agriculture.

Disruption of farm activity by forced expulsions continues, and this will impact on tobacco production, which is expected to be well below the levels achieved this past season when the remaining 200 large-scale growers had an excellent season.

It is expected that crop outputs will continue to be low in 2008 – probably not exceeding the levels achieved in 2007. In the cotton industry, output might be higher because of better rainfall in the production regions, but tobacco output will be lower and that of food crops the same or less. Meat output will be well below recent years because of the cost of inputs and the impact of price controls.

## **FOOD SUPPLIES**

It is estimated by the UN that 4.1 million people will have to be supported for their basic food needs until the next harvest in April/May 2008. Apart from this, the majority of the country's basic food needs have to be imported. The estimates for this in the 2008/09 marketing year (April to March) are as follows:

### ***Maize grain***

Demand	1.2 million tonnes for human consumption 0.6 million tonnes for stock feed 0.2 million tonnes for industrial purposes
Total	2.0 million tonnes
Local production	0.6 million tonnes
Import demand	1.4 million tonnes
Cost at present prices	US\$420 million

### ***Wheat***

Demand	0.350 million tonnes for all purposes
Local production	0.075 million tonnes
Import demand	0.275 million tonnes
Cost at current prices	US\$110 million

### ***Oilseeds***

Demand	0.250 million tonnes for all purposes
Local production	0.085 million tonnes
Import demand	0.165 million tonnes
Cost at current prices	US\$175 million

*Note:* This demand is met partly from cottonseed and partly from soyabean production. It is critical for nutritional purposes and for stock feed.

### ***Totals***

Total demand	2.6 million tonnes
Total import demand	1.84 million tonnes
Total cost at current prices	US\$705 million

## PROVISIONAL NATIONAL BUDGET ESTIMATE

Year 1 (April to March), US dollars

<i>Ministry</i>		<i>%</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
President	Office	1	13,500,000			
	Security	2	27,000,000			40,500,000
Education	Primary	14	189,000,000	189,000,000	15,000,000	
	Secondary	6	81,000,000	81,000,000	20,000,000	
	Tertiary	4	54,000,000	40,000,000	20,000,000	689,000,000
Health	Public	1.5	21,600,000	20,000,000		
	Primary	1.5	21,600,000	21,600,000	5,000,000	
	HIV/AIDS	1	13,500,000	100,000,000	5,000,000	
	Other	6	81,000,000	60,000,000	50,000,000	399,300,000
Foreign Affairs	Office	1	13,500,000			
	Embassies	2	27,000,000			40,500,000
Home Affairs	RG's Office	1	13,500,000			
	Police	3	40,500,000	15,000,000	5,000,000	74,000,000
Agriculture	Agric.	3	40,500,000			
	Land	1	13,500,000	500,000,000		
	Veterinary	1	13,500,000		1,000,000	568,500,000
Industry & Commerce	Admin.	2	27,000,000			
	Raw Mat.			450,000,000		477,000,000

### *Notes*

- GDP is estimated at US\$4.5 billion in the first year after change.
- Total tax revenues are projected at 30 per cent of GDP in year one.
- A small budget deficit is projected (2 per cent).
- Donor fund inflows are projected at US\$1.5 billion in the first 12 months: 20 per cent for education, 13 per cent for health (including HIV/AIDS programmes), 30 per cent for humanitarian and emergency programmes, and 33 per cent for land resettlement and rural reconstruction.
- All food aid is channelled into commercial firms with the counterpart funds then recycled to emergency programmes, humanitarian aid and reconstruction programmes.
- Debt servicing is restricted to 17 per cent of the budget, all national debts will be consolidated into the Ministry of Finance where it will be subjected to renegotiation and settlement on terms agreed with the Ministry.
- Income and expenditure shown in the column 'Other' reflects non-tax revenue and expenditure from all sources within the spheres covered by this policy document. This includes the budget of the proposed National Social and Economic Council (the proposed social safety net: pensions, medial aid and other benefits). It includes the cost of private education and health as well as their predicted revenues for the year.
- The revenues for the National Road Fund and for local authorities designated for road works is reflected in Local Government and Roads (US\$375 million).
- No provision is made for subsidies to State-owned and State-operated entities. They will all be required to operate on a full cost recovery basis although accumulated debts will be moved and consolidated into the National Debt at the Ministry of Finance.

**Provisional National Budget Estimate (Continued)**

<i>Ministry</i>		<i>%</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Defence	Army	5	67,500,000	2,000,000		
	Air Force	2	27,000,000	1,000,000		
	Right-sizing	3	40,500,000	20,000,000		158,000,000
Mining	Admin.	1	13,500,000		2,000,000	15,500,000
Tourism	Tourism	1	13,500,000		2,000,000	
	Energy	1	13,500,000		1,000,000	
	Environment	1	13,500,000		1,000,000	44,500,000
Communication	Transport	1	13,500,000			
	Post Office	1	13,500,000		5,000,000	
	Roads	2	27,000,000		350,000,000	
	Telecom.	1	13,500,000		20,000,000	442,500,000
Finance	Admin.	3	40,500,000			
	Debt Serv.	17	229,500,000			270,000,000
Labour & Social	Admin.	3	40,500,000			
	Aid				700,000,000	740,500,000
Local Government	Admin.	1	13,500,000		25,000,000	38,500,000
Justice	Parliament	2	27,000,000			
	A-G's Office	1	13,500,000			
	Constitution	1	13,500,000			54,000,000
National Integration	Admin.	1	13,500,000			
	Justice Com.	1	13,500,000			27,000,000
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>1,352,700,000</b>	<b>1,499,600,000</b>	<b>1,227,000,000</b>	<b>4,079,300,000</b>

**Notes (cont.)**

10. All State revenues and expenditure will be channelled through the Ministry of Finance and all quasi-fiscal activity by the Reserve Bank halted.
11. As GDP recovers and the balance of payments strengthens, so the government will increase debt-servicing rates. It is hoped that this, together with rescheduling and debt relief, will eventually reduce the anticipated total debts of the State to manageable levels (not more than 40 per cent of GDP). At April 2008 it is estimated that total debt will exceed two years GDP and seven years of total export revenues.
12. Balance of Payments: 2008/09

<i>Inflows</i>	<i>US\$</i>	<i>Outflows</i>	<i>US\$</i>
Exports	1,300,000,000	Debt service	229,500,000
Invisibles (Net)	250,000,000	Commercial imports	850,000,000
Donor funds	1,499,600,000	Food imports	500,000,000
Diaspora	1,000,000,000	Fuel and oil	1,000,000,000
		Electricity	400,000,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,049,600,000</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>2,979,500,000</b>

Projected import cover by year-end: US\$1,079,100,000 (3 months).





