

It is time to Rehabilitate Zimbabwe

"LET'S FIX THE ECONOMY"



"IT'S 3AM NKOSANA MOYO"



ALLIANCE FOR THE PEOPLE'S AGENDA

2018
ELECTIONS

IT IS TIME for

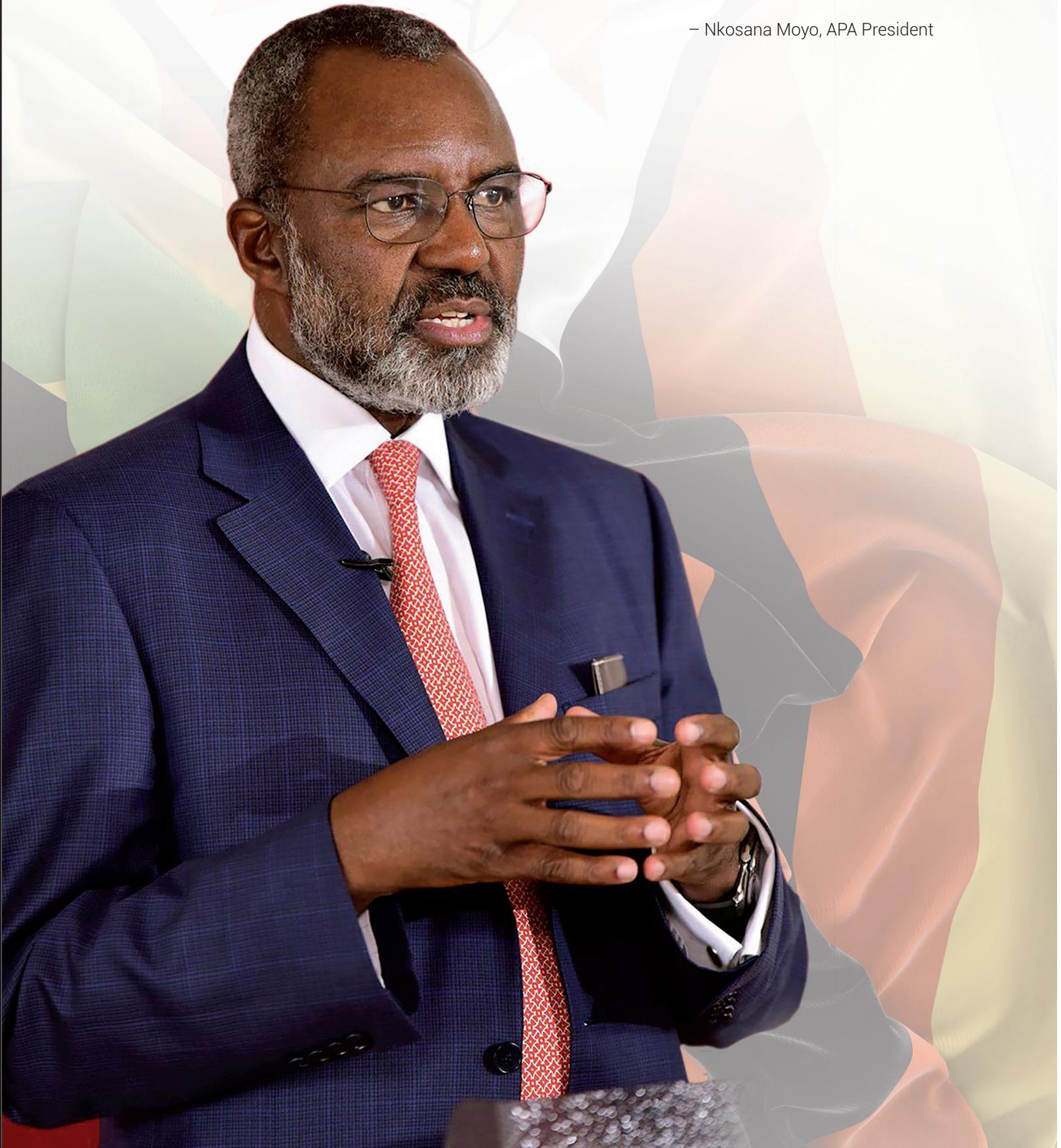
- COMPETENT AND HONEST SERVANT LEADERSHIP
- STATE INSTITUTIONS SEPARATE FROM POLITICAL PARTIES
- UNITED, INCLUSIVE & PROSPEROUS SOCIETY
- A ZIMBABWE IN A RIGHTFUL PLACE AMONG NATIONS

IT IS TIME! YAVE NGUVA! SEKUYISIKHATHI!

“

Ask yourself: what kind of country you want to live in. What is the Zimbabwe that I would like my children to grow up in? Then, choose leaders that you think can bring that about.

– Nkosana Moyo, APA President



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Fellow Zimbabweans

IT IS TIME for Zimbabwe to take a sharp turn towards genuine unity and prosperity. This Alliance for the People's Agenda ("APA") manifesto sets out the journey to a prosperous Golden Jubilee in 2030. Unity and prosperity require a consensus among us, Zimbabweans, about our future and the team of political leaders capable of leading us to that Golden Jubilee.

APA, as a movement of the people, seeks to serve Zimbabweans in their quest for a better future. **We believe that we offer Zimbabweans an opportunity to join the noble cause of national rehabilitation, regardless of party affiliation.** APA acknowledges, and pays homage to, the pioneering generation of independence liberators and war veterans and the founding fathers and mothers of this nation. We, too, like them are patriots and sons and daughters of the soil. We salute more recent leaders in the opposition who have continued to press for a free and democratic society for which many died before and after independence. Without their heroic contributions of the past, Zimbabwe would not be at the dawn of another era, ushering in the possibilities of foundational rehabilitation which if executed properly, will lead to a peaceful, united and prosperity country. Yet, equally as true are the foregoing propositions: Zimbabwe's next president, cabinet and administration should be intimately conversant with the problems bedeviling our people; economically, socially and politically. They should understand and embrace the concept of servant leadership. **We need an executive and civil service which respects the constitution, promotes constitutionalism and has the competencies and discipline required to lead Zimbabwe through a rehabilitation program and into the 4th industrial revolution and the 22nd century.**

All the aspirations for the nation of Zimbabwe were en-

visioned at independence in 1980 and captured in our national emblem – unity, freedom, work – and yet the governments to date have consistently failed to deliver on those noble national aspirations. Our nation needs unity so that every citizen feels Zimbabwean, and all Zimbabweans feel at home, despite tribe, gender, race or religious affiliation.

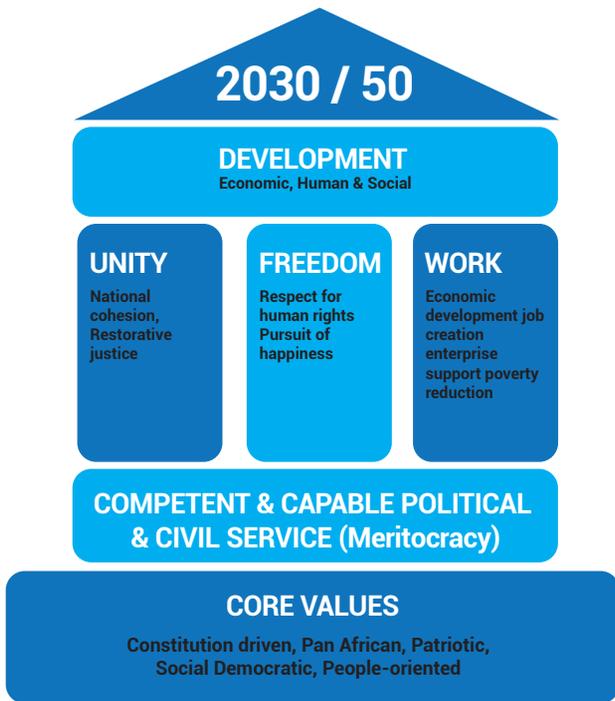
IT IS TIME FOR UNITY.

Our country must be and can be a country where freedom rings from the mountains of Nyangani, across the veld of Hwedza, and the escarpments of Zambezi and Save to the coalfields of Hwange and the cattle ranches of Ntuli and Gwanda. Our constitutional promise of equality under the law for each and every citizen must be honoured and now become a reality.

IT IS TIME FOR FREEDOM TO REIGN

Work! Too many of us live with little hope of finding a decent job. Thousands upon thousands are forced to endure the indignity of being involuntary street vendors, constantly harassed by the police and abused by politicians. Thousands more are restricted to communal farms or commercial farms deprived of essential inputs dished out at the whim of the ruling party. We work for very little and often for nothing at all. An upgrade in the quality of life of Zimbabweans, supported by good jobs and incomes, is long overdue.

Our country needs a tide of rising economic activity to deliver the high quality public education and healthcare that is worthy of our people. **IT IS TIME** to use technological innovation to raise the productivity and incomes of both communal and commer-



cial farming. In times past, Zimbabwean manufacturing and tourism could compete against its regional peers. In times past, Zimbabwe was a transport and logistics hub. No more! **IT IS TIME** to restore Zimbabwe to its rightful position as a regional hub, endowed with competitive agricultural, tourist and industrial sectors.

IT IS TIME FOR WORK FOR ALL

We are in a chronic budgetary crisis, as exemplified by the steep rise in the cost of living. Good money is disappearing from the market. APA has a plan to deal with the current crisis over the short, medium, and long-term. We must end this long era of wasteful recurrent spending and return our country to fiscal sanity. **IT IS TIME** for all of us, as Zimbabweans, to rise up to our challenges. APA is a movement of capable and committed people of integrity, ready to work for all Zimbabweans to build a prosperous future. We invite you today to become part of that movement so that the People's Agenda may be realized.

We want to build our modern house of stone, Zimbabwe; indeed we want to build one of the best countries in terms of quality of life. To achieve this, we need to use the best materials and artisans available, in other words we have to use the best building blocks for the job.

The People's Agenda

Our beloved country is in crisis! From high unemployment to very large budget deficits; from long queues daily to withdraw small amounts of our own money from our banks to the high cost of goods; from schools with no textbooks to public hospitals without medicine: the examples of suffering seem endless. Yet, suffering and crisis can unite a people; out of suffering and crisis is born hope for a better future; suffering and crisis has created the Alliance for the People's Agenda (APA) Zimbabwe.

It is clear that the people of Zimbabwe want more than just a handout or a packet of seed maize to attend the next star rally.

There is a need to create a body of active volunteers among our citizenry. Too many of our citizens have lost faith in politics. Too many of our citizens, especially the young, have grown tired of self-serving politicians. We, as Zimbabweans, have grown weary of the politics of personal attacks and factional fights which have sapped the energy of current government and diverted it from the priorities of building a united and prosperous society.

Zimbabwe today faces serious ethic problems: the breakdown of law and order, impunity, lack of respect for the rule of law, the mismanagement of natural resources, and corruption, just to name a few of our national ills. These ills have led to a dearth of social cohesion, a necessary ingredient for a united Zimbabwe.

IT IS TIME

For Zimbabweans to get a government that cares about them. In APA we believe in SERVANT LEADERSHIP.



ZIMBABWE

19°



Why It Is Time

It is against this background of a nation in crisis that the elections in 2018 hold special significance. APA is a movement that seeks to inject competent and honest governance into the political and civil sectors of Zimbabwe to place Zimbabwe on a path to prosperity. Necessarily, genuine national prosperity must be felt in the jobs, incomes, and lives of ordinary Zimbabweans.

What are APA's credentials for implementing the People's Agenda? We bring together a cross-section of Zimbabwean society with an eclectic mix of training, education, talents and experiences under the able leadership of Nkosana Moyo, a patriotic Zimbabwean who has accumulated international experience in banking and financial institutions. Standing along with Dr Nkosana Moyo are ordinary men and women with accumulated experience in Development Economics, Banking and Finance, Media, Education, Engineering, Health, Agriculture, Law, Construction...all of them experts in their own right, ready to serve. We believe that with this team and its credibility as well as its vision of engaging all forces, internal and external, we will realign and reintegrate Zimbabwe into the global community and lay a solid foundation for sustainable and inclusive prosperity of our land.

“
Diaspora, we will always be foreigners here...It cannot be that I grow old and retire in America, I have a home... ”
Esau, FI, USA

APA proffers a new programme to the people of Zimbabwe. It is a vision which will see our country far advanced in 2030 when we celebrate 50 years of our Independence.
– Nkosana Moyo, APA President

We will achieve this vision in the immediate and long term:

National Cohesion

Cultivate national cohesion as a building block for Zimbabwe to become a country with a shared national conscience and diverse demographic characteristics: A people united in the quest to rebuild Zimbabwe must have a shared national vision and conscience. Therefore, APA intends to introduce some policies to nurture that sharing ethos. Some of those policies include:

- Commencement of a dialogue about the post-independence politically motivated atrocities and killings (Gukurahundi and Murambatsvina) to promote healing;
- Acknowledgment by, and a national apology from, the Zimbabwe government to the families and communities of the victims of those atrocities and killings;
- Engaging in acts of restorative justice for victims, and families of victims, of those atrocities and killings by issuing necessary identity documents to them and offering victims the rights to reinter their loved deceased ones.

Service Delivery

Setting up a government on the basis of meritocracy. Our public service and bureaucracy should be free of corruption and incompetence. Those traits should be displayed in daily adherence to our core national values. Those national values derive from our daily culture and practices such as our culture of sharing through *Nhimbe* and *Ilima*.

- APA intends to introduce a performance culture into our bureaucracy supported by appropriate performance indicators.

- We expect the outcome to be an efficient, innovative and effective government. It means civil servants who will place Zimbabweans at the centre of their policy work and who will also manage upwards with candour and professionalism.

Sound Economic Management:

- Solve current money supply and liquidity problems: The current shortage of money and the disappearing value of bond notes will come to an end so that each Zimbabwean can get their money in any Amount; at any Place; at any Time.
- Create work and support small and medium enterprises: Every Zimbabwean who can work, should be afforded the opportunity to be employed or to run their own businesses and contribute to the national purse by paying reasonable taxes to the fiscal.
- Attract investment from foreign and local investors: We propose lowering corporate and personal income tax rates to around 15% and 20% as part of the review of the tax code.
- Provide security of land tenure: Each Zimbabwean will have a right to secure and precise legal title to land, whether voluntarily acquired or granted, and irrespective of the tenure of that land, as communal, commercial, or urban.
- Grow national savings: Each Zimbabwean family, whether residing in the rural areas or urban areas, can save money from their daily economic activity. The national debt is reduced to unlock inclusive growth.
- Provide a framework for an affordable national housing scheme: We will conduct an urban land audit and bring to book land barons who have thrived under the current system. We will provide grants to urban council to develop modern urban housing which maximizes land use and amenities. These houses would be available at affordable prices to buy or rent for young people.
- Support all agricultural activities with a particular focus on smallholder farming : Each Zimbabwean smallholder farmer, whether in corporate form or via cooperatives or other structure for collective activity, can expect to receive state assistance to increase his or her agricultural output per hectare, whether, as appropriate for each farm, through hybrid seeds, livestock breeding, vaccinations, irrigation facilities, tractors and other forms of mechanical equipment, or other extension services.
- Invest in modern education for every child: Each Zimbabwean child receives a decent and useful education, sufficient to prepare that child to become a globally competitive worker, entrepreneur, or public servant. We plan to have gifted scholar programmes in all provinces and several Schools of Excellence and Specialization (SES) for science and technology subjects to ignite STEM innovation from a young age.
- Provide free tertiary education: Every young person should have access to higher education, and through a well-managed grant system we will provide free education in priority subject areas based on means-testing. The new education system will have a huge emphasis on experiential learning and on the job training. Learnerships and attachment allowances will form part of the grants given to students and institutions will not be allowed to charge fees if students are away for a period exceeding 6 months.
- Invest in modern infrastructure and amenities: Infrastructure is modernized to enhance the role of Zimbabwe as a regional logistics hub. Zimbabwean infrastructure, whether railways, electricity networks and generation plants, or water systems, are modern, efficient, and green, capable of enabling Zimbabwe to perform its historical role as a logistics hub of southern Africa.
- Reduce government expenditure and debt: The size and composition of Zimbabwean state expenditure is reduced and changed to support rapid growth of the Zimbabwean economy; and the role of the Zimbabwean state is transformed from that of an owner of assets to one primarily of regulator,

responsible for increasing the scope of competitive markets in Zimbabwe. The state and state-owned enterprises are used to generate capital and savings instead of their current status as sources of deficits and losses.

- Provide modern health facilities and services affordable to all Zimbabweans: We will refurbish health care facilities and expand their access in all provinces. We believe in a means-testing system of paying for health care as those operating in China and Kenya. Both countries have successful universal coverage based on medical insurance cover. APA proposes to manage a national health insurance system through NSSA to compete with, and moderate, private providers. The system will be sensitive to the health care needs of indigent citizens.

National Institutions

Our institutions will be truly national in nature and outlook to serve the entire country and not the interests of one party or individual. This includes the National Army, Police Service, ZACC and ZEC among others.

Provide a law enforcement system where all are protected by the law and are treated equally. We will eliminate all corruption in the police and judiciary services and uphold and respect constitutionalism so that all are equal under the law in spite of their station in life.

- Restore the dignity of chiefs and traditional leaders: We believe that traditional leaders are the fountain of their communities and the higher duty of serving all people regardless of political affiliation. The current system has disrespected the role of chiefs to the detriment of the authority bestowed on them by ancestors and their forebears. We believe that a national database and electronic family tree of chiefs should be kept in order to avoid disputes and political manipulation in succession matters. All legitimate chiefs and village heads should be on the payroll of government and enjoy minimum

benefits including perks such as vehicles to enable them to serve their people.

The people of Zimbabwe have been speaking, and their voices are yearning for something new, for real change; there have been too many false dawns. They are yearning for an Agenda for the future.

'We must stop being content with second-rate performance in all we do. Our institutions encompassing law and order, health and sanitation, education, infrastructure and hospitality to name just a few, must all be an advertisement for who we are and how good we can be. The evidence available to us indicates that this is the only proven route to self-belief and recognition by others''

CONCLUSION

Zimbabwe at 50, in 2030, can be a magnificent country, basking in the glow of an educated and accomplished populace, earning decent incomes, living lives of quiet contentment in a land famed for its beauty and peace...a winning nation. That distant prospect calls on each of us to have faith in our collective ability to realize that vision. It calls for self-confidence, resilience, and tenacity of purpose, each a trait demonstrated by our history. We defeated colonialism and will overcome this dark period in our nation's history. What is needed now is a visionary, competent, and ethical political leadership, which is people centred, to deliver the gains of Independence by our Golden Jubilee. APA presents such a leadership of global experience and humility with a vision to work for all Zimbabweans.

For this we seek your mandate.

ACTION PLAN

HABITS

INTEGRITY

ASSETS

ECONOMY

REPUTATION

IT IS TIME! YAVE NGUVA! SEKUYISIKHATHI!

Priority Areas

PREAMBLE

The Alliance for the People's Agenda stands for constitutionalism, competence and politics for good. Therefore, we hold that the constitution of Zimbabwe signed into law in 2013 and developed through a consultative and inclusive process is sacrosanct – it cannot be amended to suit a political party or individual because it is the ultimate voice of the people. We aim to cultivate constitutionalism and respect for the law of the land. We, therefore, aim to uphold all constitutional provisions including respect for those who fought for the country and devolution of power to local level. In addition, we believe that politics must not be just a contestation of ideas and quest for office, but that it must be deployed for nation-building, economic and human development and for the good of the people, the country and the African continent.

APA's founding tenets are Unity, Freedom, Work and Development, as captured from the spirit of the liberation war and Zimbabwe's founding fathers.

To achieve these goals, a starting point is to focus on Unity and National Cohesion as pillars of an inclusive society. Unity and National Cohesion incorporates important cross-cutting issues which will help to restore and heal the social fabric of the Zimbabwean society and advance the democratic project. These are outlined below:

- Promotion of constitutional literacy among citizens to build a rights-based culture and society.
- Respecting the constitution and the principle of constitutionalism as the founding pillar of a democratic culture
- Promoting a competent, capable political leadership and civil service which values meritocracy

- Introducing a system of participatory community-oriented local governance, including devolution, and strengthening local governance structures to bring government to the people.
- Promotion of local indigenous languages as official languages and making them compulsory in school.
- Depoliticising development aid and government support.
- Strengthening and modernizing the traditional justice system and depoliticizing traditional leadership structures.
- Initiating honest dialogue about all post democracy politically motivated atrocities and killings with a focus to promote healing and restorative justice.
- Promoting coordinated compulsory post-school non-military community service.
- Revitalising, strengthening and re-branding the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) as a national broadcaster with a mandate of protecting and advancing national interests.
- Depoliticising state institutions and professionalising the civil service.

PRIORITY AREAS & ACTION PLAN 0 – 120 months

Our manifesto, the People's Agenda, is founded on the bedrock of constitutionalism and meritocracy (core values and competence) which we believe, when implemented, will take care of many of the other issues of concern in our society – issues which are common cause and must not be contested i.e.

- A professional security sector which respects and supports civic political leadership,
- A justice system which serves without fear or favour
- Respect for all citizens with a particular focus on the protection and advancement of equity for all marginalized groups in particular, women, children

and persons with disabilities

- Respect for private property rights
- Respect for Zimbabwe's international obligations
- Devolution and the equitable sharing of national resources
- Building an inclusive society which protects and enhances social and economic rights

To build a country which is united, enjoys freedom, where work is abundant and hence progressive among the family of nations, the APA government therefore proposes to focus on delivery on 4 key and interconnected areas:

1. Economy (specifically agriculture, tourism, and mining)
2. Human development (education and health care)
3. Social development (housing, poverty, devolution)
4. Nation building (restitution, diaspora)



Our proposals arise from wide consultations across all sectors of Zimbabwean society, both at home and in the diaspora over a period of 18 months. We have also convened several expert group meetings and consulted with experts from peer African countries to proffer the solutions herein outlined.

1. THE ECONOMY

Background

We are in a budgetary and liquidity crisis. Uncertainty and

anxiety abound in our land. Indeed, it can be said (like the Rime of the Ancient Mariner):

Bond notes, bond notes, everywhere, not a Dollar to spend

Our industrial base has been decimated – no more pots from Kango, or shoes from Bata or GND shoes, no more David Whitehead blankets, or ZEC radios exported to the world, or Olivine cooking oil. Now we import everything including plastic chairs and furniture. Queues are mushrooming everywhere, parents in the villages cannot access their money, teachers and nurses spend more time in bank queues than in classrooms or at the clinic.

The Current Economic Setting of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has a population of 15.4 million people. 2.8 million of them live in extreme poverty. Its 2016 nominal gross domestic product was \$14.6 billion. The five largest productive sectors of Zimbabwe's 2016 economy were hotels and restaurants (13% of GDP), manufacturing (12%), agriculture (12%), transport and communications (11%), and mining (9%). The relative contributions of these sectors have changed markedly since 1999, the eve of the launch of the land reform program. The five largest sectors in 1999 were agriculture (26%), hotels and restaurants (19%), manufacturing (16%), finance and insurance (11%), and transport and communications (8%). Mining accounted for only 2% of Zimbabwe's GDP in 1999.

Contribution to GDP by Sector

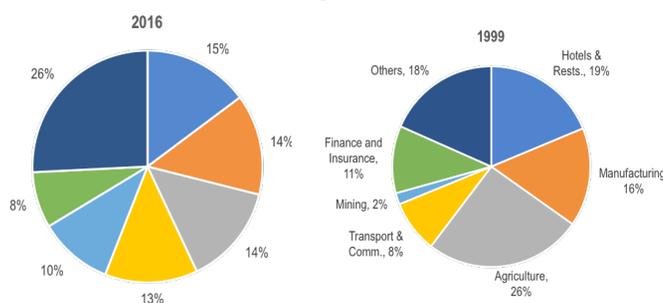


Figure 6: Changes in Contribution to GDP by Sector

It is noteworthy that, today at 15% of GDP, tax collection is the biggest "industry" in Zimbabwe. According to the International Labour Organization, Zimbabwe's 2014 labour participation rate was 91%. Zimstats estimated that Zimbabwe's workforce rose from 5,431,026 in 2011 to 6,265,869 individuals in 2014. 67% of employed Zimbabweans worked in the agricultural sector generat-

ing only 12% of Zimbabwe's GDP. Industry's share of Zimbabwean employment has dropped from 9% in 2011 to 7% by 2014. It is obvious that Zimbabwe has been and continues to be in the throes of serious underemployment. Deep poverty and extreme income inequality are both guaranteed when a majority of a country's population works in an industry that accounts for a small fraction of that country's GDP. Zimbabwe is no exception.

The global commodity price decline since 2013 has not been kind to Zimbabwe, as both the platinum and gold prices [and agricultural prices] declined. An El-Nino induced drought in the last three years compounded Zimbabwe's woes. Indeed, Zimbabwe suffers from numerous economic plagues. With a negative savings rate of -11% of GDP, its economy does not generate any annual savings. Zimbabwe's 2016 budget deficit was \$1.468 billion, equivalent to 9.1% of Zimbabwe's 2016 GDP.

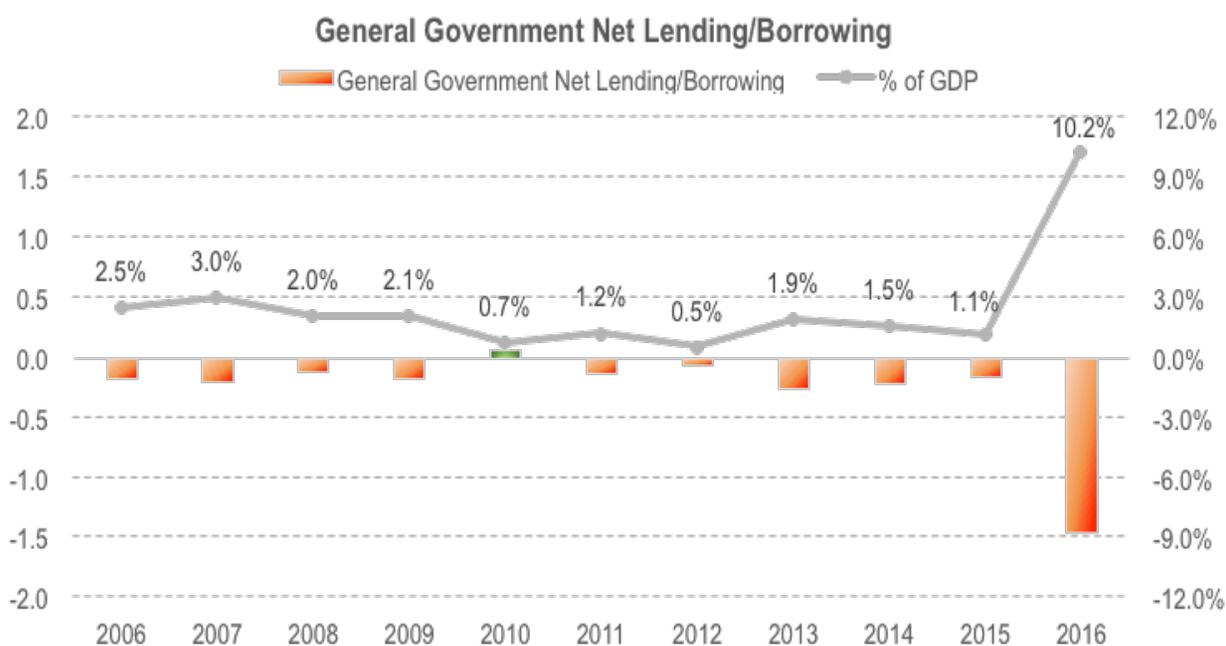


Figure 7: Zimbabwe Budget Surplus/Deficit share of GDP

The 2015 and 2014 budget deficits of \$419 million and \$254 million constituted 1.5% and 1.6% of Zimbabwe's 2015 and 2014 GDP. Governmental employment costs of \$3.209 billion in 2016, constituted both an extraordinary 91.7% of Zimbabwe's 2016 revenues and 99% of its tax revenue. The 2017 national budget forecast a 6.5% reduction in employment costs to \$ 3 billion, equating to a less extraordinary 81% of Zimbabwean revenues. According to the 2018 budget, actual employment costs are estimated to be both 13% higher at \$3.394 billion and constitute 78% of 2017 revenues and 92.5% of its tax revenue. Progress at this pace may be politically palatable, but is completely inconsistent with any plan for a growing Zimbabwean economy, not to talk about painful inflationary consequences. This is the backdrop to APA's plan.

Proposed Cabinet Ministries under an APA Government

APA proposes to significantly address the cost of the civil service by reducing the size of government starting at cabinet level. We propose the following government ministries:

1. Economic Planning, Finance and Revenue Collection.
2. Land, Agriculture and Fisheries.
3. International Relations, Tourism and Trade.
4. State Owned Enterprises, Economic Transformation and SMEs.
5. Industry, Commerce and Regional Integration.
6. Infrastructure and Public Works (water, power, road, rail, air and ICT).
7. Energy, Mining and Environment.
8. Labour, Public Service and Job Creation.
9. Local Government and Housing.
10. Education, Culture and Sports.
11. Health, Sanitation and Social Welfare.
12. Regulation and Consumer Protection.
13. Justice, Constitutional and Parliamentary Affairs.
14. Home Affairs.
15. Defence.
16. Security.
17. Reconciliation and Nation Building.

APA

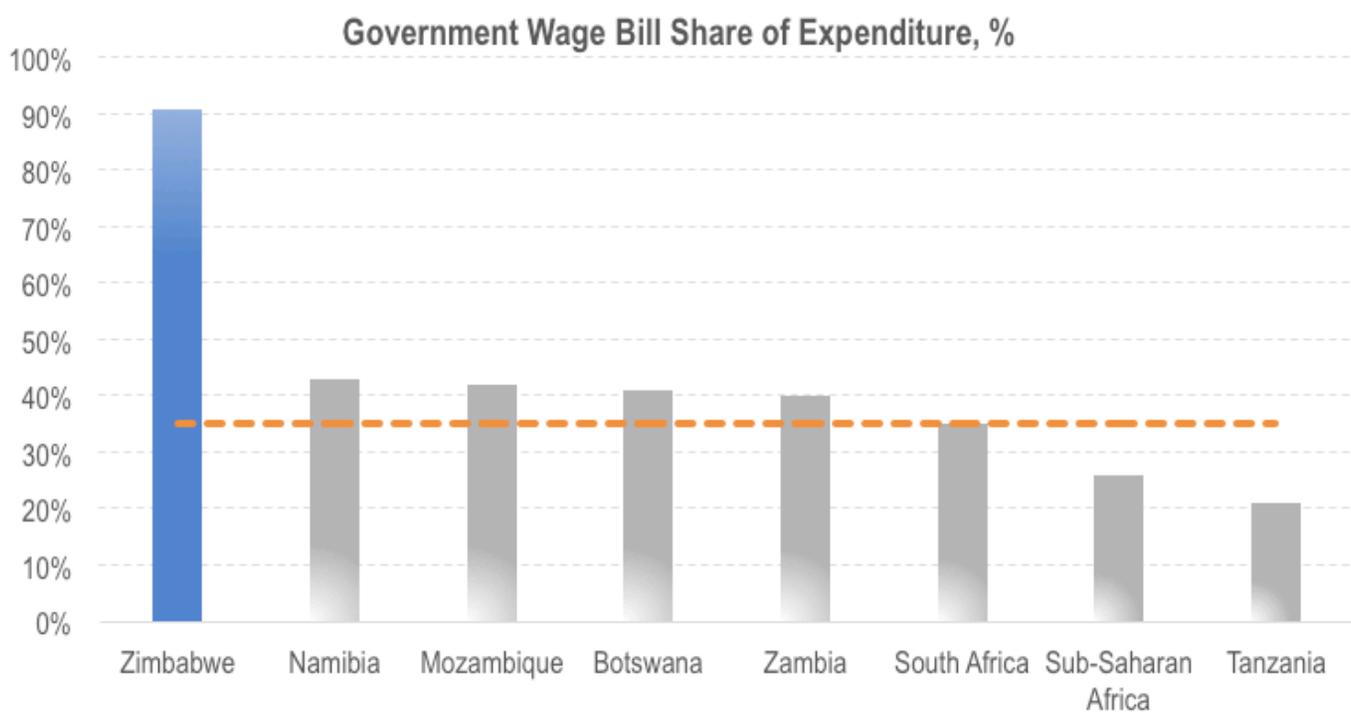


Figure 1.1: Government Wage Bill Share of Expenditure by Country

Action plan

APA imagines a future where stimulus to industry and foreign investment, including from the diaspora, will re-start industry and create jobs and much needed goods for export. APA's goal is to give each citizen the opportunity to fulfil her or his potential in a globally competitive economy by Zimbabwe's Golden Jubilee. This goal can be attained only by executing national recovery over three stages: the short, medium, and long terms.

- The goal of the short-term stage is to end the financial crisis by generating budget surpluses for the Zimbabwean government.
- The medium-term goal is to open Zimbabwe's agriculture sector to its most capable farmers, leading to a rise in agricultural productivity, a fall in food prices, an increase in agricultural exports, and a curtailment of Zimbabwe's import bill.

The goal of the long-term plan is to turn Zimbabwe into a globally competitive economy in southern Africa. To accomplish that goal, the accumulation of savings will be a priority of the Zimbabwean government. The Zimbabwean economy needs to generate a current account surplus and obtain debt forgiveness.

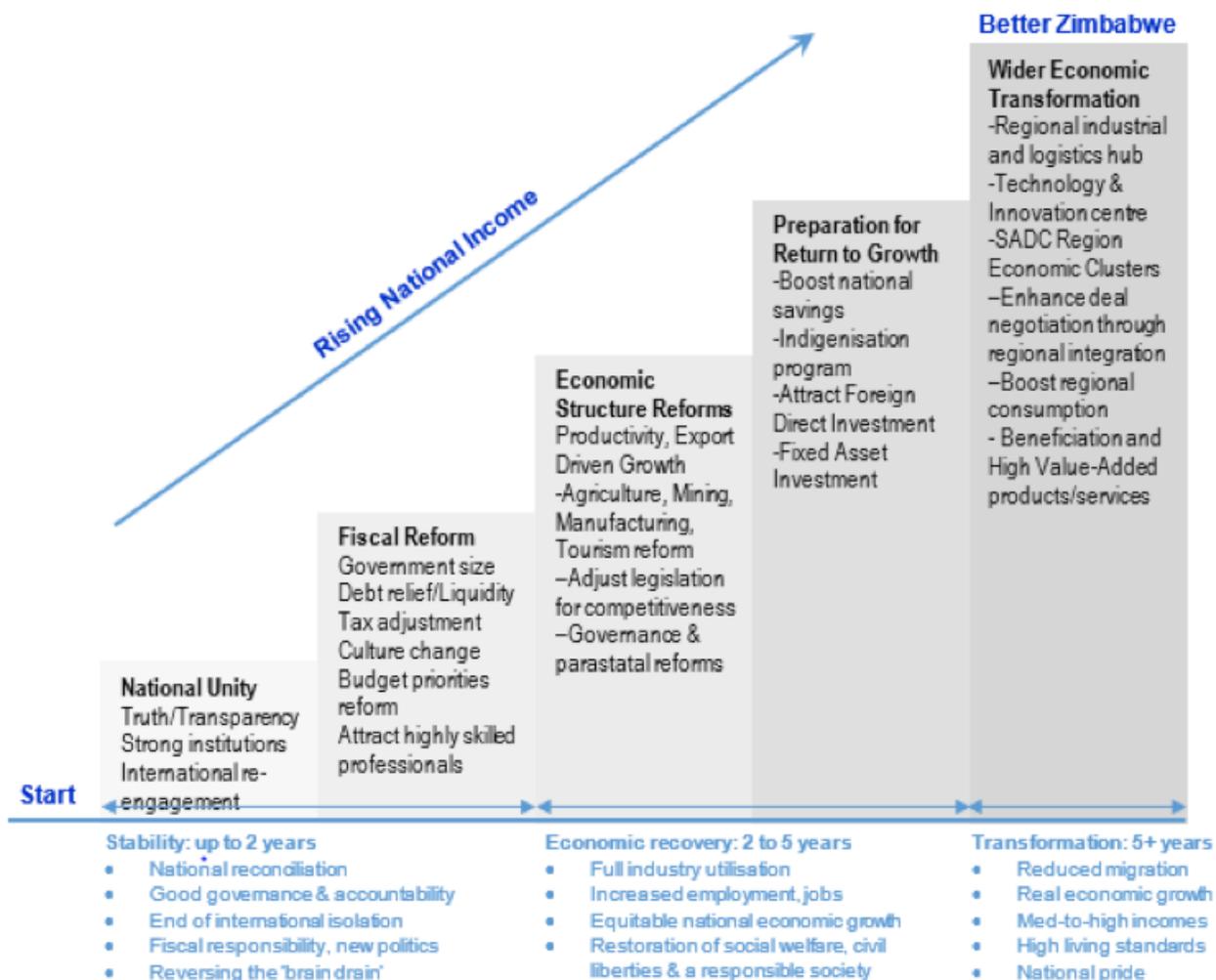


Fig 1.2. The Journey of Rehabilitating Zimbabwe

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. End the liquidity crisis. Subject to the procurement of a national consensus through public discussion, the government's wage bill be reduced to the lower of 35% of government revenues or 8% of Zimbabwe's GDP. In effecting this reduction, an equitable principle will be applied whereby the reduction burden will be borne by those most capable of bearing that burden. The funds released from this reduction in expenditure would generate savings of the order of \$1.7 billion that would be applied to increasing the Zimbabwean government and central bank reserves backing the multi-currency system.
2. Restore trust in banking institutions. At least 6 banks have collapsed in Zimbabwe since 2012 with accumulated losses of USD190 million to customers. Couple this to the unpredictable monetary policies of the ZANU-PF government and it is easy to understand the reluctance of people to bank their savings. This negatively affects liquidity and consequently the ability to grow the economy.
3. Expand tax base & generate savings. Accumulated savings by the government would help to reduce the perceived high economic risk of Zimbabwe. Lower interest rates should follow enabling the private sector to be more competitive. To this end, the APA government will commence the process of expanding its tax base to include individuals and businesses operating in the informal economy. We propose a presumptive tax applicable to all Zimbabwean residents and businesses. Our goal is to have every working person and each business pay a minimum amount of tax of their identifiable income. Once it becomes clear that Zimbabwe's government

has become a creator of savings rather than a consumer of savings, then Zimbabwe's government bond yield curve should be lengthened. Even perpetual bonds should be included in the mix of Zimbabwean government securities.

4. Re-engage the international community. The International Monetary Fund was emphatic in its conclusion in early 2017 that Zimbabwe is in debt distress. Its staff assert "The adoption of an ambitious set of policies is essential if Zimbabwe is to emerge from its current difficulties. Sharp fiscal adjustment and bold structural reforms are necessary to this end. Furthermore, external support and debt relief from the international community must be part of the strategy. Supported by a robust reform programme, the envisaged re-engagement process could bear fruit and restore growth and sustainability." APA will conduct and conclude negotiations with multilateral institutions like the World Bank and the African Development Bank and negotiations with the Paris Club of Creditors. A Zimbabwe's budgetary posture of sobriety would be an asset in those discussions.
5. Introduce a 2 year budget cycle: It has been our observation from experience in Zimbabwe and in the region that the one year budget cycle is not efficiently utilized due to capacity constraints and long supply chains (for instance most equipment comes from China and the time between requisition and supply and payment can take up most of the budget year). The system is also open to corrupt practices and abuses (including fiscal dumping, which leads to wasteful expenditure). APA, therefore, proposes to introduce a 2 year budget cycle with half-yearly budget statements to monitor and report on spending progress. This will allow for better stewardship of state resources. In addition, APA will develop three year medium-term budget policy frameworks, adjusted annually, to place its budget plans into a longer-term fiscal plan. Thus, Zimbabwe's fiscal plans will enjoy less variability and more predictability, both valuable attributes to its citizens and investors.
6. Conduct a national economic census. A national economic census covering all industries (primary to tertiary) including mining, manufacturing, energy and retail. Information to be gathered will be organizational structure, staff numbers and costs, production capacity and utilization, services offered, financial status and needs analysis.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Invest in road and communication infrastructure
Zimbabwe is second to South Africa in the southern Africa region in terms of its installed industrial capacity. Because of the policies of the current ZANU-PF administration there is a real risk of losing transit traffic to Botswana, via Kazungula, despite the distance being longer because the logistics are superior. APA will restore Zimbabwe's logistical advantage as a route through which goods are imported into, and exported from, central Africa. Strategic investments in a modern road network and next generation ICT infrastructure will position the country as an important transit country connecting North and South corridors in SADC and growing a knowledge economy based on ICT services and innovations.
2. Raise the productivity of the agricultural sector & invest in agro-processing. A market should be allowed to emerge, free of government interference, in the transferability of leasehold interests. Those leasehold interests should be capable of documentary proof via a land registry system. Zimbabwe urgently needs the emergence

of highly profitable and capable farmers who will serve as agronomic role models for the smallholder farming community. APA policies will aim to improve the productivity of, and enhance diversification among, resettled farmers. APA will invest in expanding agricultural extension services to modernize the practice and business of agriculture so that resettled farmers can become competent and competitive farmers in cropping and animal husbandry.

3. Invest in Off-grid Energy solutions: An aggressive off – grid solar energy project will be pursued to reduce energy poverty and increase productivity among farmers, especially those who have to grade their produce, or feed chickens for the market.
4. Abolish state owned enterprise monopolies. APA will introduce competition into the electric utility and rail transport sectors. The legislation governing state-owned monopolies like ZESA and NRZ, will be amended to abolish monopoly to increase efficiency and competitive pricing. In the case of ZESA, its distribution and transmission divisions will be turned into autonomous units forced to compete with the private sector. The APA government will introduce the independent power producer (IPP) model which will allow private producers to sell electricity directly to municipalities and other industrial users. Small water and waste-to-energy plants will be explored for use to enable Zimbabwe to honour its Paris Declaration environmental obligations. Then, foreign investors and foreign strategic partners with management expertise and knowledge of the current technological frontier, will be allowed to acquire management control of those state-owned companies.
5. Consolidate the financial sector: The financial sector should be a centre of consolidation to enable the companies within that sector to provide funds to a growing Zimbabwean economy. Zimbabwe's banks need to be recapitalized to finance the expansion of Zimbabwe's economy.
6. Support manufacturing sector: APA aims to make Zimbabwe, the Southern Africa region with the lowest unit costs in the manufacturing sector. There will also be a focus in identifying niche products for in-country manufacturing based on Zimbabwe's natural resource wealth e.g. leather processing and products, mineral enrichment and alloy metal manufacturing and agro-processing to high value goods. The APA government will pursue regional economic intergration with the aim of creating regional value chains and economies of scale with neighbouring countries.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

1. Continued use of multiple currencies leading to gradual introduction of own currency: APA will continue the current multi-currency regime, but seek to generate national budgetary surpluses while that regime remains in force.
2. Development of central logistics role in North – South, East – West corridor: The APA government will restore Zimbabwe's status as a logistics hub for goods to be moved in, and out of, central Africa (illustrative destination countries include DRC, Zambia, Malawi). APA will cause the refurbishment and expansion of the existing transport infrastructure in line with expected economic growth. Informed by the most modern techniques, tools and analyses, it will facilitate the design of additional networks where new ones are required for development. The APA government will place particular emphasis on the support of employment creation opportunities and rural development as much as possible in this regard. APA supports the current government's efforts to attract new investors into National Railways. Indeed, this illustration of private-public partnership should be extended to several other areas of Zimbabwe's economy.
3. Development of renewable energy sector and generation: The APA government will open the generation segment of the electric utility industry to competition and the private sector. Zimbabwe should harness the technologies which have emerged in renewable energy generation as well as conventional energy generation. In the rural areas, renewable energy can be a source of new industry and fresh employment opportunities. In opening up the energy generation segment, the APA government will ensure that an appropriate balance is made between base load electricity and peak-load electricity. Cognisance will be taken of Zimbabwe's carbon emission reduction targets. One way to exploit the long period of stagnation inflicted on Zimbabwe by ZESA's woes is to commence the upgrading of the Zimbabwean transmission and distribution networks to become smart networks. Zimbabwe has a multiplicity of energy sources such as coal bed methane gas within Zimbabwe, natural gas offshore Mozambique, hydro-electricity, and sun power. The design of renewable energy tariffs should incorporate the lessons from South Africa by opting for an auction system rather than one of a simple feed-in tariff. APA will introduce a system of auction tariffs for renewable energy to introduce green energy into Zimbabwe's electricity network.
4. Enhance efficiencies of parastatals with a view of partial privatization: A programme to improve the efficiency of Zimbabwe's state-owned sector will be commenced. To that end, tenders should be conducted for qualified and competent private companies to manage those state-owned companies. There will have to be amended legislation to abolish the monopolies of those state-owned entities. Eventually, after a restoration to profitability, the option of privatization will be considered.

5. Widen tax base by introducing presumptive tax: APA will widen the citizen's tax net as far as possible via utilization of the presumptive tax method, in the process driving down the average tax rate per citizens. A presumptive tax system exists when taxpayers are assumed, automatically, to owe a minimum amount of tax based on their ongoing economic activity. Currently, ZIMRA collects taxes from taxis, omnibuses, hairdressing salon operators, small-scale miners, and bottle-store operators, to name a few examples. APA proposes to expand the net of informal businesses and individuals subject to the presumptive tax. However, emphasis will be placed on educating the citizens and demonstrating as tangibly as possible the results of such revenue collections through visible infrastructure development and social support.

6. Increase efficiencies and productivity in agriculture by technological modernization and expanding extension support : Zimbabwean agricultural productivity has collapsed since 2000. That productivity must be raised so that the cost of food in Zimbabwe declines sharply. If possible fertilizers should be manufactured in the region in collaboration with our neighbours. Extension services will be required to educate the current pool of farmers. There is nothing but good to emerge from an extremely productive farming sector. The United States Department of Agriculture has reported that some of the Zambian maize farms have yields per hectare that are almost as high as those of the best American maize producing states. Zimbabwe should seek to emulate its Zambian peers.

Not only does Zimbabwe require higher growth, the composition of that growth of its economy should be modified to raise the incomes of a majority of Zimbabweans. Necessarily, therefore, the APA government will strive to raise productivity in Zimbabwe's agricultural sector.

7. Create a valid legal interest of the Zimbabwean government in land. One advantage of the proposal set forth in proposal 2 of the Medium-Term Plan is that it would permit the Zimbabwean government to own the underlying freehold interest of the commercial farming sector. Then, it could issue (or confirm) long-term (99 years or longer) trade-able leasehold interests of the current 90,000+ tenants. Those leasehold interests would be registered so they could be offered as collateral to Zimbabwean banks for obtaining trade finance, working capital, or other loans by Zimbabwe's current farmers. In one legislative sweep, the stock of legal finance-able capital in Zimbabwe would be materially increased. It might also be possible for the government to seek some form of rent or tax payments from its tenant farmers. Allowing tradability of the leasehold interests does imply that, over time, the Zimbabwean farming community will become one with large owners.

8. Revitalize and expand international leisure and business tourism: Zimbabwean tourism is one area which can be revitalized without expending inordinate amounts of capital. With its hospitable climate and friendly people, Zimbabwe is a favourite among South Africans (mainly fishing in Kariba and hiking in Chimanimani) and with British and European tourists. Expanding to East Asian and Chinese markets is imperative. The APA government will also invest in cultural and business tours in addition to the nature sightseeing and hunting tours currently the mainstay of the Zimbabwean offerings to yield greater dividends. It would be important to build North – South and East – West tour routes. More efficient doorder and visa management would allow Zimbabwe to raise its levels of economic activity simply by reducing regulations and ensuring the swift processing of visitors to Zimbabwe.
9. Implement clear anti-corruption strategies: Zimbabwe was ranked the 154th most corrupt country out of 176 countries in the 2016 Corruption Perception Index. Clearly, there is considerable scope to improve Zimbabwe's ranking. The APA government will enact strong anti-corruption legislation and fully support the operations and independence of the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC). Specialized Economic Crimes courts will be set up and work with ZACC.
10. Provide consistent budgetary management and stewardship: APA stands for sustainable budget policies. So long as Zimbabwe lacks its own currency, it must run a budget surplus, sometimes for years on end, to build its rainy-day reserves. The current government is yet to accept those fiscal constraints that countries like Franco-phone African countries or Hong Kong accept to maintain their fixed exchange rates with the Euro or the Dollar. Zimbabwe has not run a budget surplus for decades. Therefore, it would be a revolution for it to end its dependence on budget deficits. However, there is little alternative so long as its citizens fear the abuse of monetary powers by a Zimbabwean central bank.

In the economic cluster, while APA will focus on cross-cutting matters as discussed above, a focus on tourism and mining will lead to quick wins. These sectors are discussed briefly below:



1.1 TOURISM

Background

Tourism has been singled out because Zimbabwe is a unique popular destination by tourist sending nations because of its natural beauty, hospitable climate and relatively well-organized tourism industry. The direct contribution of Travel & Tourism to GDP was USD0.5bn, and employed 159,500 people directly. Tourism has reduced by two thirds since 2008 and the country now ranks below South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Kenya in tourist arrivals. It has historically been a favourite among South Africans (mainly fishing in Kariba and hiking in Chimanimani) and with British and European tourists. There has been no development of in-country package tours and cultural tourist routes. Business tourism is only confined to Victoria Falls which results in revenue leakage / loss to neighbouring countries.

APA proposes expanding marketing to East Asian and Chinese markets and also investing in cultural and business tours in addition to the nature sightseeing and hunting tours, currently the mainstay of the Zimbabwean offerings. We will build North (Kariba / Zambezi) – South (Gonarezhou / Great Zimbabwe) and East (Nyanga / Chimanimani) – West (Bulawayo / Victoria Falls) tour routes. The APA government will draw a particular focus on supporting business to create internal routes e.g. Kariba, Great Zimbabwe, Nyanga / Mutare, cultural tours e.g. tours of stone monuments (Dzimbamabwe tours e.g. Dlodlo, Nalatale, Masvingo, Nyanga) and academic host tours between universities in Zimbabwe and those in the region and further afield. For the tourism sector to thrive, there is a need to invest in transport, communication and accommodation infrastructure (see also Infrastructure plan).

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Develop a sector strategy for Tourism. Extensive consultations will be held with stakeholders led by Zimbabwe Tourism Authority to develop an updated and inclusive tourism sector strategy. This will identify the sector priorities and the partnerships required to develop the industry. The packaging of tours would be a priority and those packages would benefit locals directly and not result in externalization of funds.
2. Re-invest the tourism levy into the sector. The tourism levy goes into the general fiscus and does not get ploughed back into the sector. APA believes in sectoral incentivisation by re-investing portions of revenue raised in the specific sectors.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Develop new tour routes with emphasis on cultural and eco-tourism: There is an over-emphasis on “big five” game tourism whereas Zimbabwe has a rich history which can be the basis of anthropological and academic tourism. We aim to diversify Zimbabwe’s tourism offerings.
2. Improve visa application processes and border entry: Entry at Zimbabwe’s borders is notoriously inefficient. We aim to have green routes for bona fide tourists at all major ports of entries.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans. When our infrastructure is up to our regional counterparts we will seek to develop regional tour routes so that intercontinental visitors can take advantage of regional complementarity such as combining seaside, safari and cultural tourism.



1.2 MINING

Background

There are more than 40 different minerals present in Zimbabwe. Diamonds, platinum, gold, copper, iron-ore, zinc, coal, coal-bed methane (CBM), chromium ores, vanadium, lithium, and tin constitute a few examples. Mining contributes 10% of Zimbabwe's GDP. It is common cause that Zimbabwe's mineral resources have not benefited the surrounding communities or the country's economy under the ZANU-PF government.

Increased state participation in the mining sector has resulted in decreased accountability. A case in point is the diamond sector where the state recently moved from a 50% shareholding in the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation to a total state control in 2016. Yet, despite this, the Zimbabwe's fiscus has not reaped the fruits – with billions of dollars said to have been looted from Zimbabwe's diamond industry. Increased state participation has weakened the government's role as a regulator – allowing for rampant corruption. As a commercial entity, the state aims to maximise legal profits. As the regulator, it needs to enforce environmental, social and other regulations, which may lower the profitability of operations. The conflict of interest that arises through this state ownership model has resulted in government failing to adequately regulate the diamond sector leading, in turn, to corruption, revenue leakages, and social and environmental violations. This has robbed Zimbabwe of much needed income – and given birth to a rich elite class – widening the gap between the rich and the poor.

APA will introduce stewardship measures to change this – communities which are affected by mining activities should be first in line to benefit by getting preferential employment and also investment in community assets such as schools and clinics

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Create incentives and taxes to encourage in-country beneficiation / value addition, where commercially viable: There is a particular focus on lithium mining because of the emergence of the electric car industry. The ZANU-PF government has recently introduced a 5% export tax on the mineral. We believe that this should be much higher to act as a disincentive for raw exports. We will consult with stakeholders to provide necessary infrastructure to facilitate in-country processing after which an increased export tax will be imposed. The same will be done with the platinum group metals. We suggest that a regional beneficiation plan should be implemented to add value in the region which would make it cheaper due to scale of operations and reduced overheads.
2. Reduce illicit financial flows: Africa loses \$50 billion annually through illicit financial flows (IFF) which include commercial tax evasion, trade misinvoicing and abusive transfer pricing. Zimbabwe has been identified as being highly vulnerable; with GDP of USD10 billion, it has capital flight due to IFF at USD2 billion annually. We aim to clamp down on such activities which have been unchecked under the ZANU-PF government and reduce leakage of revenue.
3. Conduct a country-wide geological mapping and survey: There is a need to update the geological maps of Zimbabwe to understand what mineral wealth there is. This will facilitate planning on future mining activities. Along with this activity, it will also be important to survey all the stakeholders in the industry, their financial health and skills, and level of investment needs.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The goal of Zimbabwe's medium-term mining plan is to raise substantially the interest of explorers in Zimbabwe's minerals. It can take up to a decade for a new discovery of a mineral deposit to become a producing mine. Zimbabwe shares borders with Botswana-the country rated frequently by investors as Africa's most investor friendly destination. APA's medium-term plan is to make Zimbabwe as attractive a mining destination and district as Botswana. To that end, a task force will be established to compare Zimbabwe's mining regime against that of countries attracting lots of exploration interest. Zimbabwe's mining regime will be upgraded to become competitive with the most attractive exploration destinations.

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Increase transparency in award of prospecting and mining licences
2. Mainstream artisanal mining to improve working conditions and financial and technical knowledge among the minors
3. Create regulated buying centres for artisanal miners to reduce middlemen: This will improve prices, reduce costs and illicit flows / export

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

The goal of Zimbabwe's long-term mining plan is to double the real value-added contribution of Zimbabwe's mining sector. Therefore, APA will seek to accelerate the opening of new mines in Zimbabwe. Mining diamonds, PGMs, lithium, gold, and chrome will receive special attention in the long-term plan.



1.3 AGRICULTURE

Background

Zimbabwe is an agro-based economy with the agricultural sector currently representing around 67% of total employment in the country. The sector contributes roughly 14% of Zimbabwean GDP, down from 26% in 1999. It should be noted, however, that the overall impact of this sector is much higher than suggested by raw data because of its links with other sectors of Zimbabwe's GDP.

With a rural population close to 70% of the population, mainly communal farmers, it should be clear that policies towards this sector must be prioritised in the short to medium term.



At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe signed the Lancaster House Agreement, as part of efforts to address the ethnic imbalances of land ownership. Zimbabwe received financial support for a 'willing buyer, willing seller' programme up to the 1990s but this was largely unsuccessful due to a myriad of reasons. Around 4,000 white commercial farmers continued to own the most fertile and productive land while the black majority remained in the periphery of arable land.

Zanu PF eventually adopted a Fast Track Land Reform Program in 2000 in which white owned land was compulsorily acquired (without compensation) to be 'officially' divided into small-holder farms (A1 and A2 schemes). However, in reality, violent takeovers and evictions on productive land occurred. That episode changed the structure of the agricultural sector, from both a socio-economic and political perspective. Conspicuously, the area of arable land under commercial farmers has fallen massively in favour of smallholder farmers.

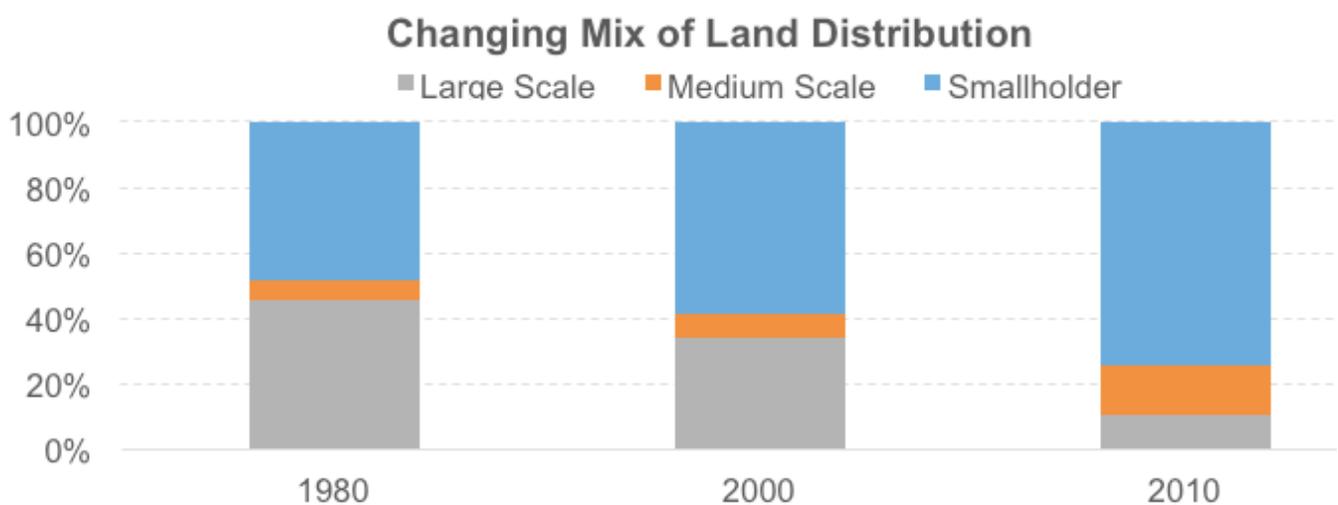


Exhibit 1: Changes in Land Ownership (Source: Zim Agric Data Worksheet)

The growth in smallholder communal farm at the expense of large scale commercial farm explains the reduction in agricultural output. Communal farmers are less productive as they are less equipped with financial and technical knowhow than their commercial counterparts. Worryingly, also, the new 'commercial farmers' are also less productive than the generation of pre-2000 commercial farmers.

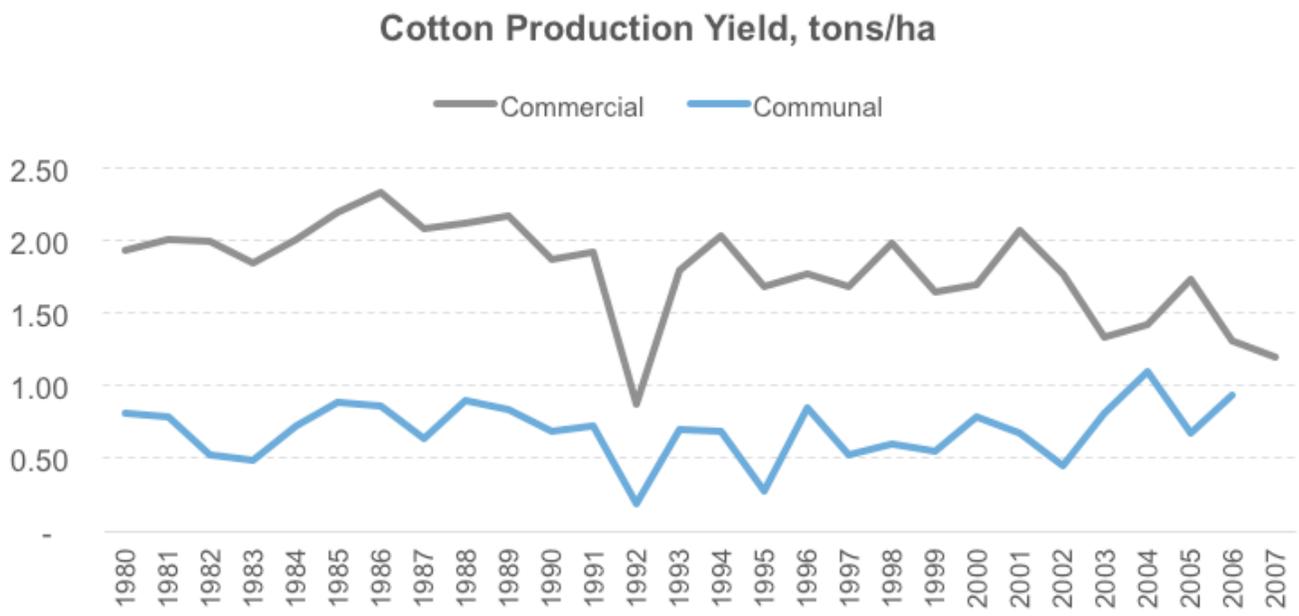


Exhibit 2: Commercial vs. communal farmers output (Source: Zim Agric Data Worksheet)

The situation has been consistent across most agricultural commodities. During the 'bread basket' years, Zimbabwe's agricultural sector was anchored on commercial farmers, who also boosted employment directly and indirectly.

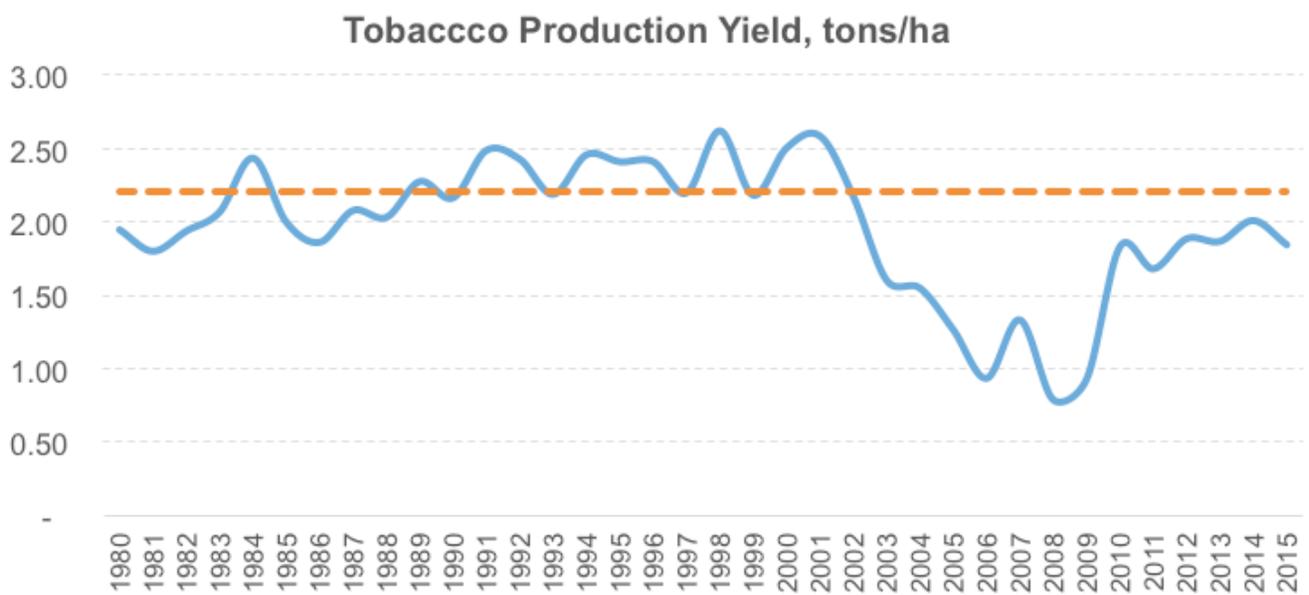


Exhibit 3: Historical Tobacco national yield (Source: Zim Agric Data Worksheet)

Maize is the staple food of Zimbabwe. The country consumes around 2 million tonnes of maize annually. Production has fallen far short of targets in recent years leading to imports and mass hunger and starvation in some years e.g. 2008. On average, each province must produce 250,000 tonnes to meet the 2 million tonne requirement. (Note: In reality maize production should be concentrated in Mashonaland provinces due to weather conditions)

Maize Production by Province, 2015 (metric tonnes)

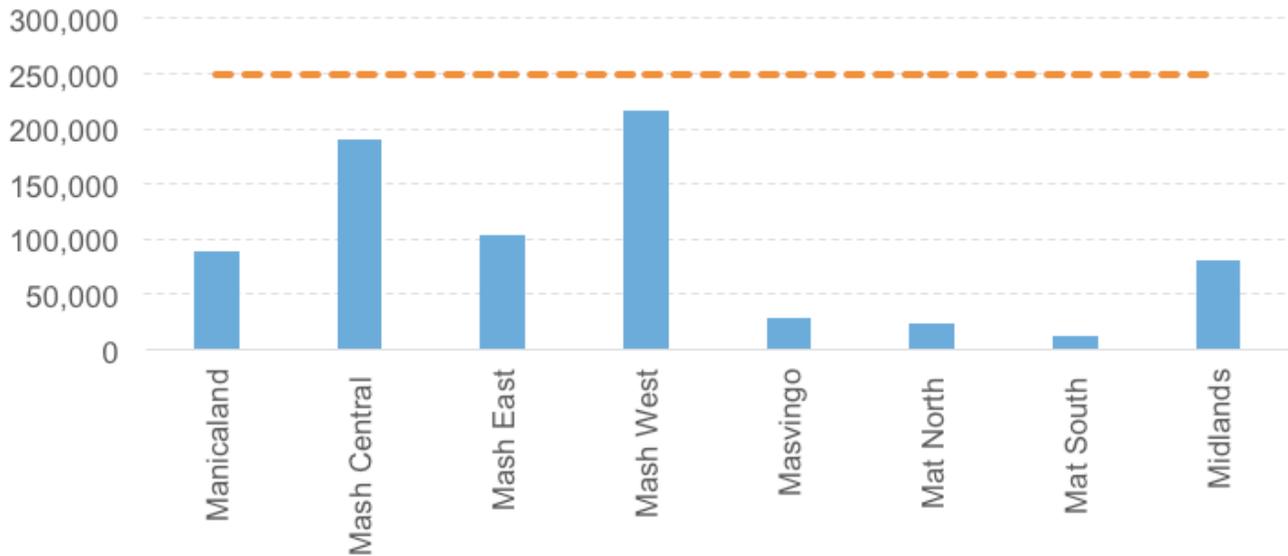


Exhibit 4: Maize Production by Province (Source: Zim Agric Data Worksheet)

Zimbabwe earns most of its forex from mining, agriculture and tourism. The mix of the country's agricultural exports is heavily weighed to tobacco and cotton, which is unsustainable due to commodity price volatility and the uncertain future of the global tobacco industry. If Zimbabwe's economy is to grow, there is a strategic imperative to move further down the value chain for domestic consumption and to export value-added processed goods.

Contribution to Agricultural Export Earnings

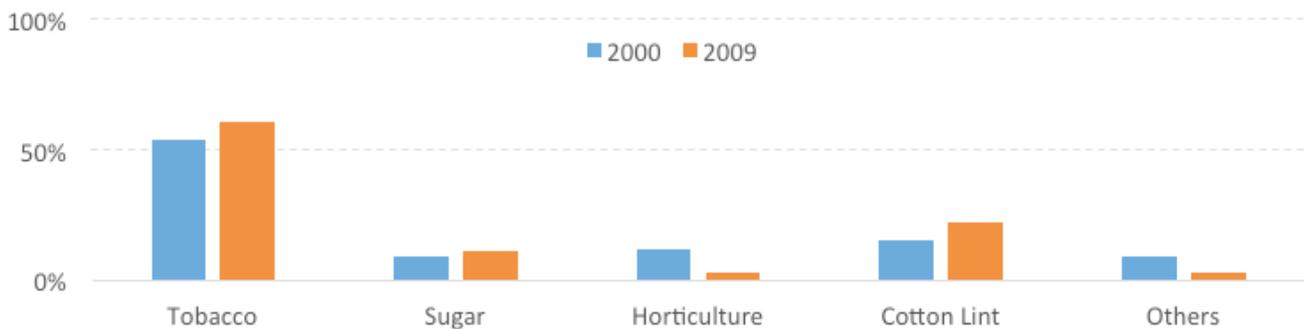


Exhibit 5: Contribution to Agric Export Earnings (Source: Zim Agric Data Worksheet)

The collapse of horticulture is also apparent. First, the new commercial farmers likely lack expertise to produce horticultural produce. Secondly, horticulture requires an efficient transport (air, road) and logistics network as well as other support infrastructure such as electricity (refrigeration), all of which have collapsed in recent years.

Agriculture Action plan

APA's strategy towards the agriculture sector will be guided by the long term objective of developing a viable secondary industry (the manufacturing sector). To develop the economy, Zimbabwe must shift to high value-added products, with the primary agricultural sector essentially a conduit for 'cheap' raw materials grown for downstream value addition. Only such an approach will raise household incomes, create new cities and improve living standards for all citizens.

That said, food self-sufficiency is important. Zimbabwe has a high import bill and must aim to minimise food imports. Ideally, local supermarkets/shops must be filled with locally produced consumer goods. As such, an APA government will collaborate with farmers to ensure adequate production of staple foods; maize, cereals (wheat) and beef/poultry products by ensuring food prices that guarantee food security.

1.3.1 Re-engineering the Agriculture Industry Structure

APA will restructure the agricultural industry through efficiently re-allocating land, boosting inputs production (fertilizer, seed) and promoting enterprise in high-value added activities. A productive farming sector can fuel secondary/service sectors growth and create much needed jobs.

APA's strategy is to transition from an agro-production economy to an agro-processing economy; We aim to reduce the contribution of the agricultural production sector to GDP to 5% as is global best practice. In keeping with global best practice, APA intends that this reduced contribution will be accompanied by high growth in agricultural production, exceeded however, by even higher service and industrial output growth.

Upstream

Downstream



Exhibit 6: Developing the Agriculture Value Chain

Increasing productivity will allow for labour to be more efficiently deployed from the primary agricultural stage (where wages are low) to industrial agriculture i.e. agro-processing and marketing. Low-value primary activities imply lower salaries. By moving to 'high-value' activities, citizens will benefit from higher household incomes and better service delivery as the state collects more revenues. An APA administration will collaborate with the private sector to design and adopt powerful incentives to stimulate a Zimbabwean agro-processing suite of industries.

APA aims to distinguish assistance for emerging commercial farmers from the state's social responsibility to support vulnerable communities. Only emerging commercial/SME farmers will receive state assistance for farming purposes (mechanisation, extension). For communal farmers, APA will continue to support vulnerable communities through a social welfare budget but priority will be to create jobs so that each citizen is economically self-sufficient and empowered. APA will invest in modern extension services to increase both the profitability and productivity of the business and science of farming.

APA will empower citizens to be financially independent and raise significantly their standards of living through urbanisation, infrastructure building and social development.

1.3.2 Food and Nutrition Security

Food security will be addressed through producing staple products domestically to avoid imports and shortages. However, APA extends the definition of food security to also mean empowering citizens to be able to purchase food in the first place.

An APA government will work with farmers to target some hectareage for staple crops. APA will set a 'quota' per farm for staple (maize, wheat etc.) in return for governmental services assistance. APA will target self-sufficiency for staple crops to reduce reliance on food imports.

The impending burdens of climate change, expected to include higher temperatures, more frequent droughts and floods, mandate that an APA government accelerate investment in irrigation and relevant ICT infrastructure, encourage the use of mobile apps supplying real-time weather information, and stimulate the breeding of seeds and domesticated farm animals resilient to those burdens. An APA administration will encourage the research necessary to create those hybrid seeds and animals.

1.3.3 Critical Support Services for the Agriculture Sector

The agricultural sector will require other sectors to function efficiently: financial services, infrastructure (e.g. electricity for winter crops irrigation), meteorological services (weather warning systems), technology sector (research and development). As such, APA will institute public administration systems to coordinate agricultural policies with relevant support ministries to ensure policies are consistent, coherent and therefore achievable.

1.3.4 Property Rights Legislation

APA will consultatively repackage land to cater for communal farming space after which title deeds and/or 99-year land leases will be issued. To attract investment in the broader economy, the respect for property rights is paramount. APA not only respects property rights but the party also recognises the need for legal settlement with those farmers evicted without compensation.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Conduct a credible land audit. A national land audit is long overdue to identify the owners, lessees, farmers, and tenants of each square metre of Zimbabwean agricultural land. Information and data about the type of land tenure, the uses of the different lands, and information about relative productivity of farms will be collected by government as a matter of urgency. Only upon completion of an audit will the scale of compliance with current laws and regulations be apparent, laying the foundation for corrective action to be taken by government.
2. Allocate unutilized land to commercial entrepreneurs. An APA administration would arrange for periodic auctions of 99 - year leases of unutilized lands to commercial entrepreneurs keen to put those lands to new farming purposes. Fresh entrepreneurial energy and imagination will be necessary to bring unutilized land into production since they are likely to be considered of current marginal attractiveness to Zimbabwe's farming community.
3. Equip small scale farmers with productivity-enhancing skills and resources. An APA government will seek to improve the farming competence of Zimbabwean small-scale farmers. To that end, a program will be introduced to identify the best small-scale farmers in each farming district so that those farmers can be nurtured by national extension services to become model farmers for their neighbours. An APA government will seek to work with existing farming cooperatives for small scale farmers to obtain the capacity to gain access to, and pay for, fertilizers, and the use of farm implements like tractors. Only then can Zimbabwe enjoy a rise in median agricultural productivity.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Introduce land tax: APA aims to introduce a land tax to encourage productive utilisation of land and stop land owners from seating on land speculatively. A land tax is one of the less distortionary taxes. Its introduction will be one of the sequels to the completed land audit. Ideally, it should be a tax imposed on all land in Zimbabwe after appropriate consultation among Zimbabweans
2. Resuscitate fertilizer industry: APA believes that an efficient agricultural sector requires that Zimbabwe participate in the manufacture of fertilizers. Fertilizers, whether organic or inorganic, are crucial ingredients for higher national agricultural productivity.
3. Commence the support for high value-added export-oriented agro-industry: APA aims to encourage high value-added agro-processing industries in Zimbabwe. This encouragement will be introduced in two stages. The first stage will be the selection of a panel of private, public, and academic experts (from Zimbabwe, southern Africa, and other parts of the world) to identify the best agro-processing industries for Zimbabwe today. The second stage will be to attract capital, experienced management and entrepreneurs with global and regional marketing and distribution networks to launch business ventures in those industries. APA's clear preference is to see collaboration between Zimbabwean, regional and foreign entrepreneurs in the creation of those new ventures.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

1. Transition to high value-added agro-industry and creation of tertiary jobs: APA expects, and intends, that the medium-term plans will take at least a decade to lead to a new highly productive Zimbabwean economy, reliant on the most modern agro-industry. In the full passage of time, APA envisages services emerging from Zimbabwean agro-processing industries.
2. Increase share of commercial farming activity in national agricultural output: APA desires a growing share of national agricultural output to emanate from the commercial farming sector. A growing commercial farming sub-sector is a necessary condition of rapidly growing agricultural productivity. APA believes that its policies to nurture the best among communal farmers should result in some communal farmers entering the ranks of commercial farmers. APA is convinced that a strong and profitable commercial farming sector is good for Zimbabwe and a prosperous Zimbabwe needs a strong and profitable commercial farming sector.
3. Leverage agriculture success to transition Zimbabwe into a high productivity industrial and service economy: APA recognises that the path to a high productivity industrial and service economy in the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 21st century is likely to differ from the industrializing path followed by East Asian countries in recent decades. Since there is tremendous scope for immense productivity improvements in Zimbabwe's agricultural sector, coupled with a well-educated Zimbabwean workforce, APA believes that Zimbabwe's best path to become a highly productive and prosperous economy lies through a dramatic rise in Zimbabwean agriculture generating financial surpluses and inexpensive inputs for the other sectors of its economy.



2. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

2.1 EDUCATION

Background

2.1.1 Basic education

Zimbabwe's educational system is a shadow of its best self. The government's latest budget allocated \$935.8 million towards primary and secondary education, of which \$849 million constituted remuneration for 136 000 teachers and administrators. Higher and tertiary education was allocated \$417.8 million, of which \$256.3 million was staff remuneration. Finally, an allocation of \$21 million has been made for three new universities. Zimbabwe has allocated \$1.45 billion, or 7.5% of its projected \$19.4 billion 2018 gross domestic product for government financing of education. Zimbabwe's tertiary enrolment ratio of 9% is way below that of South Africa which is 19%. Zimbabwe is unable to participate in global tests of educational achievement such as the PISA tests organized by the OECD. Indeed, Zimbabweans lament the palpable decline in educational standards evident in the calibre of new job applicants.

Zimbabwe's gross tertiary enrolment rate at independence was 1.3%. Rising six-fold to 8.4% by 2015 is an achievement. Sadly, since the world has evolved and improved since 1980, the 8.4% figure leaves Zimbabwe squarely in the bottom half of sovereign states. Its gross secondary enrolment rate rose from 8% in 1980 to 39% in 1994 - approximately twice the Zambian rate of 20% and half the South African rate of 80%. The latest World Bank statistic for 2013 places Zimbabwe's secondary school enrolment rate at 48%, less than half of South Africa's 2014 statistic of 99%. The World Bank data, collated by UNESCO, show that Zimbabwe is failing large numbers of its young citizens, despite the Zimbabwean government expending a reasonable percentage of Zimbabwe's GDP on education. Countries like Hong Kong, world leaders in the PISA tests, have 100% secondary enrolment rate and 68% tertiary enrolment rate even though their governments spend only 3.3% of GDP on education. The educational needs of a densely packed island must differ from those of a sparsely populated land-locked country. Still, the sheer differences in educational quantity and quality between countries like Hong Kong and Zimbabwe hint at the benefits available through collaboration between the public and private sectors in the educational sphere.

APA proposes smarter use of governmental resources to create a highly educated workforce for the 4th revolution. To do this we will set up a Special Commission on Education which will include teachers' unions, parents, employers, school governing boards (whether private or public), government, and international experts. This will lead to various policy and legislative initiatives and resource allocation to create an inclusive and innovation education system for the 21st century.

For higher education, we will place an importance in training employable and entrepreneurial citizens.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Freeze latest education budget and Introduce interim concession system

The latest educational budget will be frozen in nominal terms for 12 months while the APA administration conducts an audit of teachers and inventory to identify possible ghost teachers and other illicit uses of the Zimbabwean government education budget. The initial 6 months of this 12 months period would also be used to design and introduce an interim system. The interim system would have institutions, companies, or other bodies accredited as educational groups tendering to manage minimum numbers of schools (e.g. 50) in exchange for a concession equal to 90% of the government's expenditure on those schools and an undertaking to improve the academic results of those schools by 5 % over a 3 year period ending in 2022.

2. Prepare to participate in 2020 PISA global test

Zimbabwe should participate in the next PISA test in 2020 so that its 15 year-old students in government-funded schools can be assessed against their peers globally to identify their strengths and weaknesses in global competition. The results will inform the design of the 21st century Zimbabwean educational system.

3. Increase the grants paid out to schools in order to reduce the burden of levies at basic education level: While education in Zimbabwe is supposed to be fee-free, the reality is that parents have to pay levies to subsidize teacher salaries, maintain building and support other learning activities. This is because the erosion of the grants which government is supposed to avail to all schools. We aim to increase the grant and then cap the levies payable by parents. Like elsewhere, schools can still raise funds for special projects, but fundraising should not be in the form of levies.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Establish a commission for a new educational system "Education for Global Demands (EGD)

APA government will establish a commission to decide how to improve its educational system. The commission will be given 6 months to compose its recommendations, followed by 3 months of national dialogues about its recommendations. The goal of the 21st century Zimbabwean educational system should be to produce graduates who have learned to solve real world problems, are comfortable using information gleaned from cross-disciplinary studies and methods, and have a capability of solving novel problems based on a profound understanding of materials used in their studies. Above all pupils and students of the new educational system should be employable and entrepreneurial. These qualities should be exhibited in all Zimbabwean students. Key participants in that dialogue will be parents and teachers. A key matter to be studied raising the quality of vocational and technical tertiary institutions.

1. Reform the recruitment, training, and career paths of teachers. Teaching will be restored to its historic role as a gratifying and socially uplifting occupation for some of the best minds of Zimbabwe. The recruitment and training of teachers would be tightened to raise the image of the national corps of teachers. The status of teachers in the best educational systems like those of Finland, Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea approximate those of elite professionals, despite commanding lower salaries. Extensive consultations with current teachers and their unions will be conducted during this period to obtain their willing support for the changes to be introduced.

2. New curricula design and pilot testing: Some schools and school districts would have to be selected for testing the proposed innovations. Great care will be needed because there are aspects of the current Zimbabwean educational system which have worked for a tiny minority for decades. APA would want to preserve those successes to improve on them in the new system.
3. Diverse Funding Methods. APA proposes additional funding methods for the national educational system in order to refine the equitable provision of state funding. State funding or subsidies should be focused on the least privileged Zimbabwean families. The private sector should be used to expand the range of funds available to the educational sector without constricting the access of the least privileged Zimbabweans to school, feeding programs, and other instruments to nurture social equity.
4. Create the Gifted Scholar Programme: This programme will identify talented pupils at primary school level through camps and competitions. These will then be offered places at centres of excellence high schools. Eventually every province should have a centre of excellence.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

1. The implementation of the EGD system devised in the short and medium-term plans would be started in the third year. Full implementation is dependent on new legislation and regulations being promulgated in short and medium plans as envisaged.
2. We propose a government educational budget allocation at a level of 5% of GDP after the rehabilitation of the economy. Historically Zimbabwean education has been supported by church mission schools. APA will revitalize these partnerships and support enhancement of education at mission schools.
3. Improvement of enrolment and PISA ranking:
Targets of 100% primary school enrolment; 100% secondary school enrolment are proposed to be achieved by year 10 of the implementation of the programme. Zimbabwe education should have regained its position amongst the highest ranked countries by 2030.

1.1.2 TERTIARY & HIGHER EDUCATION

Innovation in science and technology (S&T) is a key enabler for achieving the vision of the Zimbabwe we want. Positive, productive social transformation and economic competitiveness are enabled through a combination of human capacity development, industrialisation, entrepreneurship and innovation. Innovation requires research, new knowledge production and has knowledge use and value addition as anchor components. To this end, a thriving knowledge sector is critical.

Whilst Zimbabwe has been touted as having high literacy rates, this has not translated into innovation. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) emphasises the importance of research and innovation and makes the argument that "... no region or nation can remain a simple 'user', but must also be 'creator' of new knowledge". The International Monetary Fund (IMF) in its Building Resilience in Sub-Saharan

Africa's Fragile States 2015 Report classifies Zimbabwe in the 'fragile' category .

The fragile state of Zimbabwe's knowledge and research innovation systems and institutions needs urgent attention. Zimbabwe's universities, once bastions of research activity and a source of pride as sites of quality education, are hopelessly underfunded, understaffed and have suffered neglect for many years. Added to this has been the chronic brain drain of highly skilled researchers and engineers.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Increase the grants paid out and loans available to students: In the long term APA intends to provide free higher education to all students entering higher education for priority courses. This will involve means-testing and a combination of loans and grants so that all those who are deserving are able to access tertiary education. Priority will be given to science, technology, engineering and innovation (STEMI) courses at both university and college. Teachers training for these courses will be provided with full bursaries.
2. We will work to position the country as a high skills labour pool. The greatest resource in Zimbabwe is a highly educated populace which is renowned world-wide for being hard working. There is a global demand for STEM trained graduates. With declining birth rates in Europe and the US, Africa may be able to plug the human resource gap, and Zimbabwe should take advantage of its youth demographic dividend.
3. We propose to put incentives in place to bring back or collaborate with Zimbabwean scientists and academics in the diaspora.
4. In developing a new education framework, the APA government will pay particular attention to vocational training. We believe there are countries, Germany among others, whose education models should be looked at quite closely.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

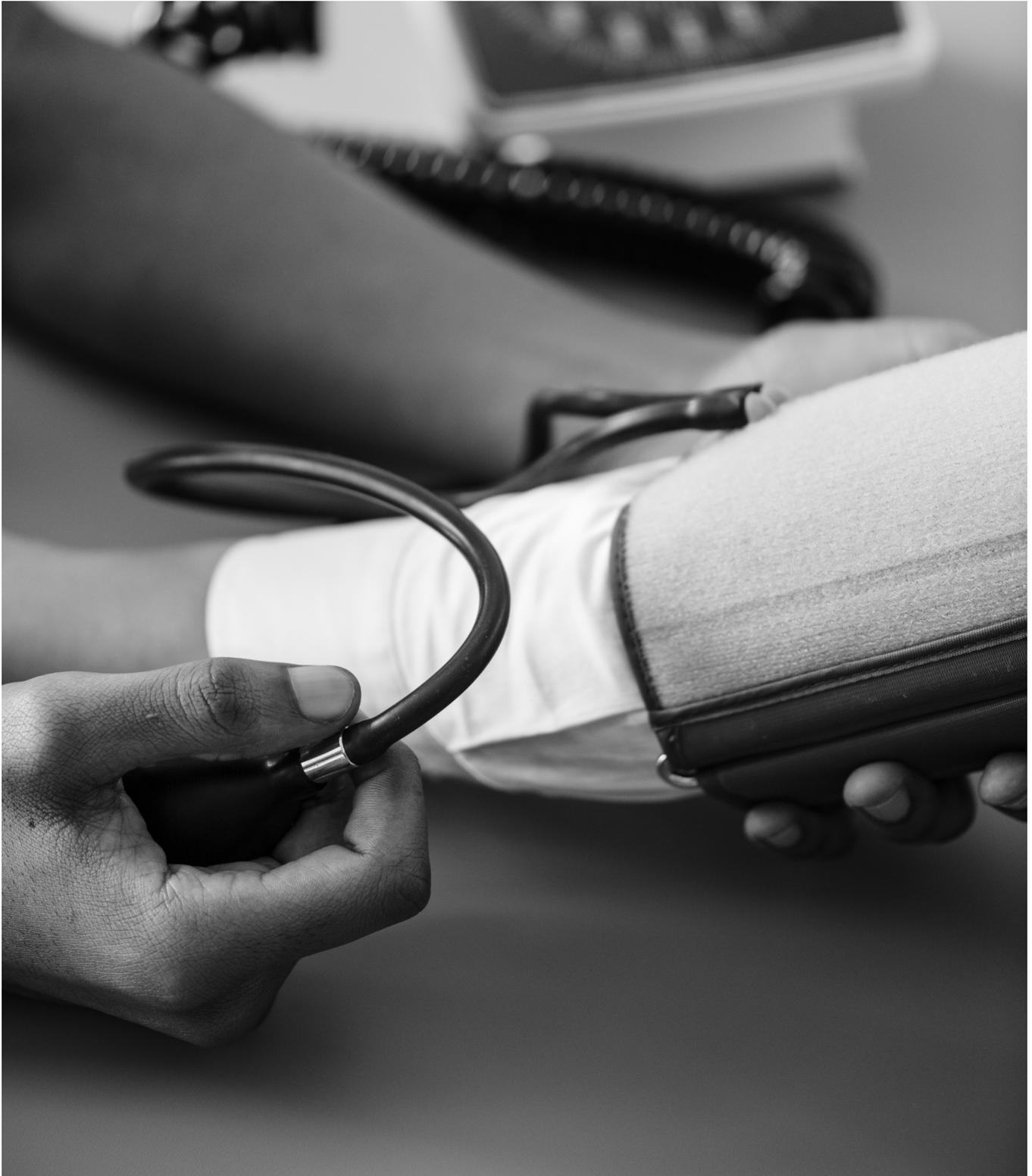
The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. APA government will encourage corporate support for universities and technical colleges as part of Corporate Social Responsibility programs.
2. We propose the creation of a Gifted University Scholar Program. This program will identify and nurture talented pupils identified at primary and high school. Such students will be channelled to local universities as well as international ivy league universities. This is aimed to expose them to world renowned researchers and innovators.
3. Zimbabwe's Gross Domestic Expenditure on Research and Development (GERD) ratios is amongst the lowest in the world. GERD comprises the expenditure or spend by businesses, governments, universities, research institutions, philanthropic agencies and also contributions by private non-profit organisations. Kenya and South Africa have some of the highest GERD ratios in Africa at 0.79% and 0.76% respectively. The APA government will aim to increase GERD up to the recommended 1% within 5 years.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

1. Create centres of research excellence: The institutionalization of science and innovation can only occur when there are close ties between universities, government and companies (who use the technologies). We aim to create centres of research excellence which support industry's R&D and are relevant to the region. These will be in identified niche areas and will also include Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) development for the 21st century.
2. Create R& D incentives to attract foreign research: The APA government will institute incentives for research and development carried out in Zimbabwe. Special emphasis will be directed towards agricultural and health research.



2.2 HEALTH CARE

Background

Although Zimbabwe shone as a good example of national HIV programming early in the epidemic, years of under-investment have taken their toll. The primary health care (PHC) institutional arrangements of earlier years have fallen apart due to human and financial resource constraints and poor management. Citizens have to travel long distances to get to the nearest clinic, and specialist hospitals only available in Harare or Bulawayo. Public facilities are generally dilapidated and inadequately staffed, which poses a danger to the lives of patients as routine diagnostic equipment (e.g. X-ray machines) is unavailable and medical staff is over-worked and under-paid. Medicine stock-outs are chronic in the public sector and the price of medicines in the private sector is abnormally high because of imports and the excess of demand over supply. Local production of essential medicines is severely strained because the pharmaceutical industry got overwhelmed by cheap and in some cases sub-standard / counterfeit imports.

There is a shortage of health care workers reflected by the high nurse to patient ratios, scarcity of specialist doctors outside of Harare, and the high locum burden in health centres. This is as a consequence of brain drain over the past 20 years – there is 1 doctor for every 8,000 – 12,000 people (WHO recommends 1 doctor to 1,000 people) and 1 nurse for every 1400 people, (WHO recommends 1 nurse to 200 – 400 people). Specialist doctors are only available in Harare and Bulawayo and work mainly in the private sector where their rates are out of reach for the majority of citizens. Private health services are owed millions of dollars by the medical aid societies which are poorly managed and near bankrupt.

Chronic malnutrition due to poverty leads to high rates of child mortality and stunted growth in childhood which impacts on performance in school and at work.

The disease burden in the country is dominated by preventable infectious diseases such as HIV and AIDS, TB, diarrhoeal diseases and malaria. Increasingly hypertension, diabetes and cancer are also emerging and usually diagnosed too late due to poor health education / awareness strategies and lack of access to life – saving diagnostic and treatment products and technologies. Millions lack access to essential surgery and anaesthesia, and ordinary citizens incur impoverishing costs to access surgical services when needed.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Address administrative and human resource needs of public institutions Public institutions have suffered more from poor leadership and administration than just poor resourcing. APA believes in meritocracy, and will seek to equip public health facilities with the best brains and hands from the Ministry all the way down to Rural health centres. This will include revising hospital boards, staff audits, and restructuring to ensure the efficient assignment of human resource. Recruitment of trained nurses who are currently unemployed because of artificial freezing of posts, and work at rehabilitating the work culture and ethic among healthcare staff will be a priority. Continuing education and inculcating a service culture among nurses and all health care workers. This along with reduced workload will change the perceived rude culture and improve service delivery.
2. Refurbish and modernize health facilities. An audit of the infrastructure needs to each province will be conducted. Facilities will then be identified for refurbishment in each province and budgets set aside for such work. With

refurbishment will also be re-equipping and modernization. We will respond to Global Fund RFQs to partner with it in expanding access to essential medicines and health products (including diagnostic equipment) for malaria, TB and HIV and AIDS. Links with diaspora citizens will be strategically set up in order for them to be part of the initiatives. Already some citizens support facilities with remittances or purchase of supplies, and this will be recognized and mainstreamed.

3. Strengthen PHC outreach services by recruiting and training community health care workers. Primary health care will be strengthened by creating a layer of health care workers who perform child and school health services in the community. These workers will also work with schools in implementing Comprehensive Health Education as part of the ESA Commitments for which Zimbabwe is a signatory.
4. Introduce informed early screening and treatment of priority diseases. Many diseases including diabetes, TB, HIV and cancer can be managed if detected early in order to prevent illness and death. Their management is costly if diagnosed too late. A high level intervention which allows routine testing of such diseases will ensure an early start to treatment and reduce complications. We propose introducing early screening and health education / promotion through the community health worker cadre.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

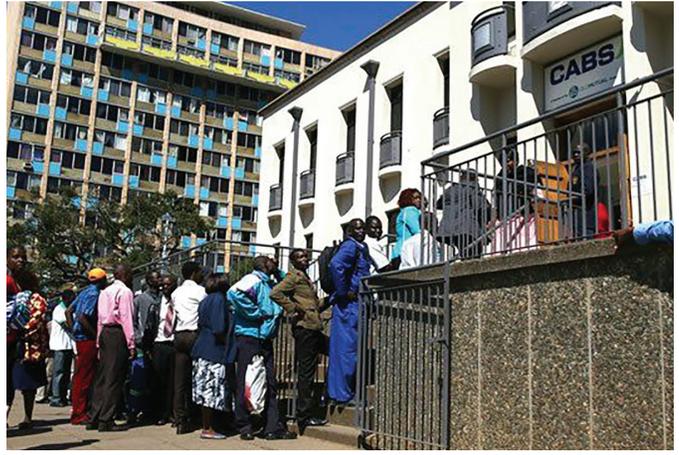
1. Strengthen the pharmaceutical sector so that essential medicines and products are regionally sourced. Incentives, including increase of tariffs of certain finished pharmaceutical products, will be introduced in order to stimulate local / regional pharmaceutical production. The aim will be to build in country/region capacity and improve security of supply by shortening supply chains. Partnerships with international pharmaceutical companies will be encouraged through various incentives. We will work with regional harmonization initiatives around medicine registration and pooled procurement.
2. Explore co-tenancy of public and private services: APA will explore the provision of private health care facilities within the tertiary hospitals. We envisage that this would create a revenue stream for the hospitals in question which can be used to subsidize funding from treasury. User fees will be retained by the health facilities which raises them. This will incentivise facilities to be more efficient at collecting fees.
3. Increase training capacity for healthcare workers. An APA government will promote the growth of Colleges of Health Sciences at State and private universities throughout the country, while ensuring that the highest standards of training are maintained through the promotion of standardized objective examinations. The number of specialist training posts will be increased with the creation of supernumerary positions that can be funded through public private partnerships to increase the pool of specialists available to underserved communities and promote retention in those communities.

4. APA proposes universal health coverage. The crucial aspect of the proposals will be to refine the equitable provision of state funding. We will leverage NSSA to create a public universal health insurance to co-exist with private medical aid funds. This will serve to increase coverage and also compete with private providers to moderate the fees.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

1. Build additional tertiary specialist facilities to augment the Harare and Bulawayo facilities and achieve better country coverage. Different models will be considered for the initially manning of these additional facilities. This could include monthly visits by specialists and also telemedical innovations.



3. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1 HOUSING

Background

With an urbanization rate of 1.93% pa, due to increased rural-to-urban migration and poor policy formulation as well as corruption, housing is a ticking time bomb in Zimbabwe. There is an estimated backlog of over 1.5 million people on the government's national housing waiting list. The National Housing Policy is archaic having been launched in 1999 with very little of it having been implemented.

Housing has been politicized and there is no coherent policy or financial instruments which the current ZANU-PF government is competently used. As a result the majority of people, mostly young professionals and the urban poor are locked out of the housing market. This has led to rise of the land barons who have corruptly acquired urban land and sell it at exorbitant prices. Corruption has also led to poor urban planning leading to settlements in sensitive ecological zones (e.g. wetlands) and pollution of the river systems. Poor planning also means that bulk infrastructure such as roads, water and sewerage are not easy to provide leading to urban sprawl and squalor.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Conduct urban land audit: There has been no urban land audit conducted by the ZANU-PF government since 1980. Thus, the land and asset of urban councils are not public record which makes planning difficult. Further this situation has allowed for corrupt transfers of land into the hands of land barons. Several courts cases have shown the extent to which senior ZANU-PF ministers have been involved. The APA government will institute a nation-wide urban land audit as a starting point.
2. Facilitate the work of housing co-operatives. In spite of the hostility with which they have been treated, housing co-operatives have been relatively successful. The APA government would mainstream them and facilitate their financing through soft loan schemes, thus setting up public private partnerships (PPP). We aim to create a model which turns these co-operatives into co-op / community banks.
3. Formulate a modern housing policy: The current policy is almost 20 years old and has not kept up-to-date with technological and social innovations. A new policy should incorporate new town planning norms and standards, novel building material and also economic corridor planning. Cluster housing and densification will be key to meeting affordable housing needs in Zimbabwe and APA will engage communities and experts in drafting such a policy

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Create incentives for developers in urban renewal projects Incentives to be provided for developers in CBD residential developments for young people to rent and purchase. Access to affordable mortgages is currently non-existent and will have to be created.

LONG-TERM PLAN 0 – 120 months

The long-term plan starts simultaneously with the medium-term and short-term plans.

1. Normalization of housing market and drastic reduction in waiting lists
2. Creation of integrated urban corridors The APA government aims in the long term to have integrated planning where residents are located in close proximity to commercial nodes. This will be facilitated by a public transport system.

3.2 POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Background

From 2003, poverty in Zimbabwe has worsened and at present 7 out of 10 people are considered to be poor / extremely poor . The majority of people in the rural areas suffer from intolerable levels of poverty which impacts on social development, health and education outcomes . While there are external global factors which have been identified as causing poverty in the country, the mismanagement of the economy by ZANU PF is the most important. The results of poor policies has led to an under-performing economy, job losses in key industries, poor investment in public infrastructure and the collapse of the agricultural sector – a major employer. The reliance on primary agriculture (and the continued push for command agriculture) in a climate-change prone country is at best foolish, and at worst, uninformed. The APA government plans to put in place an economic blueprint with poverty reduction at its centre.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Develop a poverty reduction policy. APA will constitute a multi-stakeholder study group on poverty in Zimbabwe. This group will consult widely to inform a policy on poverty alleviation which will be based on solidarity and sound economic principles.
2. One door policy. APA will have an integrated approach to delivering social packages to the poor. This will include support for education and health care after identifying cases of need. All ministries which make contact with citizens will be able to seamlessly refer recipients to a central portal where beneficiaries will be assisted.

Invest in sound economic policies and target provinces for province-specific economic activities. Poverty has a provincial face, for instance Matabeleland North has the highest chronic poverty rate , yet because of Hwange and Victoria Falls, it should actually be a more prosperous province. This points to the need for better allocation of revenue as proposed under section 3.3 (devolution). For more information on economic policies, refer to section 1 (Economy)

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Set up a Poverty Policy and Appropriate Technology Institute. The APA government will support the setting up of a research and training centre at one of the universities which will develop relevant poverty reduction policies and promote appropriate technological interventions. As a transdisciplinary think-tank it will advise government and work with international agencies to track poverty indicators and progress made

3.3 DEVOLUTION

Background

Devolution is one of the most important outcomes of the 2013 Constitution, and as a party which stands for constitutionalism, APA, will promote devolution as a tool for social development, better resource management and enhancing participatory community-oriented local governance. Devolution has a long history across the world, ranging from the creation of the state system which is found in Spain, Nigeria and China, to name a few countries. South Africa and more recently Kenya have devolved systems which have served to strengthen democracy and local ownership. Devolution allows for regions to focus on growing their own economies and improves the stewardship of resources under the overall direction of central government. Thus, the national economy becomes diversified and derives its strength from regional economies.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Amend all relevant legislation to comply with the constitutional provisions of devolution. The APA government will abolish the provinces and create regions to which powers will be given. We will study various models in Africa to inform what legislative and political powers will be devolved.
2. Create a Revenue Allocation Commission. We will create a professional commission which will consider how revenue is shared taking into account where it is generated. Regions which generate high revenue will be proportionally allocated more while poorer regions will also have revenue allocated to stimulate local economic activity.
3. Profile the strengths and weaknesses of the regions. Conduct studies to look at the economic sectors which regions are potentially strong at so that stimulus funds are allocated.

4. NATION BUILDING

4.1 HUMAN RIGHTS

Background

Zimbabwe has a history of civil conflict and government – inspired human rights violations. In the UDI era, the Rhodesian forces committed atrocities including the massacre of, in 1976, 1000 refugees at Nyadzonja in Mozambique and the reported use of chemical and biological weaponry. After Independence, and specifically between 1983 and 1987, the ZANU-PF led government unleashed the army into Matabeleland and Midlands in what is now known as Gukurahundi. Civilians amounting to between 8000 (according to the Catholic Church) and 20,000 were reported killed, many wounded and displaced. Many lost their homes and livelihoods along with personal documents. Gukurahundi has come to be seen as a tribal pogrom of sorts and only ended when ZAPU President Joshua Nkomo negotiated a truce in the so-called “Unity Accord” of December 1987. The farm invasions between 2000 – 2002 were violent and resulted in the torture and killings of farmers, farm workers and opposition party activists. In 2005, the ZANU-PF administration started clearances of informal structures across all urban cities. Operation Murambatsvina resulted in the displacement of 700 000 people and loss of property and livelihood . It accelerated the urban housing crisis. Further human rights violations followed in the 2008 elections, with civilian deaths put at 100, though the number could have been higher.

Thus in a period of 50 years, Zimbabwe has experienced raw trauma for which no-one has been held accountable, and the victims have largely been silenced. There is also contestation as to the number of people affected in these abuses, and many have not been reunited with their family for proper burials.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Search and reunite remains of victims with families. APA proposes to find funding from various sources to document the history of major massacres in the country and in Mozambique. Using historians and forensic experts we will identify reported sites of mass graves and apply genetic and other tests to identify remains of victims for families to afford then proper burials
2. Memorialize atrocities for historical and public record. Many Zimbabweans are not aware of the bloody history of the country and this exacerbates ethnic tensions as the victims or their families remain silenced. APA proposes that restorative justice begins with hearing the voices of the victims and documenting them, without meting out retribution to the perpetrators. We propose that the so-called “Unity Day” holiday should in fact be a “Memorial Day” and given the necessary gravitas in remembering the tumultuous history of the country and reflecting on it. Memorialization also includes building monuments of remembrance and having an inclusive history which does not shy away from these episodes.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Helping with personal legal documents of children of victims: For Gukurahundi, in particular, there remain many children who do not have proper registration documents (e.g. birth certificates) because they were denied death certificates of their parents. The forensic project mooted above will be able to confirm deaths and this will facilitate the work of the Registrar General.
2. Create a compensation fund: The APA government aims to set up a fund which will settle claims of victims.

4.2 DIASPORA

Zimbabwe has a diaspora population estimated to be anywhere between 2 – 3 million with the majority being in South Africa, Botswana and Zambia. There are significant number of Zimbabweans in the UK, Canada, Australia and the US. In general, the ZANU-PF government has treated all Zimbabwean emigrants with suspicion and as being unpatriotic and there has been little respect for them. This is despite the fact that diaspora remittances account for \$1,8 billion in 2014 . The diaspora would want to engage with an honest government and is, in fact, a potential source of inward investment. There have been attempts for a Diaspora Policy but this was worked out to the exclusion of the stakeholder.

SHORT-TERM PLAN 0 – 24 months

1. Craft a diaspora policy in consultation with key stakeholders in the diaspora through our Zimbabwean Embassies and Ambassadors. The policy will aim to create a sense of belonging for the diaspora and prioritize investments in priority sectors back home.
2. Allow citizens in the diaspora to register and vote where they are. The APA government embraces the diaspora dividend and believes that all eligible foreign based citizens where a Zimbabwe Embassy exists should be able to vote.

MEDIUM TERM PLAN 0 – 60 months

The medium-term plan starts simultaneously with the short-term plan.

1. Facilitate diaspora investments. The APA government will afford the same tax incentives as those given to foreign direct investors in priority sectors
2. Promote re-integration into national life: Some foreign-based Zimbabweans will find it difficult for them and their children to be reintegrated back into the country. We believe that allowing them to vote facilitates their continued engagement with the country. We also will facilitate the issuance of documents e.g. citizenship of bona fide spouses and children

EPILOGUE

APA's manifesto has focused on Zimbabwe's most pressing challenges: fixing the economy, agriculture, education, health, to name some of the more obvious. They are daunting challenges. But, the Zimbabwean spirit is loftier and hardier than those challenges. Coherent plans over the short, medium, and long-term to overcome those challenges are at the core of the APA manifesto. There is a core of organized and experienced volunteers willing to serve Zimbabwe to overcome those challenges. The prize for which they work: a peaceful, progressive and prosperous Zimbabwe. Join APA and other Zimbabweans in their efforts to realize that prize by Zimbabwe's Golden Jubilee in 2030.

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<http://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/oracle/webcenter/portalapp/pagehierarchy/Page21>. South Africa's labour participation rate was 55%; Botswana's was 70%; Zambia's was 75%. Zimbabwe has one of the highest labour participation rates on earth.

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<http://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/oracle/webcenter/portalapp/pagehierarchy/Page21>. Botswana's agricultural sector employment share was 27%; South Africa's share was 6%; and Zambia's share was 56%. International Labour Organization website, Zimbabwe Country Profile.

"The country faces a serious problem of underemployment. Underemployment basically means that the country has abundant labour which is not being productively used. The shrinking of the formal economy through deindustrialization has resulted in a boom in the non-formal economy through informalisation with the share of informal employment to total employment rising from 84.2 percent in 2011 to 94.5 percent in 2014." The Wage Structure Report, p.13 2017 Article IV Zimbabwe Report of the International Monetary Fund, Table 3, p. 24.

This level of employment cost constitutes 19% of Zimbabwe's 2016 GDP. Ibid. p.14. See also paragraphs 93 and 127 of Zimbabwe Annual Budget Review

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