

**NEW ZIMBABWE PLEDGE**

**FOR**

**A**

**SUSTAINABLE and MODERNISATION**

**AGENDA**

**For**

**REAL TRANSFORMATION**

## **PREFACE**

The MDC Alliance is the brainchild of **Dr Morgan Tsvangirai**, a trailblazer founding father of Zimbabwean Democracy. The MDC Alliance is a coalition of seven political parties; the Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T), the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), People's Democratic Party (PDP), Zimbabwe People First, Transform Zimbabwe, Multi-Racial Christian Democracy (MCD) and Zanu Ndonga.

Our Vision for a New Zimbabwe is:

***“An inclusive, socially just, prosperous, tolerant, transformative and democratic developmental state in which people have equal opportunities to pursue happiness.”***

## **Our Pledge**

We pledge to create a socially just democratic transformative state with a humble and empathetic God fearing and God Loving leadership in respect of which will adhere to the values of social justice, transparency, accountability and equality.

We pledge to fulfil the unfinished agenda of the struggle of the working people of Zimbabwe as defined at the 1999 **Working People's Convention**.

**We also pledge to fulfil the unfinished agenda of the liberation struggle, in particular, the economic emancipation of our people.**

We, the MDC Alliance will establish a sustainable, democratic Zimbabwe which will be the ultimate tribute to and guarantor of the legacy of **Dr Morgan Richard Tsvangirai**.

In short, we pledge to create a free Zimbabwe in respect of which the citizen does not live in fear and is free to pursue her aspirations.

A transformed Zimbabwe in respect of which strong institutions, big ideas and a functional state prevails over tyranny, autocracy, big men syndrome and fear.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

BOT	Built Operator Transfer.
CZI	Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries.
DA	District Administrator.
DURA	Development and Urbanization of Rural Areas.
EITI	Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative.
EU	European Union.
FARA	Financial Affairs Regulatory Authority.
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment.
FPI	Foreign Portfolio Investment.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity.
HIP	Health Insurance Plan.
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IEC	Integrity Ethics Committee.
IFI	International Financial Institutions.
IPP	Independent Power Producer.
IWRM	Integrated Water Resource Management.
LICS	Low Income Country Status.
MMA	Multilateral Monetary Area.
NSSS	National Social Security Scheme.
PPPs	Public Private Partnerships.
PREP	Production of Rural Energy & Power
REC	Regional Economic Communities.
SACU	Southern African Customs Union.
SADC	Southern African Development Community.
SMART	Sustainable and Modernisation Agenda for Real Transformation.
SMES	Small and Medium Enterprises.
SOE	State Owned Enterprises.

SWF	Sovereign Wealth Fund
TOP	Transformation, Opportunities & Prosperity.
CDC	Zimbabwe Development Council.
ZIMACE	Zimbabwe Agricultural Commodities Exchange.
ZIMCORD	Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction & Development.
ZIMRA	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority.
ZIMSTATS	Zimbabwe National Statistical Office.
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority.

## FOREWORD

*If my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and I will forgive their sins and will heal their land*

*2 Chronicles 7 vs. 14. (NIV)*



Fellow countrymen, we face a great opportunity this 2018, to set our country on a new trajectory and a new leaf. Our country has been forsaken and forgotten, our infrastructure is degraded, our factories are silent and our farms are less than what they must be. Our schools and hospitals are destroyed and abandoned. Our roads have become death traps. The nation is in darkness and without light. We have a lot of missed opportunities and neglected advantages, having accumulated unnecessary and odious debt, and pursued happiness for the few and not the many.

In the context of all this, the 2018 election presents an opportunity for Zimbabwe to turn a leaf from the dark ages of uncertainty and despair to a new dawn of hope, certainty and thought leadership. Correcting our past mistakes and curing our deficits and defects will require hard work, dedication and commitment on the part of all Zimbabweans within and without the country, to reclaim and recover its lost shine, glitter and glamour.

We make the point that service is not a favour, it is a democratic right and a legitimate expectation which our leadership respects and endeavors to fulfil.

We understand that as a people we deserve real and total change that delivers. Decades of suffering must end. We are however cognisant of the fact that the long suffering is nothing but a result of a leadership and governance deficit.

This leadership crisis created a big gap between us and our peers in neighbouring countries. The huge responsibility we have, which we so accept, is the war against poverty, unemployment and inequality.

In this regard, we will move with speed to stop the bleeding of Zimbabwe with the hope and aim to make it a great jewel once more.

We will take steps to release our country from the status quo of straddling from one crisis to another put simply we offer an alternative mission. We are not only on a mission but we are guided by a clear vision which identifies with every Zimbabwean. It is a vision for inclusivity anchored on transformation, opportunities and prosperity.

As we launch this document, we pledge to create a modern functional, responsive, inclusive and innovative state in respect of which opportunities for citizens abound. We will transform our rural areas, people shall have access to world class infrastructure, clean and fresh water, best schools and health facilities, and renewable and green sources of energy in the context of a green economy.

This is a plan that will breathe new life into the dormant potential of our nation.

Our plan will restore the dignity of hard work and bring back the pride of being Zimbabwean.

It is a plan to save Zimbabwe from plunging into chaos and rescue the motherland from joining the list of failed states.

This plan will offer our people an undoubtable chance to prosper, pursue happiness but more importantly it is a plan which will create a buffer against economic-related instability.

Let us all build a NEW nation, a NEW narrative and a NEW Zimbabwe , built on pillars of forgiveness, peace, great ideas, alternative policies, freedom , tolerance and patriotism.

We will make Zimbabwe the jewel of Africa and the world by 2023. The NEW is here. The future has arrived. Together we will get the job done and make it happen. It can and it must be done. Let us work together. Let us win together. Let us go NEW. New Jobs, New factories, New hospitals, New Schools, New money, New happiness and new pride with a brand New President who governs all of us on a full stomach and happy families. We are ready for the task and fit to govern.

One New Great Zimbabwe, One Victory One Love

God Bless you all.

**Advocate Nelson Chamisa**

**MDC ALLIANCE PRESIDENT**

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 THE ZIMBABWEAN CRISIS**

Zimbabwe is a nation in crisis. It has been in a series of structural and interlocking crises that have converged to produce stagnation and catastrophe in the last few years. Politically, economically and socially, Zimbabwe is at a standstill. After November 2017, it fell into a deeper constitutional crisis with broken foundations of legitimacy.

Sadly there has been no movement; in fact there has been reversal and regression. Thus for 38 years Zimbabweans have survived in a broken, failed and fragile state paralyzed by a crisis of leadership, poor governance, non-inclusive institutions, low capacity and absence of a common vision. It has been in a vicious trap dominated by political instability, conflict, underdevelopment and an ineffective state.

Indeed the nation state has been detained by a massive social dislocation, collapsed economy, rampant poverty, underdevelopment, inequality, corruption and patronage. That state, the Zimbabwean state has sadly been a captured and conflated entity serving the interests of a party and a few elites, whilst retreating to the social and economic obligations of its citizens. In the net result, the Zimbabwean citizen operated outside the realm of the state fending for himself in a difficult environment characterised by low per capita income and poor social services indicators.

It is the severe economic crisis that has been the most illustrative of Zimbabwe's leadership crisis. The economic crisis is the single most visible illustration of the government's gross failure and incompetence. The economy has been a rickety affair of severe boom and bust cycles characterised by chapters of severe unprecedented hyperinflation, a collapsed currency and massive unemployment to the current status quo of low productivity, debt unsustainability, deflation and stagnation.

### **1.2 THE NEW ZIMBABWE SMART PLEDGE**

The **URGENCY** of the Zimbabwean situation requires robust, brave, radical and disruptive responses, solutions and actions. In this regard, we, as the MDC Alliance, offer this smart response with actions and solutions to the agenda for real transformation in Zimbabwe.

We, in the MDC Alliance, thus offer this promise, commitment a New Zimbabwe **PLEDGE** of a **Sustainable and Modernisation Agenda for Real Transformation** (Smart pledge).

We will thus boldly pursue an agenda of a democratic developmental state that will deliver socio-economic transformation in order to create prosperity and equal opportunities for all

Zimbabweans. We are motivated by the fundamental principle that the power to exercise government must be reciprocated by service to the people.

The MDC Alliance will pursue a **TOP** agenda for a democratic developmental state that is anchored on the following pillars: **Transformation, Opportunities for Prosperity.**

Our promise and SMART PLEDGE to the people of Zimbabwe is anchored on five key pillars, namely;

1. **SMART** Governance, Nation Building and the Consensus State
2. **SMART** Sustainable, Shared and Inclusive Economy
3. **SMART** Citizen Rights, Interests and Protection
4. **SMART** Social Justice and Delivery
5. **SMART** Reconstruction and remodelling of the country's infrastructure



### 1.3 RETHINKING THE STATE

Zimbabwe has endured 38 years of a vacuous leadership under an arrogant ZANU-PF elite that has denied citizens a say in the way the State is governed. Capture, coercion and corruption have been three key instruments used in repressing the aspirations of our people. A State which

started with the promise of democratisation at independence was transformed into a vehicle of authoritarian rule.

Not only that, the state became inextricably conflated with the ruling party and indeed the country's securocracy. At the epicentre of state failure is the existence of a selfish authoritarian leadership that has failed to offer a vision and a transformative agenda for the state.

In rethinking the state, we propose to provide an alternative people-driven leadership and strategic direction for our country. Indeed, in rethinking the state, we propose to fundamentally alter the governance of our state. In this regard, we genuinely believe that the precondition of creating a sustainable Zimbabwe is through changing the governance culture, structure and trajectory of the state.

We are therefore committed to create a New Zimbabwean State in which power is shared and devolved throughout the country. The MDC Alliance is for a tolerant, competent and consulting state in which power is accountable to the citizens. In the process of redefining the Zimbabwean State, re-establishing and re-affirming a new social contract with the citizens will be critical. The Zimbabwean crisis is easily a crisis of governance, a crisis of leadership. The last 38 years have seen the dangers, failures and weaknesses of exhausted nationalism reflected in stale and dysfunctional institutions. We have witnessed the ugliness of corrosive politics, extractive institutions, fear, collapse of the rule of law, patronage and clientism.

The MDC Alliance Government will therefore **rethink the State** and culture of governance. The Developmental State which we seek to build will be autonomous and will be manned by a lean and capable bureaucracy and civil service. Critically, it must be accountable to the citizen through Parliament, a free press, the Constitution and the holding of free and fair elections.

The new state must fear and respect the citizen, and in turn, the citizen must feel a sense of ownership and pride in the autonomous state. The state must be remodelled, renewed and redesigned. The MDC Alliance will therefore focus on the following areas:

- i. Restructuring and resizing government.
- ii. Restoration of the rule of law and respect of property rights.
- iii. Building strong institutions.
- iv. Restoring the Social Contract.
- v. Combating corruption.
- vi. Creating a consensus state and highly consulting state at all levels

- vii. Devolution.
- viii. Preserving the independence of the country's traditional leaders, history and heritage.
- ix. Protection and the celebration of the Country's liberation heritage.
- x. Founding a Government anchored on Technology and E- Governance.

#### **1.4 RETHINKING THE ECONOMY**

The MDC Alliance's **Sustainable and Modernisation Agenda for Real Transformation (SMART) Pledge** will radically transform Zimbabwe into a modern society in which the people enjoy the fruits of their ingenuity and hard work. The Smart pledge lays the foundations for a sustainable, structurally sound, efficient and democratic Zimbabwe.

**The Smart Pledge** is a break from the present predatory order and a bridge that will fast-track our country to a stable, transformational, democratic and developmental Zimbabwe of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century under the MDC Alliance government.

In simple terms, the Smart pledge offers a sustainable transitional framework that will be the foundation of transforming the structure of our economy, eliminating poverty, eliminating the dual enclave economy and enabling the pursuit of sustained, equitable, and shared growth.

#### **1.5 TRANSFORMATION**

The MDC Alliance seeks to radically reshape Zimbabwe through the creation of a shared vision, a new nation that will be founded on the principles of constitutionalism and the rule of law. In the process of transformation, we will deliver radical changes in the governance culture of this country and the creation of a consensus state. The MDC Alliance will take a progressive approach towards resolution of past injustices to ensure that survivors achieve closure. We will take an inclusive and a gender-sensitive approach to governance, recognising and promoting the role of women and the youth in our governance systems.

We will therefore address the following issues:

- i. Governance and a National Vision.
- ii. Legitimacy and the rule of law.
- iii. Entrenching Democracy through free, fair and credible elections.
- iv. Entrenching the New Constitution and constitutionalism.
- v. Creation of a rights-based society and Protection of minorities and disadvantaged persons.
- vi. Transitional justice, national healing and reconciliation.
  - a. Restoration of the social contract.

- b. Building strong and independent institutions.
- c. Devolution and equal development.
- d. Establishment of a consensus state.
- vii. Eliminating corruption.
- viii. Development and Urbanization of Rural Areas (DURA)
- ix. Infrastructure transformation

## 1.6 OPPORTUNITIES

The MDC Alliance will promote a socially just, inclusive and shared society in which all Zimbabweans have access to equal opportunities. This includes deliberately promoting those who previously had unequal access to opportunities by reason of gender, ethnicity, region, race and other points of disadvantage.

We will do this mindful that creating opportunities requires the construction of a stable and growing economy. Furthermore, this also requires the state to ensure that there is adequate housing, clean environment, food and realisation of all socio-economic rights that are recognised by our progressive. To this end, we will focus on **Building the USD100 billion-dollar economy (The MDC Alliance Macro Economic Framework) anchored on -**

- i. Macro-Economic Stability & Fiscal Discipline.
- ii. Resolution of the Debt crisis.
- iii. Pension reform and social protection.
- iv. Financial sector reform.
- v. Currency reform.
- vi. Industrialisation and alteration of the accumulation model.
- vii. Land & Agro industrial transformation.
- viii. Mining and Beneficiation.
- ix. Job Creation and formalisation of the economy.
- x. Financial sector reform.
- xi. Currency reform.
- xii. Pension reform and social protection?
- xiii. Resolution of the Debt crisis.

## 1.7 PROSPERITY

The pursuit of happiness is central to humankind. Happiness means the establishment of a society in which people's livelihoods are secure, their wishes and choices are respected, and their personal liberty and security are guaranteed. Prosperity means ability to exercise choice,



earning decent income, social justice, social security, inclusion and peace of mind. It is the duty of the state to create conditions that allow prosperity to flourish.



**Figure 1 Source Shutterstock**

We will implement an inclusive healthcare programme for our society prioritising:

- i. Care for Children
- ii. Care for Women
- iii. Care for the aged
- iv. Care for People living with disabilities
- v. Care for Vulnerable Communities
- vi. Care for Workers

### **1.8 INTER-GENERATIONAL CONSENSUS**

The MDC Alliance will bring together various generations of Zimbabweans, who have suffered under 38 years of misrule at the hands of this regime, to foster an intergenerational consensus on who they are, what they stand for, how they want to be governed, and how they want to relate with the rest of the world.

The intergenerational consensus is an agreement on a **United Common Vision** for a **Better and Transparent, Equal and Equitable Zimbabwe**.



Figure 2 Source: MDC Communications

The inter-generational consensus is an agreement on solutions to the challenges facing the broad masses of Zimbabwe, namely the struggle for social justice and prosperity. The old should work with the young. Neither has a monopoly of answers to the great questions of the day.

## 1.9 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the above, that this **Smart Pledge** creates a radical departure from a horrible past tormented by fear and capture. We seek to establish a new social contract between citizen and citizen and most importantly between citizen and the state. Above all, the MDC Alliance seeks to encourage a culture that promotes and protects the dignity of the Zimbabwean citizen which has been severely eroded by the multi-layered crisis authored by ZANU PF.

We seek to restore confidence and trust in our body politic. We seek to provide a bridge from a troubled past to a fulfilling and prosperous Zimbabwe. We seek to heal our Country and bring a new beginning. Most importantly, we seek to turn cycles of exclusion into virtuous circles of inclusion. We seek to build a new Zimbabwe.

## **CHAPTER 2: GOVERNANCE, NATION BUILDING AND THE CONSENSUS STATE**

### **TRANSFORMATION MARKERS**

- 1. Develop an inclusive National Vision accepted by all stakeholders.**
- 2. Implement a programme of transitional justice & national healing.**
- 3. Harmonise all laws to the Country's Constitution.**
- 4. Resize and restructure the Country's governance.**
- 5. Create a law to establish the Consultative Development Council.**
- 6. Establish a new Anti- Corruption, Procurement legal framework.**
- 7. Pass the law to actualise Devolution.**
- 8. Renaming the Country's Provinces and move the administrative capital to Gweru.**
- 9. Implement the legal and corporate framework necessary to build strong institutions.**
- 10. Development of SMART cities and towns.**

#### **2.1 NATIONAL VISION**

A nation must have a common vision. The tragedy of the last 38 years is that the country did not have a common vision. As the MDC Alliance, our vision is: ***"To make Zimbabwe, an inclusive, socially just, prosperous, tolerant, transformative, modern, advanced, efficient and democratic developmental state in which people have equal opportunities to pursue happiness by 2023- Making Zimbabwe a jewel of Africa"***

#### **2.2 NATION BUILDING**

Any stable nation is united in its diversity by a set of core values, principles, traditions, traits, and characteristics that transcend culture and geography. Nationhood encapsulates the collective imagination of a people, united by common values, desires and aspirations.

It was this collective imagination that spurred thousands of Zimbabweans to participate in the national liberation project, culminating in independence in 1980. The tragedy is that having led the liberation struggle, the nationalists failed in the nation-building project. Instead, they preached unity while pursuing narrow agendas that divided people on class, racial, tribal, gender, cultural, religious and other grounds.



Instead of building a nation, the founding fathers privatised the State, accumulating vast personal wealth to the exclusion of many and causing a conflation between the State and ZANU PF which has left millions of citizens on the margins. Many citizens, including the Diaspora, so-called “aliens” and the poor feel excluded and unwanted.



Figure 3: One Zimbabwe, One people. Source Shutterstock

Not surprisingly 38 years after independence the national question remains unanswered. What does it mean to be Zimbabwean, what are those values, issues, traits, characteristics that constitute Zimbabwe? Despite attempts to articulate some principles and values in the 2013 Constitution, there is still a lot of work to be done to inculcate them into society so that they are an essential part of the social fabric.

The MDC Alliance will embark on a comprehensive and broad-based nation-building project based on unity, diversity, tolerance, recognition and correction of past injustices and the pursuit of social and economic progress for all.

### **2.3 THE RETURN TO LEGITIMACY**

The most urgent requirement for Zimbabwe to make progress is a return to legitimacy. This is particularly critical following the military *coup* of November 2017 which left the country with severe legitimacy deficit. Full details of the road-map for Zimbabwe’s return to legitimacy is outlined in our PEACE document launched in March 2018. The key sign posts in the road-map towards legitimacy include:

- i. Political and institutional reforms.
- ii. Free, fair and credible elections consistent with the Constitution and international standards.
- iii. Full and comprehensive implementation of constitutional and legislative reforms to enhance democracy and protect civilian authority.
- iv. Underwriting the transitional process (including the election and peaceful transfer of power) by the international community.

## **2.4 TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND NATIONAL HEALING**

As a result of years of protracted attrition and injustices against citizens, the country is in need of national healing. This Pledge places a huge obligation on the State, the religious fraternity and civic society to initiate a protracted programme of national healing. Such a programme must be organic, deriving its roots and inspiration from the grassroots. It has to be inclusive and ensure genuine public participation. It must be based on specific legislation and the State should provide the requisite budget to finance the institutional structure that oversees the process.

Conflict, attrition and intolerance have contributed to the decimation of the Zimbabwean economy. To **reclaim Zimbabwe**, mechanisms must be created that eradicate political violence. There have been so many injustices over the years, the wounds of which have never healed. Top-down approaches have suppressed the voices of survivors and victims. In order to move forward, wrongs of the past must be corrected, but in an inclusive, just and non-vindictive way. The future must not be a prisoner of the past, but equally so, past grievances must not be sacrificed at the altar of future dreams.

The MDC Alliance identifies five key periods of violations:

- i. The 1970's Liberation Struggle
- ii. The 1980's Gukurahundi
- iii. The early 2000's violence associated with the Land Reform
- iv. Operation Murambatsvina (2005 Clean out operation)
- v. Political Violence around the 2008 election

A comprehensive programme of **transitional justice** will be formulated and implemented by the MDC Alliance Government. This program of Transitional Justice and National Healing will be based on the following principles:

- i. Victim-centred approach.
- ii. Comprehensive, inclusive, consultative participation of all stakeholders, particularly survivors and victims.

- iii. The duty and obligation on the State to apologise for all atrocities.
- iv. The establishment of confessions, truth telling and truth seeking.
- v. Acknowledgement of wrong doing.
- vi. Justice, compensation and reparations.
- vii. National healing and reconciliation.
- viii. Non-repetition (**NEVER AGAIN**).
- ix. Gender equity & gender sensitivities.
- x. Transparency and accountability.
- xi. Nation building and reintegration.

Ultimately the state will foster a culture of social dialogue as a means to solve differences and conflict.

## **2.6 RESTORING TRUST, CONFIDENCE AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**

The social contract between the State and citizens in Zimbabwe has broken down severely. There is absolutely no confidence or trust in the State, government and public institutions. This is partly because the State and its institutions are corrupt and inefficient. The lack of confidence and trust in the state, and of course the failure of the state itself to meet its social obligations to its citizens, results in the majority of its citizens operating outside the ambit of the State.

Equally, trust among citizens has been eroded. This is the case even at the family level, in religious institutions, social organisations and civic society.

Zimbabwe's economic collapse has triggered a rise in social decay at various levels. The core unit around which society is built, the family is experiencing huge strains as family members migrate away from Zimbabwe in order to fend for their families. Challenges at the family level are reflected by the high number of cases of divorce, domestic violence and peace orders that are being granted by the courts. Levels of tolerance are low, whilst hatred and disaffection on social media spaces flourish. Seemingly, as Zimbabweans, we cannot manage our differences and the slightest difference can easily degenerate into verbal tirades and even violence.

Poverty has also exacerbated the problems. Crimes of necessity and substance abuse are on the increase especially among young and unemployed youths.

The issues that this Pledge deals with in Pillar 2 on Governance, and the creation of a consensus state will go a long way in restoring the social contract in Zimbabwe

Ultimately, total confidence in the state will be restored when we build a shared and inclusive Zimbabwe based on transformation and the opening of opportunities for prosperity.

## **2.7 IMPLEMENTING THE NEW CONSTITUTION**

Zimbabwe adopted a new constitution in May 2013 following a referendum held in March 2013. Regrettably, that constitution has not been fully implemented largely because of the ruling Party's disinterest and disdain of its progressive clauses. In fact, the erosion of the constitution has already started after ZANU PF amended it in order to give more powers to the president to appoint the Chief Justice and other senior judges without adequate checks and balances. Zimbabwe's laws must be harmonized and reconciled with the new Constitution. In this regard, at least 400 pieces of existing legislation need to be harmonized with the new Constitution. The new Constitution obliges the creation of new independent institutions, through acts of Parliament, which did not exist before. The ZANU PF government has neglected creating these institutions or where they have been created; they are either not properly funded or godfathered by ministries so that they lack independence.

As the MDC Alliance we recognise the importance of safe-guarding the Country's democracy and the Constitution that facilitates it. In this regard, ensuring that free, fair, credible and legitimate elections are held regularly as is required in terms of the Constitution, will be critical. With its experience in opposition, the MDC Alliance understands and appreciates multi-party democracy and will treat all political players fairly in accordance with the Constitution.

Through this Smart Pledge, we vow to uphold the constitutional provisions on elections and guarantee the following:

- i. The independence of the election management body ZEC.
- ii. Transparency and full disclosures around all election materials, including the ballot paper.
- iii. A clean auditable, biometric voters' roll.
- iv. The complete demilitarisation of Zimbabwe's elections.
- v. The right of all Zimbabweans in the diaspora to vote in the election in their countries of residence.
- vi. Equal access to a liberalised and democratised media.
- vii. Peaceful and violent free election.
- viii. Presence of international monitors and observers.

- ix. Adherence to international standards and protocols on election management including the SADC Guidelines on elections.



**Figure 4 Source MDC Communications**

## **2.8 RETHINKING THE CULTURE OF GOVERNANCE**

For the past 38 years the culture of governance in Zimbabwe, has been one based on state-party conflation, fear, exclusion, capture, coercion, corruption, dependency, arrogance, patronage and 'chefism'.

The MDC Alliance intends to rethink and remodel the governance culture through the following:

- i. A responsive, innovative and inclusive state.
- ii. A culture of service, sacrifice and patriotism.
- iii. Establishment of an efficient public service recruited purely on merit.
- iv. Establishment of strong institutions as detailed below.
- v. A state founded on constitutionalism and the rule of law.
- vi. A state founded on the values of transparency, openness and accountability.
- vii. A state founded on citizen participation in the formation of public policy.
- viii. Establishing an evidence-based state run on information and communication platforms as detailed in Chapter 6. Establishing a transparent-based system of appointment of key



public officials including ministers, judges and heads of parastatals. This will also involve public confirmation by parliament.

## **2.9. STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT**

The MDC Alliance through this Smart Pledge undertakes to trim the size of cabinet to ensure a lean and mean cabinet of not more than 15 persons. A small competent bureaucracy will be an essential cog in the implementation and execution of the Smart Pledge.

A further essential component of our government is to establish a planning commission that will be responsible for crafting an inclusive national agenda and vision whilst making macro-economic projections and evaluations.

## **2.10. COMBATING CORRUPTION**

The MDC Alliance will invest a lot in combating corruption and liquidating the patronage infrastructure that has been used to milk the country's resources over the years.

Corruption has placed a huge premium on the Zimbabwean economy and worsened the high country risk profile deterring investors from the Zimbabwean market.

The **Smart Pledge** therefore offers the following solutions:

- i. Introduction of criminal sanctions for all corruption related offenses especially for public officials
- ii. Provision of and setting up special criminal courts to deal with corruption and economic crimes.
- iii. The right and mechanism for a direct recall of elected officials by the electorate.
- iv. Mandatory asset declaration for public officials.
- v. Establishing, strengthening and institutionalising the National Economic Crimes Investigating Agency (NECI).
- vi. Regular state sanctioned life style audits.
- vii. Limited Terms of office for all senior public executives including heads of state enterprises and parastatals.
- viii. Strengthening transparency mechanisms on state procurement including the introduction of public bidding on major public tenders.
- ix. Increased access to information for citizens including publication of terms and conditions of public and public guaranteed contracts.
- x. Strengthened oversight role for parliament in all public enterprise.

- xi. Strengthened oversight role for the Civic Society and the Media.

The MDC Alliance will also strengthen institutions meant for combating corruption in the country. Focus will be on the following institutions whose independence shall be sacrosanct:

- i. Anti-Corruption Commission
- ii. National Prosecuting Authority
- iii. The Judiciary
- iv. Zimbabwe Revenue Authority
- v. Auditor-General's Office
- vi. Zimbabwe Republic Police
- vii. National Economic Crimes Investigating Agency (NECI)

## **2.11 REFORM OF STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES**

The country suffers under the weight of state enterprises that have largely become feeding troughs for the ruling elite. Rationalising state enterprises will thus be key. Many of these enterprises will be wound-up or disposed of.

Those that remain will be governed in their operations by a new and enhanced ***Public Entities Corporate Governance Act*** which will be based on the principles which include that:

- i. A high standard of professional ethics must be promoted and maintained.
- ii. Efficient and economic use of resources must be promoted.
- iii. Public administration must be development oriented.
- iv. Service must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias.
- v. People's needs must be responded to within a reasonable time, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy making.
- vi. Public administration must be accountable to Parliament and to the people;
- vii. Institutions and agencies of government at all levels must co-operate with each other (joined-up government).
- viii. Transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information.
- ix. Good human resource management and career development practices, to maximise human potential, must be cultivated.
- x. Public administration must be broadly representative of the diverse communities in Zimbabwe.

- xi. Employment, training and advancement practices must be based on merit, ability, objectivity, fairness, the equality of men and women and the inclusion of persons with disabilities.
- xii. Sector regulation of the economy should be divested from bodies that are also active players. Bodies such as POTRAZ, BAZ, RBZ, cannot be both a regulator and a player.
- xiii. There is need to separate between a trade unionist and regulator, they cannot be both.

## **2.11 CREATING A CONSENSUS AND HIGHLY CONSULTING STATE**

The MDC Alliance values participation of citizens as partners in the human development project. The Smart Pledge also seeks to balance the diverse interests, fears and aspirations of our society.

In that regard, we will adopt a corporatist arrangement involving collaboration among the state, labour, civic society, the diaspora and business. In this sense, we will create the Consultative Development Council (CDC).

## **2.12 THE CONSULTATIVE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL**

The CDC will be the supreme development council in Zimbabwe. It will be a forum composed of Government, Business, Civic Society and Labour whose role will be to formulate development policies that are compatible with the diverse interest of society.

The CDC will be established through an Act of Parliament. The CDC will be the principal consultative body that will work closely with the Executive, Parliament, and State Enterprises in the formulation and supervision of government programs.

The MDC Alliance is cognisant of the fact that, progress will only happen where a leadership has capacity to balance the fears, interests and aspirations of diverse groups in the nation.

The CDC will manage these differences in part ensuring the growth of the economy while protecting the interests of the state and maintaining the rights of the working people as well as ensuring provision of decent work.

The CDC will therefore work to actualise the Social Contract in Zimbabwe.

The MDC Alliance government will enact laws that will make it mandatory for the government to consult citizens on major policy deliberations, such as the National Budget, the development of white papers and national legislation.

### **2.13 DEVOLUTION**

The MDC Alliance views devolution as a revolution whose implementation is non-negotiable. Devolution is the only way to ensure even and equal development and correct the past which was characterised by marginalisation of other areas in Zimbabwe. Devolution will ultimately resolve the National Question in Zimbabwe.

A devolved state will also ensure easy and fast consultations by local tiers of government modelled around provincial councils provided in Chapter 14 of the Constitution. This is to ensure participation of local communities in the determination of development priorities within their areas.

More importantly, the institution of devolution ensures equitable distribution of resources. Devolution also ensures locals benefit directly from all the economic activity happening in their own vicinity as well from the resources explored in their own community.

#### **2.13.1 Components of our Devolution Model**

The MDC Alliance government through an Act of Parliament will create a devolution model based on the following:

- i. The sacrosanctity of maintaining Zimbabwe as a unitary State.
- ii. The election of provincial governors to head provincial governments as provided in the Constitution.
- iii. The mandatory allocation of equitable resources through the national budget.
- iv. Legislative powers of provincial councils on legislative development and local issues.
- v. The apportionment to provincial councils and local communities of wealth and income generated from their provincial territory.
- vi. The renaming of the country's provinces on geographical location as opposed to tribal or ethnic location.
- vii. The possibility of relocating the Country's administrative capital to Gweru.

### 2.13.2 Local Authorities

Local authorities are an essential component of a functional state. They provide the immediate interface between the citizen and the state. The MDC Alliance government guarantees to pursue the vision of a democratic and sustainable local governance that delivers fair and equitable and efficient services through the following:

- i. Autonomous, local authorities run by elected representatives through an elected mayor.
- ii. The provision of adequate social amenities at local level in particular, water, sanitation, refuse collection, functional clinics, street lighting, and pothole free roads.
- iii. The establishment of a participatory environment in respect of which the citizen has direct access and control over councillors and the local authorities themselves.

### 2.13.3 Creating a Caring State

The MDC Alliance government will place Zimbabweans at the centre of service delivery in every government department including local authorities.

Public institutions including local authorities will work to serve the interests of the citizens. Through this Pledge the MDC Alliance will therefore ensure the following.

- i. Citizen participation through consultative policy development and implementation in line with the spirit and letter of Pillar A on building a highly consulting state. Consultations will include priorities and quality of the public services they receive.
- ii. Service benchmarks - Zimbabweans must be assured of minimum benchmarks of service standards by both central government and local authorities.
- iii. Equality on public service access -The MDC Alliance will ensure that citizens have equal access to service with no discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, and political affiliation among other things.
- iv. Service Excellence - Public officials must be courteous in their provision of service, with consideration of timely interventions.
- v. Access to service information - The state, local authorities and all public agencies must be obliged to make citizens aware of their right to access all available public services.
- vi. Transparency and Accountability - The state and local authorities must be open to the citizens, a clear accountability mechanism with stipulated feedback intervals on how public institutions are being run.

- vii. Remedies - a remedial independent complaints mechanism for public service grievances must be provided through the law.
- viii. Non Profit approach - Public institutions must be there to serve with no profit motive. The MDC Alliance will eradicate a robber-state and ensure prepaid services are provided without fail.

#### 2.13.4 Smart Cities and Towns

Given Zimbabwe's expanding population and the high levels of rural to urban migration, an essential component of the MDC Alliance devolution revolution will be the development of SMART cities.

It is obvious that all of Zimbabwe's cities and towns are in a state of decay characterised by collapsed infrastructure, overcrowding, slums and other forms of informal settlements.

In Harare-Julius Nyerere Way, Robert Mugabe Road, Mbuya Nehanda and Chinhoyi Street in particular, more than any other streets in Zimbabwe typify the extent of the decay. Like Monrovia Freetown, Kinshasa or Luanda, these streets are like overcrowded post war rum shackles.

The MDC Alliance government thus undertakes the following:

- i. Regenerate, repair, refurbish and remodel existing cities.
- ii. Construct new modern smart cities and expand existing ones.
- iii. Convert and expand all major growth points into SMART+ hubs.
- iv. Use cities as drivers of diversified growth and creation of jobs.
- v. Provide adequate capital funding to local authorities to meet the challenges.
- vi. Promote density of housing and cost-efficient transport solutions to realise the urban dividend.
- vii. Provide basic modern amenities particularly water reticulation, waste management, public lighting and sewer reticulation.
- viii. Provision of local security to the citizen.

### **2.14 ESTABLISHMENT OF STRONG INSTITUTIONS**

All modern functional democratic states have, as a matter of necessity, strong independent institutions, which serve and are trusted by the citizen. These institutions are operated by appointed experts who, using their skills and knowledge, are supposed to play a fundamental role in promoting sound governance. Chief among these institutions is the judiciary. Justice

Delivery is an essential cornerstone of nation building, adherence to constitutionalism and the rule of law.

#### 2.14.1 The Judiciary

The MDC Alliance undertakes to ensure the independence of the judiciary and other institutions in line with the Constitution and Sustainable Development Goal 16. This will be done through the following:

- i. Ensuring the full independence of the judiciary.
- ii. Making adequate budgetary allocations to the judiciary. Ensuring that all judicial appointments are based on merit and competence, pursuant to public interviews conducted by the Judicial services Commission.
- iii. Upgrading the justice delivery system through modernisation of the courts and court registries, to ensure E-Filing of legal pleadings and correspondence.
- iv. Ensuring easy and affordable access of justice to all communities.
- v. Ensuring a well-resourced justice system in terms of personnel, including researchers, and justice clerks, modern up to date law reports, functioning libraries and other materials.
- vi. Ensuring a corruption free and partisan free justice delivery system.
- vii. Establishing specialised divisions of the High Court, such as commercial, fiscal, family, water and labour courts.
- viii. Building legal and civic literacy to promote a culture of respect for human rights, non- violence and respect for the law among the general populace, while restoring citizen confidence in the legal system.
- ix. Ensure gender concerns are an integral part of the transformation of the justice system through clear protection of women's rights in all legal processes especially in relation to the trial and sentencing for violence against women and sexual offences.
- x. Promoting the quality of services provided by the legal profession through formalisation of the bar and ensuring that the Law Society's functions are differentiated and separated between regulation and representation.

#### 2.14.2 Parliament

The independence and effectiveness of parliament is key in ensuring that Zimbabwe moves away from fragility and builds a sustainable state. Parliament will be strengthened through the following measures:

- i. Ensuring that all members attend parliament and make the attendance register a public record.
- ii. Ensuring that the reports of parliamentary proceedings (HANSARD) are made readily available to communities, libraries, universities and colleges.
- iii. Ensuring that all parliamentary proceedings are broadcast live through a dedicated broadcasting channel and other platforms.
- iv. Construction of a modern world class parliament with accommodation for MPs, recreational facilities, crèches and medical facilities.
- v. Establishing modern parliamentary support services including a library, researchers and other ICT platforms.
- vi. Establish an E-parliament in respect of which all systems including voting, are electronically based.
- vii. Ensuring public participation in the formulation of public bills and their passage through parliament.
- viii. Ensuring cabinet ministers attend parliament and promptly answer oral or written questions.
- ix. Ensuring that the country's president attends parliament once in a month to answer questions from members of parliament.
- x. Establishing, within parliament a **PUBLIC BAROMETER** on the performance of Members of Parliament in their constituencies and in parliament itself.

## 2.15 CIVIL SERVANTS

The MDC Alliance will run a professional civil service strictly implementing the public administration and leadership principles provided in section 194 of the constitution.

These principles will guide the use of public resources, personnel ethics, and transparency of processes, continuous development and training with the goal to push the development agenda forward.

Beyond these, the government will honour the following obligation to its employees:

- i. Ensuring competitive remuneration in line with the standards maintained by brother countries in the region.
- ii. Provision for a public housing scheme for the civil servants.
- iii. Affordable quality health insurance as provided in HIP.
- iv. Payment of a risk allowance especially for nurses.



- v. Incentivising work in marginalised communities.
- vi. Affording personnel continuous professional development and training including paid study leave.

Guaranteeing all the rights mentioned in the Care for Workers Section

#### 2.15.1 The Security Services

The Security of Zimbabwe is key, maintaining peace is a major underlying assumption of our development project; the MDC Alliance will therefore ensure that the security services of Zimbabwe are professionalised and transformed into institutions of excellence serving the interest of Zimbabweans and assisting civilian authority in securing the country.

The MDC Alliance will transform and maintain the Zimbabwe National Army, Air Force of Zimbabwe, Central Intelligence and Police Service:

#### 2.15.2 Police Service

- i. Our vision is to build a modern efficient reliable and professional police service which can meet the needs and requirements of all those who live in or visit Zimbabwe.
- ii. We will modernise and digitalise all police centres with modern technology to assist them do their work efficiently.
- iii. We will promote a rights based policing approach.
- iv. Immediate upgrading of accommodation services at all police stations and centres
- v. Re-orientation of the police to protect the citizen and not the government against the citizen
- vi. Promotion based on merit as opposed to professional and political connections
- vii. Promotion of digital traffic police aided by traffic cameras and minimal physical traffic stops and roadblocks
- viii. Enabling those serving in the police service to acquire extra professional qualifications

#### 2.15.3 **Army**

- i. We shall build an army we are proud of enabling the building of a democratic Zimbabwe in which citizens live in happiness peace and safety enabling citizens to participate fully in the development and governance of Zimbabwe.
- ii. The army will protect the political independence and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe while aiding a secure and peaceful SADC region.
- iii. We will endeavour to build a technologically effective force capable of securing the borders of our country which are currently porous.

- iv. An MDC Alliance government will ensure proper remuneration of the armed forces including the provision of housing scheme.
- v. Improve civil-military relations.
- vi. Ensure honour of service in any of the military sectors.
- vii. Deployment to be done through parliament in line with constitution of Zimbabwe.
- viii. Partisanship will be an unacceptable vice for serving military men and women.

#### 2.15.4 Central Intelligence Service

- i. The intelligence arm of the state shall be set up by an act of parliament defining and limiting its powers.
- ii. The Intelligence shall focus on detecting and combating external threats of the Zimbabwean State
- iii. Internal crimes detected by the services to be referred to the police services of Zimbabwe.
- iv. Re-orientation of the services to be part of the transformation agenda
- v. Expanding the scope of the intelligence services to assist in economic and financial crimes including money laundering and illicit flows
- vi. Personnel to be afforded benefits due to security services as mentioned in the Police and Army sections.

### **2.16 PRESERVING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY'S TRADITIONAL LEADERS, HISTORY AND HERITAGE.**

Zimbabwe has a rich and fascinating ancient history that unfortunately has not been carefully preserved in the last 38 years.

The MDC Alliance undertakes through this pledge to promote the country's history by modernising our national archives and other historical libraries, and documentation centres.

The MDC Alliance will also ensure the following:

- i. The preservation of our great heritage including the Great Zimbabwe monument and other national monuments such as the *Khami* ruins, *Makate* ruins, *MutiusinaZita* in Waddilove and *Tsindi* ruins in Bernard Mzeki.
- ii. The construction of museums and other cultural centres to record and document various episodes of our history will also be critical.

- iii. The institution of traditional leaders and its independence will be protected through the framework defined in the constitution.
- iv. Traditional leaders are a national heritage that must never be used to further the agenda of any political party.
- v. The government will play no role in the appointment of traditional leaders, but such process will be determined by the traditions of the local community.
- vi. All the 16 local languages named in the constitution shall be celebrated and taught in schools.
- vii. Special incentives will be provided to artists, researchers and scholars promoting Zimbabwe's ancient history, heritage and languages.

## **2.17 PROTECTING AND PROMOTING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE HERITAGE**

The MDC Alliance recognises the importance of the liberation of our country in laying the first step of the country.

However, our struggle for true independence remains incomplete as long as the majority of Zimbabweans continue to wallow in poverty whilst being denied basic services and amenities.

The MDC Alliance thus resolves to complete and finish the unfinished business of the liberation struggle through this Pledge.

In protecting the liberation heritage we will do the following:

- i. Ensure that a proper and accurate history of the liberation struggle is taught and preserved in our school curriculum.
- ii. Construct museums and memorials for the liberation struggle.
- iii. Guarantee and ensure the welfare of war veterans.

## **2.18 CONSTRUCTING A NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Thanks to self-defeating policies of division and isolation, Zimbabwe remains a polarised state where the average citizen has no sense of belonging and cannot identify with Zimbabwe. Through this Smart Pledge and through the restoration of the social contract we intend to instil patriotism and national pride.

The agenda of a new national identity, national pride and patriotism will be fostered through the following:

- i. The construction of a shared and inclusive economy.

- ii. The construction of an inclusive devolved consensus state as defined above.
- iii. The promotion of competitive sports, arts and culture activities which foster a national identity.
- iv. The promotion of local languages in public places as a means of fostering national identity.
- v. The celebration of the country's national days including the celebration of independence in the entire month of April, heroes' day and national unity day.
- vi. The promotion of Zimbabwe's ancient History in curriculum, arts and culture.
- vii. The construction of national museums, galleries and other centres of arts and culture.
- viii. The enhancement of a value system, *Hunhu/Ubuntu* being the values of tolerance, respect, solidarity, dignity of hard work and humble leadership.

## **2.19 RE-ENGAGEMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY**

The MDC Alliance government will pursue a conservative foreign policy in respect of which it will remain non-aligned and will seek to make friends with every decent state in the world, that shares its values of democracy, constitutionalism, socially just transparency, openness and inclusivity.

In this regard we will do the following:

- i. Strengthen our membership of the AU and the SADC.
- ii. Strengthen our membership as a responsible citizen of the UN.
- iii. Re-join the commonwealth
- iv. Pursue African integration through the establishment of a customs and monetary union.
- v. Pursue strong relations with the EU within the context of EU/ACP matrix.
- vi. Ensure that Zimbabwe plays a role in conflict prevention, and peacekeeping missions across the world.

## CHAPTER 3: SUSTAINABLE, SHARED AND INCLUSIVE ECONOMY

### PART I BUILDING A SHARED AND INCLUSIVE ECONOMY

The MDC Alliance has no illusion about the magnitude of the task it faces in transforming and

#### **TRANSFORMATION MARKERS**

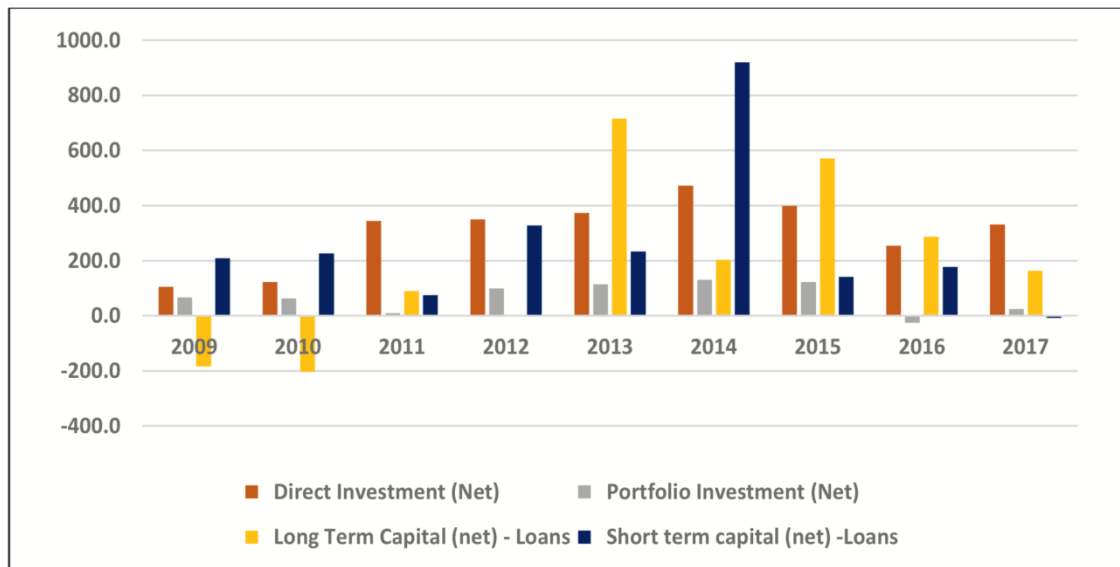
- 1. Full implementation of the STAB including restoration of macro-economic stability.**
- 2. Monetary policy reform including, immediate scrapping of the bond note and strengthening of the multi-currency regime.**
- 3. Urgent implementation of the debt resolution strategy (SADDs).**
- 4. Restoration of the land market and the issuance of title deeds to beneficiaries of the land reform programme.**
- 5. Attending to tax reform including the enactment of a new Income Tax Act and the establishment of a flat corporate tax rate.**
- 6. Promotion of Foreign Direct Investment and Foreign portfolio Investment through enactment of a new foreign Investment law and the ease of doing business.**
- 7. Attending to pension reform and establishment of stand-alone defined benefit pension scheme.**
- 8. Increasing productivity and promotion of the hard sectors of the economy.**
- 9. Promotion of Industrialisation, Value addition and an alternative accumulation model.**
- 10. Establishing an evidence based economy through setting up an**  
rebuilding our broken economy, and creating growth and opportunities for our people.

Thanks to ZANU PF, an economy which at independence was one of the most advanced economies in the African continent has now been reduced to rubble without any meaningful industrial or agricultural base.

The economy is suffocated by declining net capital flows, a toxic if not insane fiscal policy and resultant crippling public debt. This is the chaos we will inherit.

The upward momentum realised on net capital flows during the course of the Government of National Unity (2009-2013) only climaxed in 2014 before declining to negligible levels in 2017, as shown in the graph below.

### Foreign Capital Flows



Source: Reserve Bank

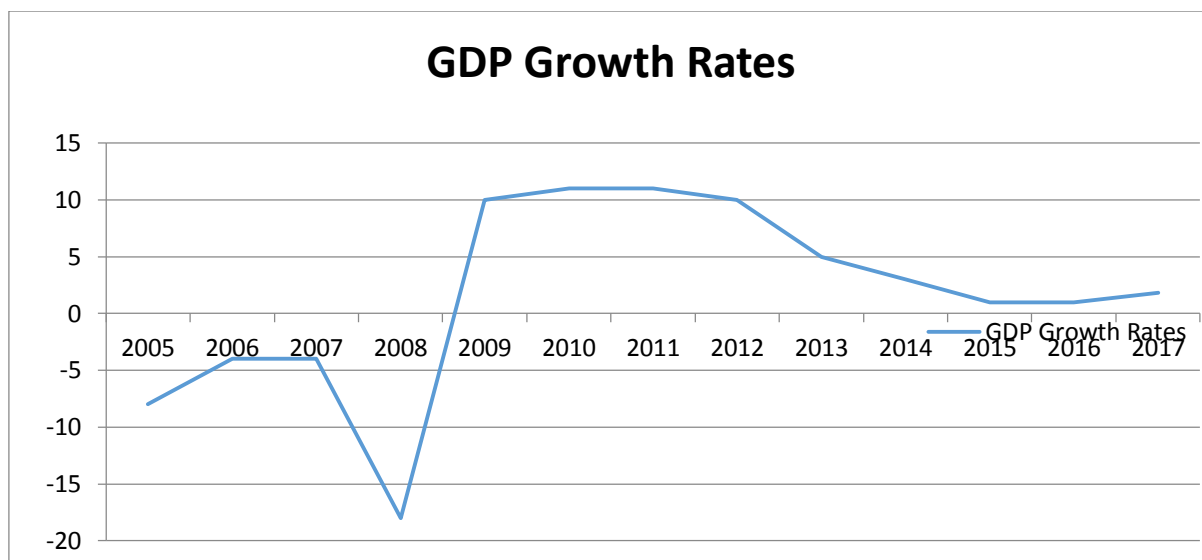
The sectorial contribution to GDP of the key sectors of agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction and services have continued to fall unabated under ZANU PF's policy failures.

Equally upsetting is that the government has never breached the 1 billion dollar mark in terms of its contribution to the country's gross fixed capital formation.

Regardless of its failure to invest significantly in the country's gross fixed capital, the government has continued to run huge budget deficits that have been unsustainably financed through domestic borrowing.

Consequently, this has manifested in debilitating cash shortages, liquidity crunch and crowding out of private sector investments, thereby arresting the overall economic growth as shown in the graph below.

*Declining growth rates have characterised the past few years as shown in Figure 4 Below*



**Figure 5 Source MDC Alliance Research**

The MDC Alliance thus seeks, through the Smart Pledge, to pursue a vigorous programme of economic transformation that will lead to a **prosperous, inclusive and shared economy**. Only through pro- poor shared growth will the country see job creation socio-economic development.

Three issues drive the urgency of our **Smart Pledge**: The first is the current **level of disequilibrium fuelled by an irresponsible, expansionary fiscal policy** that has created an unsustainable fiscal imbalance financed through rising domestic borrowing. This has resulted in rising debt levels which is detrimental to the overall growth aspirations. Second is the rapidly expanding population of Zimbabwe. It is estimated that by 2045 the Zimbabwean population will double up to 26 Million and of that population, 60 % will be below the age of 25. The demographic implosion brings the urgent necessity to grow the economy faster than the rate of population growth. In this regard this Pledge seeks to build a **100 billion dollar economy** in less than a decade.

The third driver of our urgency is clearly, the **Development Deficit** that Zimbabwe is suffering. Zimbabwe has remained an isolated little enclave economy that has not had material development since the mid 1980's.

Compared with neighbouring countries, **Zimbabwe's development deficit is at least forty years**, as reflected by the fact that Zimbabwe has hardly had any major investment in Gross capital formation over the last thirty-year period. Consequently, the country's social and economic infrastructure base is outdated as it was laid out in the 1960's and 1970's and cannot meet the urgent socio-economic needs of our people.

No new major power plants, railways, or highways have been built in the last thirty years. The urgency of this situation thus demands a new agreement on a new way of rethinking the state to reduce the development deficit.

The Smart Pledge thus represents an agreement, a **NEW DEAL**, to fast track Zimbabwe out of the 38-year nightmare of regression, poverty and underdevelopment.

### **3.1 ANCHORING THE ECONOMY ON THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTAL STATE MODEL**

In addressing the huge challenges Zimbabwe faces, the Smart Pledge accepts that tough and painful decisions will have to be made. In this regard, the ability of the state to consult and negotiate with local partners will be key.

Building capacities of strategic state entities to effectively implement economic policies will be essential. As done by other successful developmental models, particularly Estonia, we recognise that policy trade-offs will be essential.

#### **3.1.1 The Five Anchors of the Smart pledge on the Economy**

The MDC Alliance will address the economic challenges through the following:

- i. Macroeconomic stability and sound governance of the economy.
- ii. Industrialisation, Productivity, Savings and Foreign direct Investments.
- iii. Agro – industrial transformation.
- iv. Mining and beneficiation.
- v. Gross capital formation.

#### **3.1.2 Zimbabwe Emergency Economic Rescue Program**

Since the end of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in August 2013, the Zanu PF government has pushed the economy in an inextricable status quo of disequilibrium and dislocation through ballooning debt, fiscal deficits, rampant and uncontrollable expenditure and stagnation. Correcting the wrongs of the five-year period 2013-2018 is a necessary precondition for moving forward.

As a necessary pre-condition for moving forward, the MDC Alliance government will, immediately after assuming office, implement a short-term stabilisation agenda upon which we will anchor Zimbabwe's economic recovery. This will entail restoring **macro-economic stability and fiscal consolidation**.

Indeed, given the current budget deficit, fiscal adjustments will be a necessary precondition for macroeconomic stability. The fiscal adjustments will be achieved through:



- i. Fiscal consolidation through, *inter alia*, pursuit of a primary balance and restoration of balanced budgeting.
- ii. Rationalisation of expenditure and improving the expenditure mix.
- iii. Building capacity on revenue management and strengthening public finance management systems.
- iv. Taking measures to reduce debt and improving debt management to reduce risk of inflationary pressures, crowding out of private sector activity and exacerbation of liquidity shortages.
- v. Expediting State Owned Enterprise (SOE) Reform.
- vi. Rationalisation of the public service and elimination of ghost workers to reduce employment cost to 30% of total expenditure.
- vii. Expansion of the revenue base through increased productivity, and expansion of the economy.
- viii. Immediate resolution of the cash crisis by addressing confidence issues, scrapping the bond note, strengthening the multiple currency regime.
- ix. Central bank reform including auditing of central bank assets and liabilities.
- x. Export promotion, narrowing the current account and rationalising the capital account.
- xi. Accelerate “ease of doing business” reforms and promote policy coherence and consistency.
- xii. Commencement of urgent debt resolution and re-engagement processes.
- xiii. Plugging the loopholes in the commodity sectors through, *inter alia*, enactment of a new Diamond law and a new Minerals and Mining Act, immediately subscribing to the **Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI)** and consolidating Zimbabwe’s position in the Kimberly Process.
- xiv. Bolstering social protection and immediate rehabilitation of all social infrastructure including health, education, people living with disabilities, vulnerable communities, women and children.
- xv. Taking measures to protect private property rights including strengthening and executing BIPPA’s, re-joining Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and provision of title to occupiers of land.
- xvi. Total repeal of the indigenisation empowerment laws and the creation of a new broad-based empowerment strategy that is premised on localisation.
- xvii. The review and revisiting of investment agreements, mining grants and any disposals of Zimbabwe’s assets.

- xviii. Convening the second Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development. Given the huge development trap that Zimbabwe finds itself in, the MDC Alliance government will within its first year organise a conference on reconstruction and new development.

With the aid of its international partners, including international financial institutions and international development agencies, the MDC Alliance government will organise a major conference to map a way forward on the following issues:

- i. Financing of the reconstruction agenda covered in this Smart Pledge
- ii. Resolution of the debt crisis.
- iii. Resolution of the land question.
- iv. Emergency budgetary support to the government
- v. Promotion of a green economy.

### **3.2 BUILDING THE 100 BILLION DOLLAR ECONOMY**

The construction of a nominal 100 Billion dollar economy within a decade is the holy grail of our economic policy.



**Figure 6 : A 100 billion dollar economy is possible. Source Shutterstock**

Given the huge levels of poverty in our country, the development deficit, the rising population levels, growing our economy to a 100 Billion dollar economy in ten years is a national duty and an obligation. The consequences of not achieving this target will be drastic and the country will pay a huge price.

### 3.2.1. Underlying Assumptions

The assumptions underpinning our 100 Billion dollar economy are the following:

- i. Stable macroeconomic environment.
- ii. Assumes from Period 2019-2029.
- iii. Average Growth rate of 10%.
- iv. Average Inflation rate of 6%.
- v. Savings exceeding 25% of GDP.
- vi. Foreign Direct Investment exceeding 25% of GDP
- vii. Stable and certain monetary policy environment.
- viii. Peace and stability.

<b>National Accounts (Real Sector)</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>2019</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>2021</b>	<b>2022</b>	<b>2023</b>	<b>2024</b>	<b>2025</b>	<b>2026</b>	<b>2027</b>	<b>2028</b>
Nominal GDP at market prices (Million US\$)	17,392.2	18,741.8	21,574.0	26,585.8	32,592.7	38,952.9	46,102.2	54,457.5	63,880.0	74,763.0	87,253.6	101,754.1
Real GDP Growth (%)	3.7	2.8	8.9	16.0	15.9	13.1	12.0	11.7	10.9	10.6	10.2	10.0
Per Capital Income (US\$)	1,207.4	1,288.2	1,468.2	1,791.3	2,174.3	2,572.9	3,015.0	3,526.1	4,095.3	4,745.5	5,483.5	6,331.5
Final consumption (Million US\$)	16,607.9	18,649.0	19,505.0	23,770.3	28,798.9	33,989.3	39,693.9	46,225.9	53,408.9	61,506.0	70,554.1	80,775.9
Gross capital formation/ Investment (Million US\$)	2,744.1	2,043.8	4,314.8	5,583.0	7,186.7	9,018.6	11,207.5	13,900.6	17,121.1	21,039.8	25,782.7	31,570.8
Inflation (Annual Average) %	0.9	3.0	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.7	5.8	5.9	6.0	6.0	6.1	6.2
<b>Government Accounts</b>												
Revenues (Millions US\$)	3,870.0	4,300.0	4,979.5	6,173.1	7,613.3	9,153.5	10,898.6	12,951.0	15,283.0	17,994.0	21,126.3	24,785.0
Expenditures & Net Lending (million US\$)	6,568.1	6,045.0	4,979.5	6,173.1	7,613.3	9,153.5	10,898.6	12,951.0	15,283.0	17,994.0	21,126.3	24,785.0
<i>Recurrent Expenditures</i>	5,152.8	4,581.0	3,577.2	4,331.0	5,287.2	6,290.1	7,407.9	8,704.0	10,151.8	11,808.4	13,690.7	15,853.6
<i>Capital Expenditure &amp; Net lending</i>	1,415.3	1,464.1	1,402.3	1,842.1	2,326.1	2,863.4	3,490.6	4,246.9	5,131.2	6,185.6	7,435.6	8,931.4
<b>Balance of Payments Accounts</b>												
Exports (million US\$)	4,679.7	4,886.4	5,624.8	6,931.5	8,497.7	10,155.9	12,019.9	14,198.4	16,655.0	19,492.5	22,749.1	26,529.7
Imports (million US\$)	6,639.4	6,837.5	7,870.7	9,699.1	11,890.6	14,210.9	16,819.2	19,867.4	23,305.0	27,275.3	31,832.2	37,122.3

The MDC Alliance government, through the Smart Pledge, will build the 100 Billion Dollar economy within the next ten years.

### 3.2.2 Drivers of the 100 Billion Dollar Economy

During the first five years of building the 100 Billion Dollar Economy, the MDC Alliance government will anchor its GDP growth vision on mining, agriculture and tourism sectors of the economy. These three sectors are capable of generating autonomous growth that is driven by utilising idle capacity and favourable external demand.

In addition, the MDC Alliance government will also prioritise reconstruction of key infrastructure such as roads, airports, energy, ICT, Railway, Housing, rural development that will be decisive.

In the last phase, the MDC Alliance government will work towards rebalancing the economy by shifting growth from primary sectors to service sectors. Health, education, ICT, distribution and financial services will be the anchors of our 100 billion dollar economy. The trickle down benefits of sustained growth will create robust middle class that will help to propel our vision.

The table 2 below captures the sectorial breakdown of the 100 Billion Dollar Economy:

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
GDP	3.7	2.8	8.9	13.3	12.5	10.3	9.8	9.9	9.6	9.4	8.8	8.7	8.6
Agriculture	15.2	4.2	12.7	11.4	8.8	6.8	5.8	5.9	4.8	4.6	4.2	4.2	3.5
Mining	8.0	10.1	12.1	9.4	7.6	7.5	5.9	5.3	4.7	3.9	3.4	2.9	2.3
Manufacturing	1.4	1.9	3.4	3.8	5.9	10.1	10.0	10.8	12.1	12.5	12.7	13.8	14.5
Electricity and water	4.4	13.0	8.0	15.0	22.0	16.4	14.7	12.2	10.1	8.3	8.0	7.7	7.8
Construction	2.2	2.1	31.4	28.1	25.4	23.9	21.4	20.2	18.4	17.9	13.3	12.1	10.7
Distribution, Hotels and restaurants	1.1	1.7	10.1	31.5	20.9	9.2	8.6	8.6	8.3	8.2	8.2	8.7	8.9
Transportation and communication	2.4	1.5	6.6	11.3	12.6	13.9	13.8	13.7	13.3	13.0	12.9	12.8	12.7
Financial, banking and insurance	5.0	1.9	8.2	13.5	12.9	10.5	10.1	10.3	10.0	9.9	9.2	9.2	9.1
Public administration, education and health	7.6	0.1	3.0	5.6	8.2	7.1	6.9	7.1	7.1	6.8	6.6	6.1	6.1
Real estate	2.2	2.1	31.4	28.1	25.4	23.9	21.4	20.2	18.4	17.9	13.3	12.1	10.7

### 3.2.2.1 Agriculture

- i. Restoration of the land market through among other things the issuance of title deeds or long leases to beneficiaries of the land reform programme.
- ii. Establishment of security of tenure
- iii. Massive investment in irrigation to make agriculture a 365 day business.
- iv. Setting up of special agro-processing zones in the context of spatial development.
- v. Enhanced research, training and extension services.
- vi. Regaining lost international markets including the EU. Leveraging and specialising in the following eight areas: horticulture; Livestock and meat; Legumes and oilseeds; Tree crops; Grains; Cotton; Tobacco; Forestry and timber.

### 3.2.2.2 Mining

The MDC Alliance will leverage on the mineral resources through improvement of transparency in the sector, altering the extractive model and plugging the leakages and illicit flows.

### 3.2.2.3 Construction

The reconstruction of Zimbabwe detailed in Chapter 6 is the main anchor of the 100 billion dollar economy

#### 3.2.2.4 Manufacturing:

Highly correlated with agriculture- high potential for regaining ground.

#### 3.2.2.5 Services

Services, particularly insurance, banking, tourism and consumer facing industries will play a key role in growing the USD 100 Billion Dollar economy.

#### 3.2.2.6 Foreign Direct Investment

FDI is going to play a key role in the construction of the 100 billion dollar economy.

- i. Linking trade with Foreign Direct Investment.
- ii. Emphasis of trade facilitation through ease of doing business and establishment of a one stop centre.
- iii. Protection of investors through the Constitution, BIPPA's and international instruments such as MIGA.

### **3.3 REBASING THE ECONOMY**

To the extent that Data has been compromised and to the extent that there are many aspects of the Zimbabwean economy that are shadowy in nature and unaccounted for. The MDC Alliance will, in the first six months, undertake to rebase the economy in key material respects.

With the help of experts from the World Bank and other credible international financial institutions. The MDC Alliance government will

- i. Change the index year in respect of which GDP is calculated from 2009 where data was badly affected by hyperinflation.
- ii. Change the bundle and weight of goods and services that are currently being taken into account in the calculation of GDP at the present moment to include goods and service that are being generated in the informal sector.
- iii. Accordingly, re-evaluate the Country's GDP and consumer price index on the new modernised basket of goods and services.

### **3.4 COLLECTION AND PUBLICATION OF INDEPENDENT STATISTICS**

The MDC Alliance government will create a totally independent Statistical Agency, run by a national statics general that will provide essential macro-economic data required for efficiently planning and running the economy.

Despite the fact that the Zimbabwe statics agency, ZIMSTATS, is now constituted under a separate act of parliament with its own board of directors, the same remains totally subordinate

and subservient to the Ministry of Finance. The current set up has resulted in the production of limited and untimely statistics.

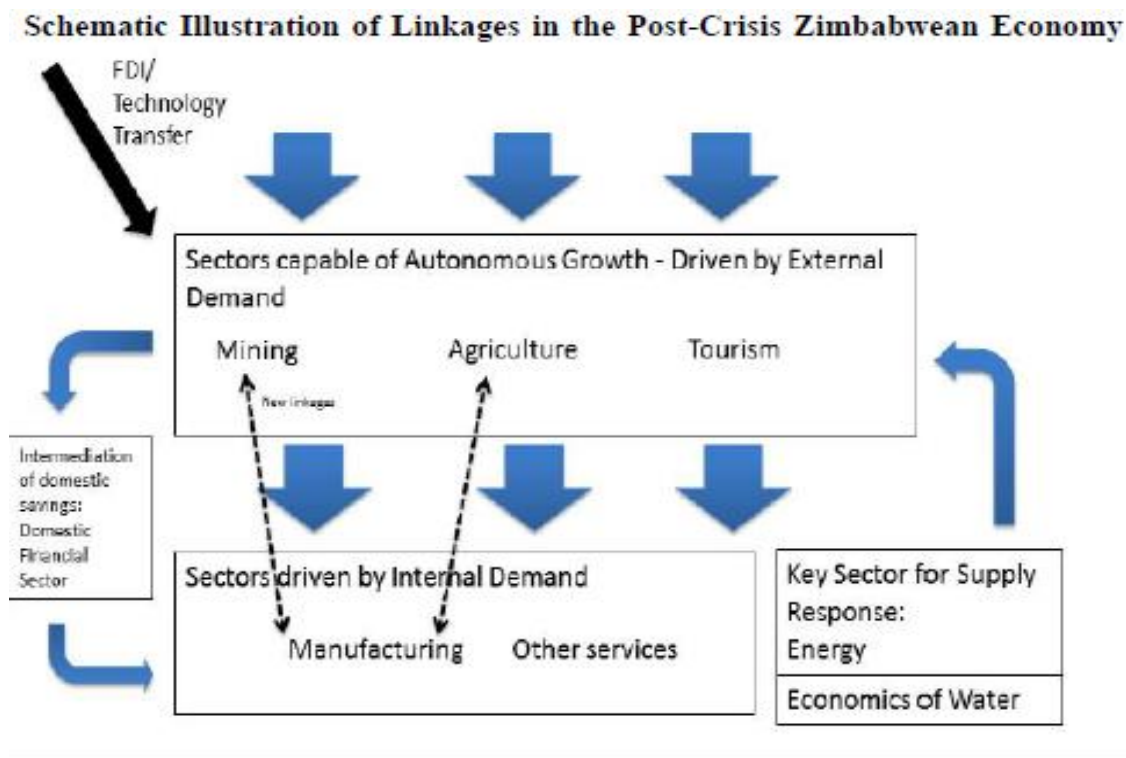
### 3.5 JOBS

Creating and restoring job opportunities is the primary objective of the Smart Pledge. The MDC Alliance government will pursue the following:

#### 3.5.1 Gross Capital Formation

- I. This **Pledge** commits the MDC Alliance government to a program of reconstructing the economy out of the current crisis.
- II. The labour-intensive reconstruction agenda outlined in this pledge will directly and indirectly create hundreds of thousands of jobs for the people of Zimbabwe.

The employment potential thrust is highlighted below:



Source: LEDRIZ

#### 3.5.2 Entrepreneurship

- I. Encourage entrepreneurial approach to economic growth.
- II. Launch a growth and Innovation Fund along capital firms to encourage innovation and new business ideas.
- III. Promote and support small business incubators.



- IV. Reserve the retail sector (small scale for locals).
- V. Establish an entrepreneurship bank.

#### 3.5.3 SMEs Development

- I. Offering Tax incentives to business and firms.
- II. Outsourcing or sub-contracting SMEs.
- III. Providing credit to SMEs.
- IV. Encouraging smart partnerships and inter-linkages between large corporations and SMEs.

A number of complementary measures will be introduced to empower small scale farmers and entrepreneurs (whether rural or urban based) by providing them with access to capital and other necessary inputs and support services.

To overcome the dualist structures in the economy and strengthen small enterprise production, the MDC government will provide the support and incentives for precarious informal enterprises to grow into substantive formal sector concerns. Specific measures to facilitate this will include:

- i. Provision of contracting opportunities in public work programmes.
- ii. Encouragement of initiatives to link large and small enterprises.
- iii. Finance from government and development –partner sources for small scale enterprise development (To be channelled through Agribank, SEDCO, the Credit Guarantee Company, commercial banks, venture capital companies and other financial and support institutions).
- iv. Disposal by the Industrial and development Corporation of its present holdings and the use of the capital base generated to invest in promising small enterprises on a venture capital basis.
- v. The Development of joint strategies between local authorities and central government and development partners to promote small-scale enterprises, including the removal of constraining procedures and regulations and the provision of serviced work spaces in urban and rural areas linked to equipment leasing schemes.
- vi. Requiring institutions such as the Productivity Centre and the Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre (SIRDC) to facilitate access by producers and exporters to information on market and technological developments, as well as the acquisition of skills to be adaptable to new technologies with a particular focus on small enterprises.

### 3.5.4 Formalising the Informal Sector

- I. Developing pro- poor and job rich growth.
- II. Implementing an enabling legal framework.
- III. Facilitating entrepreneurship and enterprise upgrading.
- IV. Increasing access to finance.
- V. Developing Skills and vocational training.
- VI. Extending social protection coverage.
- VII. Strengthening the organisation and representation of workers in the informal economy.

The road to formalisation is illustrated in Figure 5 below:

Figure 7 Source

LEDRIZ



3.6

## FINANCIAL SECTOR REFORM

### 3.6.1 Resolving the Cash Crisis

Zimbabwe's cash crisis stems from two challenges:





**Figure 8 Wall Street Journal**

- i. Lack of confidence in the ZANU PF government and indeed the broken down social contract in the country.
- ii. The regime of fiscal disequilibrium.

We propose the following urgent remedies:

- i. Immediate scrapping of the bond note.
- ii. Returning to and strengthening the regime of multiple currencies in the short term.
- iii. Rationalising the capital account.
- iv. Increasing productivity and growing GDP in order to build substantive reserves in the country.
- v. Ring fencing USD Dollar balances in banks at a specific date to protect depositors against a second attack.

### 3.6.2 Currency Reforms

The MDC Alliance recognizes that in the long term, it is not sustainable for Zimbabwe to continue to use a basket of multiple currencies as legal tender. The USD for instance, is exacerbating the challenges of high cost structures as well as fuelling the un-competitiveness of Zimbabwe's exports.

In the long term, the answer to Zimbabwe's currency challenges lies in regional integration.

It is our hope and prayer that any of the regional economic communities (RECS), SADC, COMESA, EAC, will in the near future establish a functional monetary union.

The MDC Alliance government will join such a monetary Union and adopt its currency as the legal tender for Zimbabwe. However, as an interim measure, Zimbabwe will join the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and the Rand Monetary Union, now referred to as the Multilateral Monetary Area (MMA). The importance of this decisive decision is that:

- i. It will allow Zimbabwe to use a cheaper, enforceable and convertible currency, the Rand.
- ii. It will allow the devaluation of the cost structure of the Zimbabwean Economy.
- iii. Zimbabwe will receive significant revenue from SACU contributions.
- iv. It will allow Zimbabwe to benefit from favourable trade agreements enjoyed by SACU.
- v. It will allow efficient low cost trade with South Africa, Zimbabwe's largest trading partner.
- vi. It will allow Zimbabwe to issue a new Zimbabwean dollar that will be pegged to the Rand.

The MDC ALLIANCE government will also recognise as legal tender virtual currencies such as crypto currencies and bitcoin.

### 3.6.3 Reform of the Financial Sector Regulatory Infrastructure

The MDC Alliance government will also pursue the following broad measures to strengthen oversight over the financial sector:

- i. Strengthening oversight over the financial sector by establishing an independent **Financial Affairs Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (FARAZ)** that will carry out the supervision and surveillance of financial institutions; thus, taking away from the Reserve Bank the power to regulate and supervise the financial and banking Sector.
- ii. Amendments to the Banking Act to enhance good corporate governance and to strengthen corrective measures by the regulator and criminalize activities and actions that prejudice depositors.
- iii. Financial sector reform to promote good governance, including measures to institute sanctions and penalties against those responsible for Bank failures.

- iv. Establishment of a Banking Ombudsman whose function is to oversee compliance in the Banking Sector.

#### 3.6.4 Reform of the Central Bank

It is heavily debatable whether a country which does not print its own money requires a reserve bank.

However the MDC ALLIANCE seeks to make amendments to the *Reserve Bank Act* to establish the following:

- i. Independent central bank with a governor, a single deputy governor and a strong monetary policy committee.
- ii. Strengthening governance at the Central Bank so that the same sticks to the core functions of monetary policy management and management of the national payment system
- iii. Enacting provision that prevents central government from borrowing from the central bank.
- iv. Measures to promote an electronic payment system including incentives for the use of plastic money.

#### 3.6.5 Restoring Savings in the Country

It is the intention of the MDC ALLIANCE government to restore a savings culture in the country. This needs an environment that protects the interest of savers. Citizens must not face punitive measures from the financial system which makes them averse to savings.

- i. Implementation of measures to promote financial inclusion particularly of persons in the rural areas.
- ii. Establishment of a credible Credit Reference Bureau.
- iii. Restoration of savings accounts in Zimbabwe and promotion of saving instruments to ensure that savings are at least 25% of GDP.
- iv. Monitoring and controlling fees charges and lending rates of financial institutions to avoid arbitrage and usurious rates.
- v. Enhancement of legislation and policies that promote micro- financing.
- vi. The restoration of savings instruments such as Paid Up permanent Shares and other savings paper.
- vii. The restoration of mortgage finance particularly for low income housing.

- viii. The return of consumer lending through higher purchase and other form of credit finance.

### **3.7 FISCAL REFORMS**

After the MDC left government in 2013, the government led by ZANU PF resorted to its old ways of gross fiscal indiscipline. Fiscal deficit in 2017 is estimated at 9% of GDP, which by any standard of fiscal sustainability is unacceptable. The gap was financed by unorthodox means of having an over-draft with the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. This has contributed immensely to the current cash crisis and is feeding also into price increases. Fiscal consolidation is, therefore, the most urgent and critical element for stabilizing the economy.

The MDC Alliance upon assuming power, will:

- i. Reintroduce the balanced budgeting in order to limit the exposure of government to the central bank.
- ii. Rationalise the public service and elimination of ghost workers to reduce employment cost to 30% of total expenditure.
- iii. Suspend all costly quasi-fiscal activities.
- iv. Rationalisation of expenditure and improving the expenditure mix.
- v. Building capacity on budget management, and strengthening public finance management system.
- vi. Expedition of State Owned Enterprise (SOE) Reform.
- vii. Expansion of the revenue base through increased productivity, and expansion of the economy.
- viii. Creating fiscal councils that will depoliticise various aspects of fiscal policy, provide high-quality analysis and expert views and increase fiscal transparency.
- ix. Introduce a citizen portal for feedback on all public services.

#### **3.7.1 Smart Arrears Debt & Development Strategy (SADDSA)**

Thanks to ZANU PF, Zimbabwe carries a heavy and unsustainable debt burden. With a total sovereign debt of 16 billion dollars and domestic debt of 8 Billion, the crippling debt crisis, has become a development albatross around Zimbabwe's neck. Zimbabwe's huge debt levels, places a huge premium on the country and militates against efforts to mobilise external lines of credit necessary to rebuild Zimbabwe.

The MDC Alliance thus understands the importance of debt resolution strategy as a pre-condition to unlocking the much required finance.

We thus propose to raise the issue of debt squarely with our international partners.

Put differently, debt is a development issue. Without resolving Zimbabwe's debt crisis there will be no meaningful development.

We will thus implement our own strategy, the Zimbabwe Smart Debt Strategy

The key tenets of our debt strategy are the following:

- i. Establishing through an Act of Parliament an independent Debt Management Office.
- ii. Auditing and validation of all Zimbabwe's debt.
- iii. Establishment of a transparent publicly accessible and up to date database.
- iv. Establishing of the legality of all such debt and isolating of all odious debt.
- v. Pursuit of qualitative and quantitative structural reforms.
- vi. Re-confirming of Zimbabwe's Low Income Status (LIC) and negotiating terms of engagement within the context of the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative.
- vii. Preparation of a poverty reduction strategy paper.
- viii. Negotiating for comprehensive arrears, debt cancellation, and debt relief programme, including sourcing of critical new funding.
- ix. Taking of measures, including legislative measures to ensure debt sustainability.
- x. Re-engagement with the international community, normalisation of relations.

Contrary to the ZANU PF government, we do not believe that the country has the capacity to borrow in order to clear its arrears. In this regard will therefore abandon the ill-conceived LIMA process.

### **3.7.2 Tax & Pension Reform**

#### **3.7.2.1 Tax Reform**

The establishment of an efficient tax regime is essential for successful fiscal reform. Zimbabwe loses millions of dollars in tax avoidance, tax evasion and blatant corruption at its border posts.

Zimbabwe needs to reduce the burden of taxation on its people. The ratio of revenue to GDP, standing at around 30%, is one of the highest in Southern Africa.

The MDC Alliance government will implement the following measures as part of tax reform:

- i. Strengthening tax administration through, among other things, the modernisation of the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA).
- ii. The modernisation of the Income Tax Act so that, among other things, the basis of taxation is source and not residence.
- iii. Widening of the tax base through the formalisation of the informal sector and the growth of SMEs.
- iv. The introduction of a corporate flat tax rate of 15 %A departure from the current tax regime to a flat tax regime of direct taxation to a regime of **flat tax of 15%**.
- v. Introduce mandatory reporting of revenues from extractive industries.

### 3.7.2.2 Pensions reform

#### A. Establishment of a defined contribution scheme

The MDC Alliance government will restructure government pensions, to move away from the current defined benefit scheme to a defined contribution scheme. This move will create a huge vessel of savings in the economy which will ultimately provide better benefits to its members.

Pension reforms will also focus on addressing national pensions that were decimated by hyper-inflation, ZANU PF's economic mismanagement and opaque transactions by some insurance firms.

#### B. Reform of the National Social Security Authority

Zimbabwe has a National Social Security Scheme NSSA established through the National Social Security Act of 1989. Over the years, NSSA has failed to provide its obligations to protect the poor. Over the past 10 years its payment has been as low as \$60 per individual. However executive pay and benefits at NSSA are at odds with its payment to pensioners

NSSA has an investment wing that is meant to provide investment advice to the authority on how it can best manage its funds. This function has however failed. Unfortunately, the mind-set of current NSSA administrators is to pay more allegiance to the investment wing.

NSSA, must focus on its core business. The MDC Alliance Government will ensure that NSSA remains a strictly administrative body and all investment are done through the Sovereign wealth Fund. This will enable NSSA to concentrate more on its core business.

Current regulations which allow NSSA to expropriate pensions on grounds that claims are filed out of time will be scrapped to protect pensioners.



C. Compensation of pension values lost during ZANU's hyperinflationary scourge. During Zimbabwe's hyperinflationary economic meltdown period from 2000-2008, thousands of pensioners lost the value of their pensions. The *Justice Smith Report* into the conversion of currency from the Zimbabwe to the United States dollar system shows that more than \$5 billion in pensions was lost. The same report weighed the factors that caused the loss of value in terms of the following ratios;

- i. Government mismanagement of the economy - 43%
- ii. Failure by the Regulator - 21%
- iii. Failure by the Insurance sector - 36%
  - a. The MDC Alliance Government will ensure that there is full and adequate payment of compensation to all those that lost their pensions.

## **PART II REAL SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY**

### **3.8. AGRICULTURE**

Since 2000, Zimbabwe's agricultural sector was destroyed by the chaotic and poorly planned fast track land reform. From 2000 to 2016, agricultural output declined by over 70% from a peak of 25% contribution to GDP in 1997 to less than 12% in 2017. Zimbabwe became a food deficit country having plunged from being 'Africa's breadbasket in the 1980s'. Growing food imports draw heavily on the scarce foreign exchange reserves. Under this Pledge, the MDC Alliance will among other things abolish unsustainable and capital wasting practices such as the implementation of Command Agriculture and replace it with Smart Agriculture.

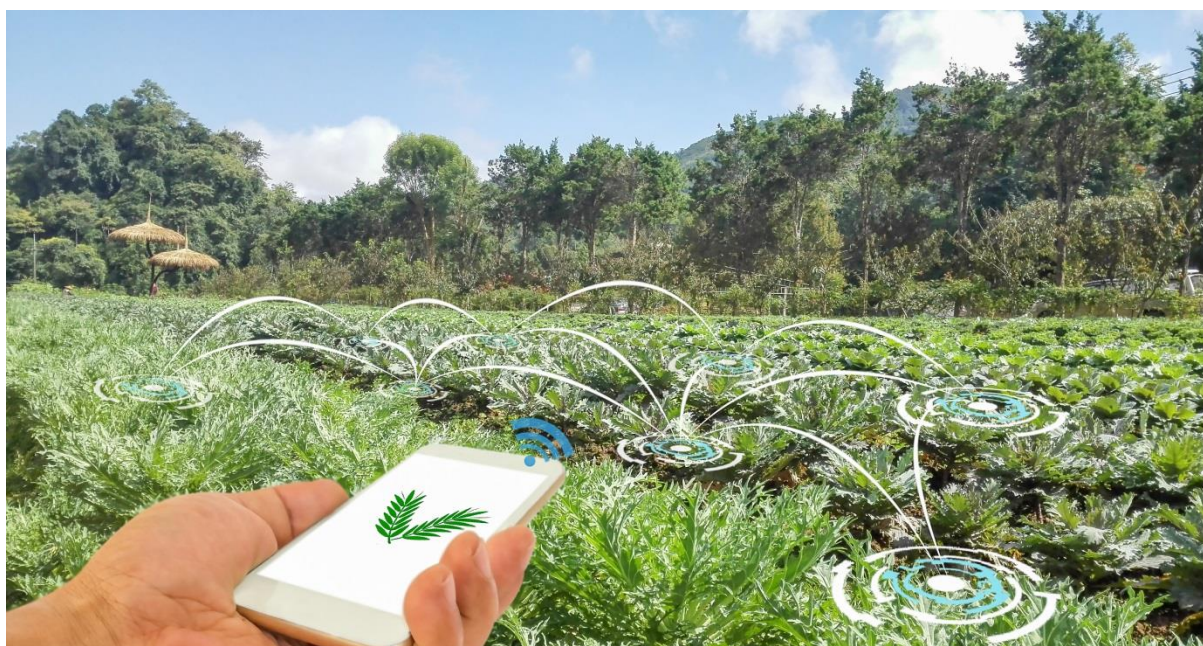


Figure 9 Source: Shutterstock

The state's only role in farming will be regulation and that of supporting vulnerable communities. Our government will also support and facilitate climate adaptation in the agricultural sector in line with Sustainable Development Goal 13 on Climate Action.

The MDC Alliance government will also take a leading role in engagement of international institutions supporting agriculture.

The MDC Alliance government policies on land and agricultural development will be guided by Section 15 (Food Security) of the Constitution.

The MDC Alliance, upon assuming office, will immediately focus on ensuring adequate food supplies from both local and foreign sources till the 2018/19 summer crop harvest period, while making adequate preparations for the 2018/19 season through timely provision of supportive infrastructure, technical services and affordable inputs to farmers.

To achieve this, Smart Agriculture will be anchored on the following:

- 1. Bringing finality to the land question:** at the present moment people are still fighting over land invasions, double plot allocations and boundary disputes.
- 2. Deal with security of tenure:** newly resettled farmers will be given title to land so that land owners have both land use value and exchange value that they can use to access credit lines.
- 3. Restoration of the Land Market:** the MDC Alliance government will strengthen and resuscitate the land market in Zimbabwe. This will be essential to increasing agricultural productivity and engineering agricultural development.
- 4. Financing agricultural infrastructure:** In order to fully empower the newly resettled farmers there is need for seasonal, capital and land loans which can be provided by commercial banks as well as the Rural Development Fund.



- 5. Innovation and use of technology:** the MDC Alliance government will promote and facilitate the uptake of new technology in the agricultural sector from farm level to agro-industries. This will also include supporting the use of sustainable energy sources such as solar energy in the agricultural sector and electronic land management system that publishes information on land ownership, production activities and ecological location.



- 6. Agricultural markets:** The MDC Alliance will reintroduce the Zimbabwe Agricultural Commodity Exchange (ZIMACE) to moderate prices, acting as a secondary bourse in the country for agricultural commodities. This will be a significant and crucial step towards restoring markets for agricultural produce. The MDC Alliance government will also rationalize the marketing of tobacco, as well as the entire tobacco industry, so that farmers are not shortchanged, and they get fair value for their tobacco produce. Marketing for cereal produce such as maize, wheat will also be prioritized.
- 7. Agro Processing and Value Addition:** The MDC Alliance government will promote agro-processing by attracting both local and foreign investments, including revival of such previously acclaimed ventures as ZAGRINDA and production of locally processed meat,

fruit and vegetables. This is also in line with our commitment to creating employment and developing the manufacturing sector.

- 8. Investment in equipment:** The MDC Alliance government will ensure that every farm is fully functional and organized. Our government will ensure that all farmers have access to mechanized farming equipment for tillage, harvesting, transportation and storage. This will be vital for driving inclusive agriculture development.
- 9. Harnessing water resources for agriculture:** The MDC Alliance government will resuscitate dilapidated and obsolete irrigation infrastructure. More than 80% of our arable land currently relies on rain-fed farming as they do not have access to functioning irrigation facilities. The MDC Alliance government will facilitate investments in irrigation which will lead to a shift from dry land to irrigated agriculture.
- 10. Access to agricultural inputs:** The MDC Alliance government will provide incentives for local blending of compound fertilizers, and exploration of long-term opportunities for cheaper and more sustainable domestic production of agricultural inputs. The MDC Alliance government will also ensure that financial support for seed and fertilizer production is provided in a transparent and inclusive manner. Our government will also remove existing constraints that impede the revival of local input supply industries.

**Ensure SMART mechanization of farms:** On the issue of land, the MDC Alliance restates the constitutional provisions that the land reform program is irreversible. However, the MDC Alliance government will seek to bring Zimbabwe's land question to closure through a democratic and participatory process aimed at equitable, transparent, just, lawful and economically efficient rationalization of the ownership and use of land. The MDC Alliance government will therefore pursue the following;

- i. Set up an impartial, independent, well-resourced, professional agency - the *Land Commission*, as provided for under the national constitution.
- ii. The restoration of collateral security in land, to facilitate sustainable funding of the agricultural sector, consistent with the constitution of Zimbabwe.
- iii. Granting occupation certificates to existing farmers.
- iv. De-racialising land ownership.
- v. A comprehensive land audit to eliminate multiple farm ownerships
- vi. Land Tax, **the** government will introduce an appropriate land occupation and use tax that encourages production on titled land and facilitate provision of off farm infrastructure by the State.

### 3.8.1 Surplus Security and Agrarian Reform

About 42% of the land in Zimbabwe is communal land, on which a substantial proportion of the population live and eke out a living from subsistence agriculture. The MDC Alliance government is committed not just to a just resolution of the distribution of what was previously large scale commercial farmland but to ensuring that productivity and incomes are increased in both the communal and the resettlement areas.

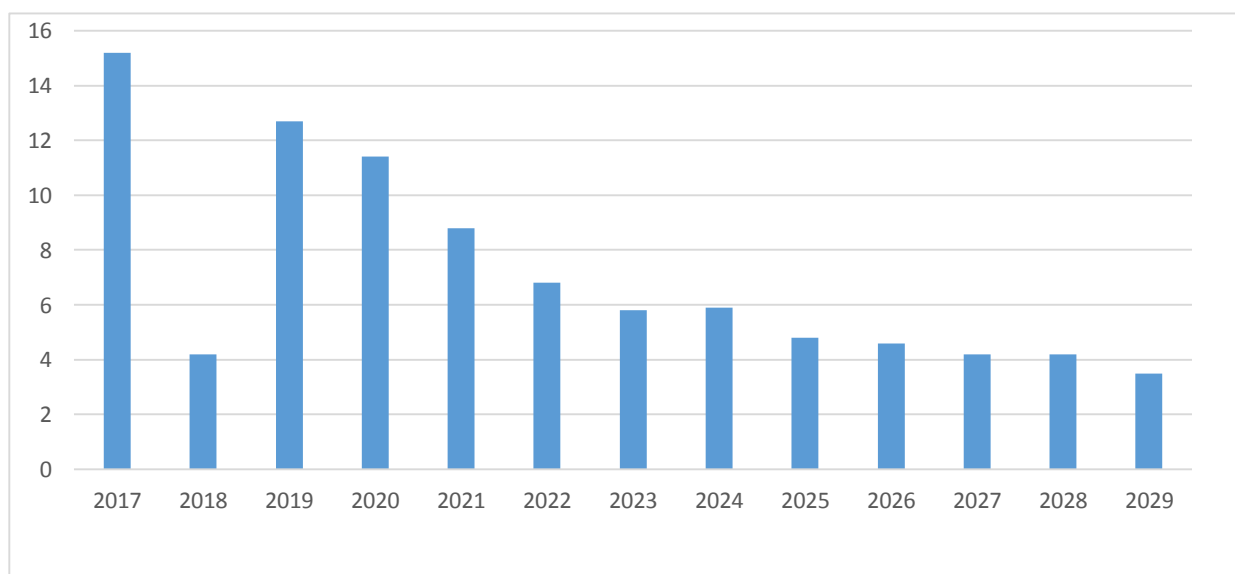
The MDC Alliance government's agrarian reform programme thus has broad scope, seeking the comprehensive restructuring of the agricultural sector. Land reform is an important aspect, but of similar significance is the provision of support service such as credit, marketing, pricing, rural infrastructure (Dams, roads, bridges, electricity supplies, hospitals, schools) and farmer training. The objectives are to increase productivity throughout the agricultural sector and facilitate rural industrialisation.

To achieve the overall transformation of rural production across all rural sectors, the MDC's agrarian reform embraces four key programme areas:

**Transformation of Zimbabwe's dual agrarian structure:** This will involve moving from patterns of a few large and successful commercial farms alongside many tiny and uneconomic subsistence plots into a more "unimodal" structure. This shift towards viable small and medium-sized family farms will be achieved by the following:

- i. Sub Division of large farms ( whose economic potential would not be compromised thereby) for occupation by new commercial farmers and settlers
- ii. Building strong agro- industrial linkages to create non- agricultural jobs in rural and urban centres to decongest the communal areas
- iii. Stimulating much higher levels of agriculture production in the communal areas.

Our Agro Industrial transformation plan will ensure a significant contribution to overall growth of the economy. Our projections are captured in the graph below:



### 3.9 MINING

#### 3.9.1 Mining and Beneficiation

Mining is Zimbabwe's major exporter, and the sector is a key foreign currency earner and backbone of the economy. Zimbabwe ranks high on each of the following minerals; gold, platinum, diamonds and chrome. But expansion in the mining sector is beset by capital constraints, low international commodity prices, power outages and high input costs. Mining is also plagued by transparency issues. A typical example is the disappearance of \$15 billion dollars from the diamond sector between 2009 and 2015. The great majority of revenues from diamond sales have been going into the pockets of mainly the military oligarchs and ruling elites.

The MDC Alliance government will thus create a ***Diamond Act*** that will cover the following:

- i. State control of alluvial diamonds given their fungibility and their capacity to create conflicts as blood diamonds.
- ii. The separation of diamond mining from diamond marketing.
- iii. The promotion of value addition and the proscription of exportation of unpolished or uncut diamonds.
- iv. A clearly defined revenue sharing formula between the State and private investors.
- v. Positioning of ZIMRA representation at every level of mining to the final sale.
- vi. Setting a threshold of diamond retention in the country.
- vii. Ensuring distribution of benefits to the local mining communities.
- viii. Environmental impact mitigation obligations for mining companies.

#### 3.9.2 Mining Linkages

The MDC Alliance government will ensure that mining becomes a catalyst for broad based development. This will entail developing linkages between the mining sector and other strategic sectors of the economy.

- Backward linkages - these can be developed with infrastructure, skills and technology development.
- Spatial linkages - these link the state, private sector, civil society, local communities and other stakeholders in beneficial partnerships.

The MDC Alliance government's mining linkages are illustrated below:

# Mining Sector

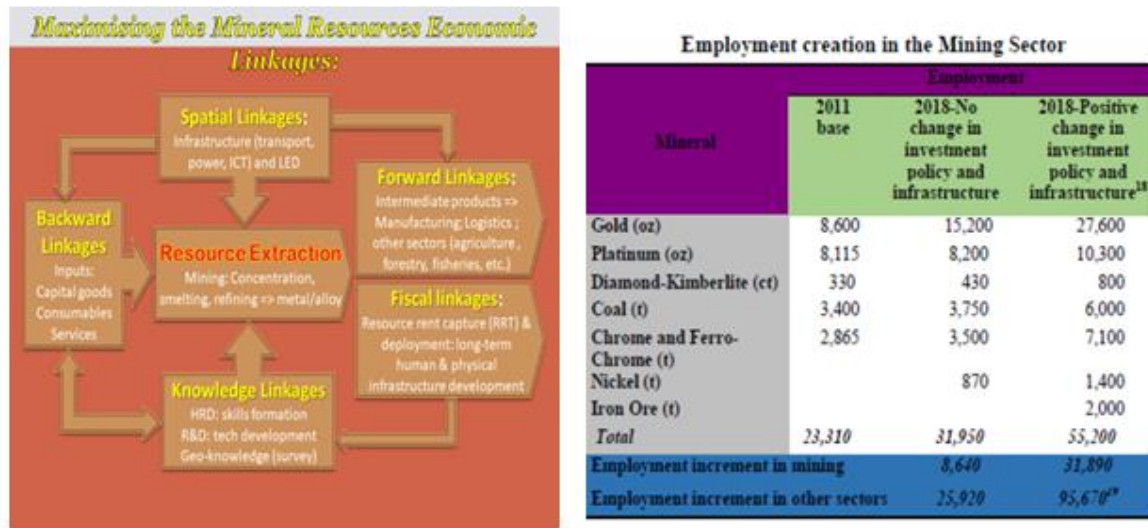


Figure 11 Source LEDRIZ

The MDC Alliance government will ensure that the mining sector is incorporated into cluster development aligned to regions and areas of endowment.

## 3.9.3 Sovereign Wealth Fund

The MDC Alliance government will establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF) linked to the country's natural resource base and controlled by Parliament. The SWF will be key to harnessing Zimbabwe's commodities for inclusive, sustainable growth.

This fund will capture surplus value from the commodity sector that will be used to finance infrastructure development. Strategic reserves will be securely managed and preserved for the enjoyment of future generations.

The growth rates captured below support or endeavour to build the sovereign wealth fund.

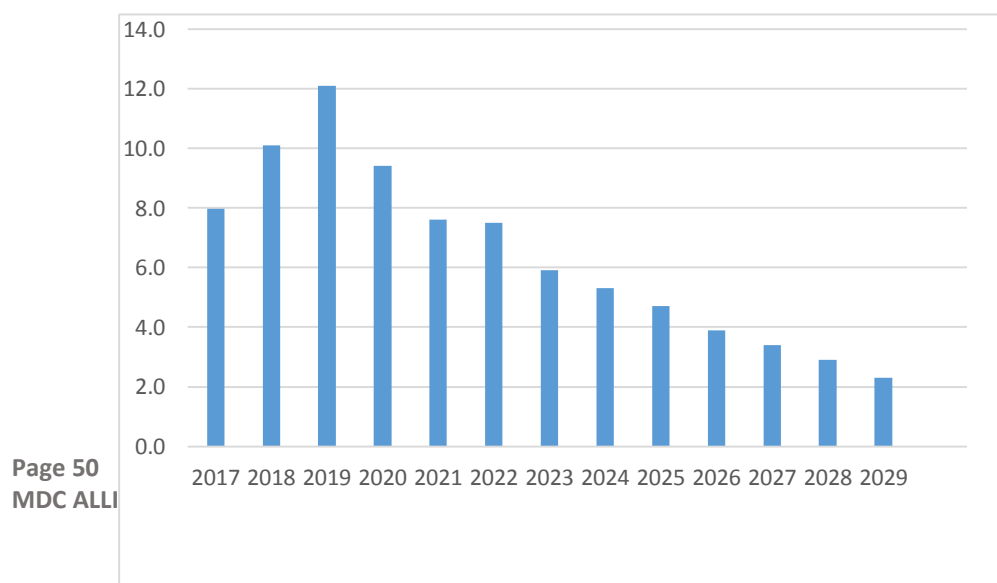


Figure 12: MDC ALLIANCE POLICY AND RESEARCH

### **3.10 TRADE AND COMMERCE**

For almost two decades, Zimbabwe has had a skewed trade position reflected by an embarrassing current account deficit. The MDC Alliance government will offer a radical re-think on trade with a view of deliberate push for exports.

Trade is thus a major facilitator and source of envisaged 100 billion dollar economy. The MDC Alliance will thus undertake the following:

- I. Increase in productivity to grow exports.
- II. Make Zimbabwe competitive by attending to the ease of doing business.
- III. Strengthen Zimbabwe's position and quota compliance in the ACP/EU partnership.
- IV. Strengthen Zimbabwe's position to realise the benefits offered through the Enhanced Integrated Framework Programme offered by the World Trade Organisation.
- V. Strengthen Zimbabwe's Bilateral Trade agreements that are currently in existence.
- VI. Eliminate trade barriers within the context of International Trade agreements.
- VII. Negotiate a post-Brexit regional trade agreement with the United Kingdom.
- VIII. Push for Zimbabwe to benefit from AGOA.
- IX. Strengthen Zimbabwe's membership of the African Continental Free Trade Area.
- X. Pending Zimbabwe's membership of SACU, STRENGTHEN Zimbabwe's position and SADC.

### **3.11 MANUFACTURING**

The country's annual \$3 billion trade deficit represents significant opportunities for import substitution through manufacturing-industrial growth. As a result, authorities confirm that the manufacturing sector grew 17.6% in 2009, 6.8% in 2011 and collapsing to 0.2% in 2015. A growth of 1% was registered in 2017, with a pathetic 2.1% projected for 2018 under current ZANU PF policies.

Challenges bedevilling the sector include antiquated machinery and equipment, high-cost business environment, low priced and subsidised imports, lack of access to finance and dependency on export of unfinished products. Furthermore, the manufacturing sector is primarily dualistic in nature, in that large corporations are owned by foreigners and locals mostly own SMEs.

With firms operating at 30% capacity utilization, Zimbabwe's manufacturing sector requires fresh capital in the form of more lines of credit, trade finance, as well as new technology and innovation to refurbish, re-organize and re-engineer sector recovery processes. However with



Zimbabwe's current economic policy and development trajectory such turnaround prospects are inconceivable. Thus for more than three decades Zimbabwe's economy is trapped in a low growth trajectory, which has accentuated sectorial and regional inequalities, unemployment and general impoverishment of society.

### **3.12 INDUSTRIALISATION**

The MDC Alliance government will diligently pursue re-industrialisation, as it remains the epicentre of Zimbabwe's economic growth. The MDC Alliance government will pursue the following specific measures:

- i. Providing a stimulus package for distressed companies already operating in Zimbabwe, with a particular focus on marginalised areas.
- ii. Provision of long-term financing through sector-specific stimulus schemes;
- iii. Improving the ease of doing business environment to attract FDI.
- iv. Provision of incentives such as tax relief to investors bringing in new technologies since most sectors require new technology and innovative operational strategies, with similar incentives benefiting those partnering with indigenous people.
- v. Promote value addition and stem the tide of exporting raw materials and unfinished goods, but instead promote exports of finished products that can facilitate the creation of downstream industries.
- vi. Assist local business identify export markets, complemented by increasing their competitiveness.
- vii. Remove the unfair trading competition arising from cheap imports within the frameworks of regional and international trade protocols, as trade policy will guide reindustrialisation as opposed to industrial policy.
- viii. Periodically review import tariffs on industrial raw and packaging materials;
- ix. Facilitate increased ownership by locals of businesses through well thought out employee and management ownership schemes.
- x. Support to SMEs and encourage smart partnerships between large corporations and SMEs.

The MDC Alliance government will ensure that re-industrialization is complemented by reliable energy supplies and improved transport logistics to reduce costs of production. Re-industrialization will also be fuelled by increased production in the mining and agriculture sectors.

The MDC Alliance government will also focus on and leverage deliberately on 17 value chains which have been identified by the CZI below:

- i. Maize to mealie- meal value chain (incorporating stock feeds for the beef industry)
- ii. Wheat to bread value chain(incorporating stock feeds
- iii. Barley /Sorghum to beer value chain
- iv. Beef milk and leather
- v. Horticulture production to can/packet/bottle value chain
- vi. Regional assembly to finishing value chain(automotive, plastics, paper and ICT)
- vii. Beverages value chain including tea
- viii. Pharmaceuticals (Pharmacy Hospital Value Chain)
- ix. Asbestos to roofing/piping to construction materials value chains
- x. Diamond to Jewellery to ornament value chain
- xi. Gold Jewellery to ornament value chain
- xii. Chrome ore to Chromium to Chromium to chrome plated goods
- xiii. Iron ore to billet to foundry to fabricated steel product value chain
- xiv. Coal bed Methane to Gas to plastics value chain
- xv. Cotton to clothing value chain
- xvi. Soya to white meats value chains(incorporating stock-feeds for the beef industry)
- xvii. Tobacco to cigarette value chains

The MDC Alliance government will achieve quick wins through targeting revival and capacitating the steel, fertiliser, soaps and cosmetics, clothing and towelling, food processing, leather, car assembly, paper and edible oils industries to achieve the twin objectives of import substitution and employment creation.

The MDC Alliance government will deal with the challenge posed by the continued issuance of import permits for importation of some products prohibited by SI64 which is undermining the local industry. In the same vein, the MDC Alliance government will curb the smuggling of products prohibited by SI64, sometimes with the complicity of border officials.

### **3.13 SERVICES**

Services will play a key part in the construction of the 100 Billion Dollar economy.

The service sector offers huge potential for large scale job creation on the back of fairly modest capital investment. Thus, tourism, banking and insurance and consumer facing industries such as retail malls will deliberately be promoted under the MDC Alliance government.

As we grow the economy and incomes increase, the huge middle class that is created will be a major source of demand for the services industry.

We will thus do the following:



- i. Actively nurture the service industry by providing the required infrastructure.
- ii. Address the ease of doing business to make the service industry competitive.
- iii. Encourage domestic consumption through promoting growth of domestic consumer facing industries, including construction of malls, domestic airports and leisure parks.
- iv. Promote the participation of foreign banks that will increase the capacity and interconnectedness of local banking service.
- v. Support the growth of the insurance sector into a world class insurance industry with a regional reach.
- vi. Restoration of higher purchase scheme.

### 3.13.1 Victoria Falls

Victoria Falls is our most valuable and strategic tourism asset. The MDC Alliance government will transform the Victoria Falls into a top five destination for global travel. As one of the natural wonders of the world, we are underutilising the potential that the Victoria Falls offers to our economy.



**Figure 13** Source *Newsday*

This will entail the modernisation of the Victoria Falls Airport, the dualisation of the Beitbridge to Victoria Falls highway, increase of direct flights from international destinations to Victoria Falls. More importantly we intend to make the Victoria Falls and the surrounding pristine of the Zambezi valley, including **Binga**, a centre for happiness. We intend to boost local tourism which at present is very low.

More importantly we will establish Victoria Falls as an offshore international financial centre backed by the requisite domestic and international laws.

### 3.13.2 Tourism and Hospitality Industry

The tourism sector resembles a low hanging fruit offering tremendous employment opportunities. The MDC Alliance government will therefore unlock up to 300 000 jobs in the tourism sector in the first five years.

The tourism sector will make significant contributions to overall economic growth under our SMART program.

The MDC Alliance government will undertake the following:

1. Promote the following genres of diversified tourism: eco-tourism, agro tourism, medical tourism, religious tourism and cultural tourism.
2. Establish a smart regulatory and policy framework in the tourism sector.
3. Promote sustainable tourism with special emphasis on the following
  - a. Optimum use of environmental resources.
  - b. Respect for the social cultural values and practices of host communities.
  - c. Provision of socio economic benefits, including sustainable employment, for host communities.
4. Promotion of digital tourism by promoting digital platforms aimed at identifying, analysing, and promoting optimum tourism.
5. Employment of the use of geo informatics technologies for the conservation of wildlife and the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage at strategic tourist destinations.
6. Encouraging local Zimbabweans to be shareholders and stakeholders in the tourism industry.
7. Promotion and development of world class infrastructure within and around strategic tourism hubs.

## **PART III DEVELOPMENT AND URBANISATION OF RURAL AREAS**

### **3.14 DEVELOPMENT AND URBANISATION OF RURAL AREAS (DURA)**

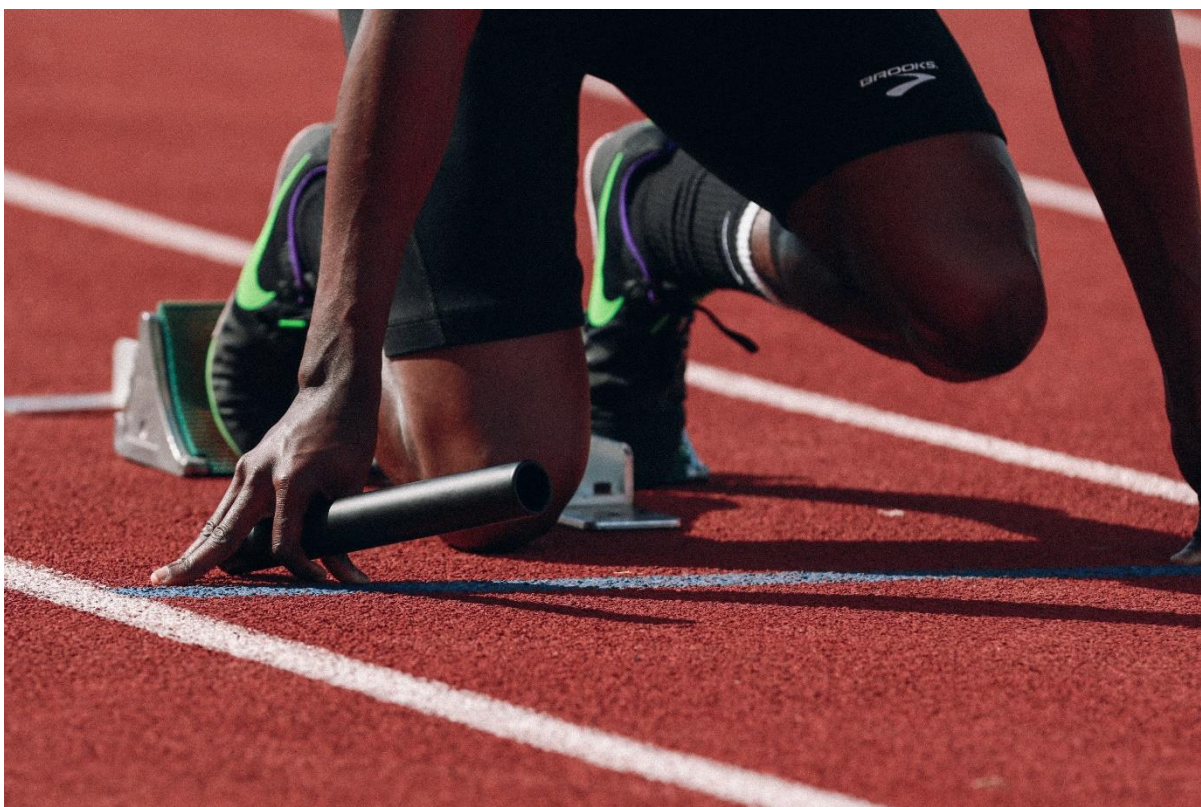
The MDC Alliance acknowledges that 65% of Zimbabwe's population resides in rural or communal areas. The challenges affecting the rural areas are poor infrastructure, financial exclusion, lack of essential social services, food insecurity, unemployment, lack of markets, and extreme poverty. One of the key transformative priorities of the Smart Pledge is the Development and Urbanisation of Rural Areas (**DURA**).

**DURA** will involve the revitalisation of existing rural centres and the creation of new work centres within the resettlement and commercial-farming areas, with the intention to gradually evolve these into development nodes and growth centres.

These would provide housing and social services for farm-workers and serve as “incubators” for the development of small and medium-sized agricultural services provided by former skilled farm-workers and other entrepreneurs, as well as agro-based industrial production. Public-sector investment in communications, power and social services will be directed towards rural centres that have the potential to grow into future commercial hubs.

DURA programs will be centred on the following:

- i. Rural housing.
- ii. On-grid and Off-grid rural electrification with a bias towards solar energy.
- iii. Provision of decent roads and infrastructure in the communities.
- iv. Establishment of markets.
- v. Establishment of centres of recreation including sports stadiums. Provision of world-class schools, clinics hospitals and other amenities.
- vi. Design an accelerated development plan for marginalised areas.
- vii. Reduce the domestic sustenance burden for women in rural areas by establishing institutions of women empowerment.



**Figure 14** Source Harare News

The MDC Alliance government, under the DURA, will specifically focus on the following rural development initiatives: Production of Rural Energy and Power (PREP) The MDC Alliance government will mobilize financial and technical resources to establish solar farms that will ensure that rural areas have access to electricity. The PREP strategy will be implemented through strategic partnerships between Rural District Councils, private companies and ZESA. PREP will create a significant number of jobs in addition to the core product of power. PREP will also include direct pipe connections of gas for household use.

- i. Provision of clean water and sanitation infrastructure.
- ii. Creation of SMART irrigation infrastructure.
- iii. Paving rural roads thus improving the flow of traffic and goods, and ensuring an efficient public transport.
- iv. Ensuring proper lines of communication.





Figure 15 Source Africa Policy Review

#### 3.14.1 Reorganizing Communal Lands

The MDC Alliance government will devolve the appointments of District Administrators (DA) so that they are recruited by the Provincial Government, which is chaired by the Governor.

Reorganization of communal land will include separating residential land and farming land.

The DA shall ensure certification of tenure through the issuance of certificates of occupation to all communal residents.

Occupation certificates will be transferable with the approval of traditional leaders under regulations to be promulgated through an Act of Parliament, provided the transfer process does not disenfranchise the spouse and children as is highlighted in the gender section (5.7). An Act of parliament will fully provide for the protection of the family rights.

The land occupation certificates will allow the land to be hypothecated with financial institutions.

Communal land regulations shall establish a land court of appeal to deal with disputes; the court shall be chaired by a magistrate and shall include traditional leaders.

This will be part of agenda to build sustainable communities in line with **Sustainable Development Goal 11**.

#### **PART IV FUNDING OUR PROGRAM**

The Economic Agenda spelt out in the **SMART PLEDGE** will be funded from several sources broken down as follows:

- I. Taxes**
- II. International Financial Institutions (IFI)**
- III. Public Private Partnerships (PPP)**
- IV. Natural Resources Revenues**
- V. Foreign Direct Investment**
- VI. Overseas Development Assistances**
- VII. Diaspora Remittances**
- VIII. Pension funds**

##### **Taxes**

The government of Zimbabwe on average collects 300 million dollars a month which if put to good use can sustain a state.

##### **IFIs**

Dealing with Zimbabwe's Debt Question will enable Zimbabwe to access the funds available at the World Bank, the IMF and the International Monetary Fund.

##### **PPPs**

With the huge bill needed on the development of the infrastructure deficit, the MDC Alliance government will enter into Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) on Built Operate and Transfer (BOT) basis.

##### **Natural Resources**

The MDC Alliance government will leverage on the rich mineral resources through the plugging of financial leakages including curbing illicit financial flows. Our government will also securitize some of the country's natural resources as a way of mobilizing financing. Revenue surpluses generated from mineral resources will be directed towards infrastructure development, especially construction of local roads and dams in areas that are not commercially attractive to private sector investors.

##### **Foreign Direct Investment**

Part of the work mentioned in this **SMART PLEDGE** entails rebuilding investor confidence through a return to good governance, constitutionalism, upholding the rule of law and respect

for property rights. This will ensure attraction of significant Foreign Direct Investment needed in the economic development agenda.

### **Diaspora Remittances**

The MDC Alliance government will initiate a reengagement process with the millions of Zimbabweans in the diaspora so that they can fully participate in the development of the country. The diaspora will participate in the Zimbabwe Development Council and the council will also draft a diaspora remittance and investment mobilization strategy.

### **Overseas Development Assistance**

The MDC Alliance government's development agenda, as espoused in the Smart pledge, will be partially funded through various overseas grants on a transitional basis.

### **Pension Funds**

We are in a period where Zimbabwe must benefit from the demographic dividend, the MDC Alliance government, through its employment thrust, will leverage on pension contributions by a young population for investment in gross capital formation.

The government will take advantage of insurance investments through securitisation of real estate portfolios of pension funds and unitising to Foreign Portfolio Investments (FPI). This will result in liquidity and improvement of available funds for reinvestment.

### **TRANSFORMATION MARKERS**

- 1. Compliance with the Abuja Declaration on Health and an establishment of the New Zimbabwe National health plan through an act of Parliament.***
- 2. Attending to the reform of the education sector and developing a new education curriculum.***
- 3. Ensuring adequate financing of the education sector, capitalising BEAM, providing free basic primary education.***
- 4. Substantially reduce the urban housing backlog within five years.***
- 5. Strengthening of the National Building society making it a housing development bank.***
- 6. Renewal and transformation of informal settlements.***
- 7. Disband POTRAZ AND BAZ and establish a consolidated regulatory framework.***
- 8. Establish a media Commission empowered to safeguard freedom of expression and access to the media.***

#### **4.1 HEALTH**

##### **4.1.1 Universal Access to health care**

The MDC Alliance recognises that health is a fundamental human right. In this regard the MDC Alliance will ensure that every citizen has the right to have access to basic rights services including reproductive health. In addition the MDC Alliance will ensure that all those with chronic illnesses have access to basic health services.

In this regard, the MDC Alliance pledges the delivery of a fundamental health service through the following:

##### **A Health Insurance Plan/ Chamisa Care.**

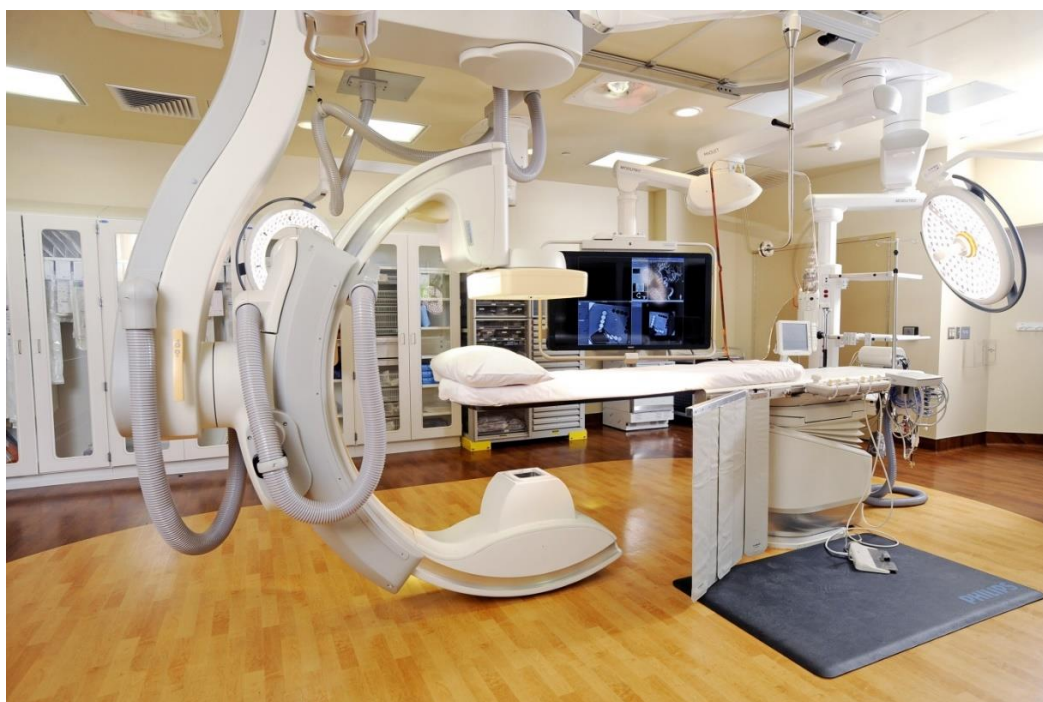
The MDC alliance will establish a health insurance plan that will represent an integrated approach to healthcare delivery in Zimbabwe, by bringing both supply and demand side factors to health delivery.



The HIP will be created through an act of parliament by collapsing existing schemes such as PSMAS into the same and also ensuring private sector involvement. Through employer and employee contributions.

The essential aspects of the scheme will thus be as follows:

- i. The mission and operations of the HIP will be guided by and enshrined in an Act of Parliament
- ii. Health insurance plan compulsory for all workers.
- iii. Monthly contributions by employers and employees.
- iv. The payment and provision of health services in various health centres,
- v. The establishment of National Health Insurance Plan owned hospital facilities throughout the country.
- vi. The twinning of the Health Insurance Plan with hospital institutions across the world particularly in specialised health areas where the skills and expertise may not be available in Zimbabwe.
- vii. The incorporation of the existing AIDS levy and the PSMAS as the cornerstone of our HIP.



**Figure 7 State of Zimbabwe Hospitals under the pledge-Source New Times**

#### 4.1.2 Broad Health Focus Area

The MDC Alliance government will ensure that Zimbabwean citizens and residents will have access to the highest possible levels of health and quality of life that will allow them to

participate fully in the socio-economic development of the country. To this extent the MDC Alliance will comply with the Abuja Declaration which states that 15 percent of the national budget is allocated to health.

The priority is to build a world class health delivery system ensuring the realization of the people's right to health, as enshrined in the Zimbabwe constitution, by fulfilling the State's obligation to ensure accessible, affordable, acceptable, quality health services, equitably distributed, and directed towards priority problems. The MDC Alliance Government will systematically rebuild the health services by:

- i. Strengthening the district health system, i.e. primary health care, the clinic network and district hospitals.
- ii. Building virtuous linkages between our responses to AIDS and the overall strengthening of our health system.
- iii. Co-operating with the traditional medical sector in research, patent protection and use of traditional remedies.
- iv. Provision of free maternity health and establishment of state of the art maternal and paediatric facilities at all institutions including rural clinics.
- v. Introduction of Sin taxes to raise funds to finance the Health Insurance Plan.

The following will be the key principles underpinning the new health delivery system;-

- i. **Service Standards** - develop core service standards, including norms governing human resource distribution, essential drugs and equipment supplies through the National Health Board and Parliament. Local authorities in co-operation with other statutory bodies will be responsible for inspection and reporting on these standards.
- ii. **Equity in Health Services:** Equity in access to health services is critical for sustainable development. The government will implement equity-oriented measures that will ensure that all Zimbabwean citizens have access to quality health care.
- iii. **Accountability and Participation in the Health Services:** The government will build mechanisms for effective participation of communities in priority setting for effective delivery of health management services. This will be achieved through the following;
  - a. Financial and social auditing of strategic national health institutions, including teaching hospitals, laboratories, the blood transfusion service, emergency facilities, maternal health facilities and medical stores.

- b. Auditing the public-health infrastructure with local authorities to assess capital investment or maintenance requirements, especially water treatment, waste disposal, sewage, ambulance services and mortuaries;
  - c. Coordinating public, private (profit and non-profit) and traditional health services to ensure information flow and avoid the duplication of services,
- iv. **Health Care Financing:** The government will leverage its rich resource endowment to support the development of a state of the art health delivery system that adequately responds to the health needs of citizens.
- v. **Public health will be a priority sector:** The promotion of public health through education and prevention of disease will be central to the Zimbabwean health care system, with community participation in the planning, provision, control, and monitoring of the service, including provision of safe drinking water, sanitation, housing, waste disposal and food hygiene across the urban, rural, farming and resettlement communities.
- vi. **Investment in primary health:** An efficient system of primary health care will be established. A community based and managed system of primary health care clinics will form the base of a health care system incorporating all hospitals and specialist health care services. At least 2 000 primary health care centres – each centre serving the needs of approximately 1000 families.
- vii. **Efficient referral system:** An efficient and well-funded referral system will be put in place to complement the public and primary health care approach.

The MDC Alliance Government will codify the following legal principles:

- i. Everyone has the right to access to healthcare services, including sexual and reproductive health services
- ii. Everyone living with chronic conditions and illness has the right to access to healthcare irrespective of their means.
- iii. No individual may be denied medical treatment

## 4.2 EDUCATION

The **Smart pledge** will rebuild Zimbabwe's education system. The **Smart pledge** recognizes the right to high quality education for every Zimbabwean as a means to both personal growth and knowledge, and to participation in economic and human centred development. Delivering a good education system for Zimbabweans is also Smart pledge's way of contributing to the attainment of SDG in Agenda 2030.



Figure 16 Source: Shutterstock

In this regard the MDC Alliance pledges the following: regard the following will be done:

1. Provision of free primary school education.
2. The construction of new schools to reduce walking distances of travelling students.
3. Construction of new classrooms to reduce teacher to pupil ratio.
4. Ensuring adequate textbooks to all students at a ratio of 1:1
5. Ensuring e learning and the total transformation of Zimbabwe's education system to ICT based system. Ensuring that every child has an access to a computer.
6. Ensuring the modernisation of schools with up to date libraries, laboratories and facilities for modern education.
7. Abandoning Minister Dokora's curriculum and adopting a new modern curriculum.
8. Ensuring that, teachers are adequately remunerated and that they have access to housing loans and decent housing facilities to teachers in rural areas.
9. Encourage the twinning up of rural schools with international schools or urban schools.
10. Re-Introduction of loans and grants at tertiary institutions.
11. Introduction of Centres of excellence.
12. Emphasising in the curriculum to make it more vocational.
13. Encouraging learning of sciences and technological sciences.
14. Encouraging the teaching of sports, arts and culture in schools.

15. Promote and support centres of vocational training in specialised foods and agriculture such as Gweru, Black Forby, and Chivero.
16. Transform Zimbabwean Universities into world class institutions leveraging on the talent and academic prowess of Zimbabweans.
17. Produce excess specialised skills in the field of medicine, sciences with a deliberate aim of exporting such skills.
18. Establish a framework for a modern democratic, functional model for early childhood development.
19. Roll out vocational skills and entrepreneurial training for youth empowerment.
20. Promote a reading culture in Zimbabwe.
21. Provision of adequate learning and teaching materials.
22. Filling of critical vacancies to improve the teacher to pupil ratio.
23. Rehabilitating and expanding education facilities.
24. Strengthening school supervision.

#### **4.3 HOUSING**

The MDC Alliance considers the right to housing and shelter, like the right to life, one of the cornerstones of human existence.

The right to housing and shelter is also inextricably linked to the right to dignity spelt out in section 51 of our constitution - without shelter there is no dignity and there is no life.

There is an urgent need to address the challenge of housing in Zimbabwe, given the following challenges.

- i. Massive housing shortages evidenced by huge waiting list for all local authorities.
- ii. The rural to urban migration.
- iii. Zimbabwe's expanding population which will double up by 2045.

To resolve the housing crisis in Zimbabwe the MDC Alliance government undertake to do the following:

1. Prepare and publish a modernised a national housing policy that fully complies with SDG 11.
2. Demand that all local authorities provide updated housing master plans that provide a planning and co-ordinated framework for expanded housing capacity within the context of our SMART Cities agenda.

3. Ensure that at least 2 million hectares of land are liberated from the land reform programme and provided to local authorities as part of resolving supply side constraints.
4. Update and modernise the *Regional, Town and Country Planning Act* to ensure flexibility but at the same time maintaining high standards on safety and quality.
5. Defining a framework for public, private sector facilitation, in housing, particularly through banks and building society.
6. Offer incentives to employers and other institutions to invest in public housing.
7. Work closely with developing partners IFI, in assistance for housing developments.
8. At State expense, ensure, the construction of standard new Zimbabwe dream houses in every province.
9. Ensure a massive program for the provision of cheap ad affordable serviced stands by local authorities to be given to cooperatives and other housing schemes.
10. Capacitate the national building society so that it becomes a fully-fledged empowered independent national housing bank for middle to low –income housing.
11. Ensure the return of 25 year mortgage bonds for low and middle income housing.
12. Formalise, regularise and integrate all informal and unplanned settlements such as Epworth, Caledonia, East view, Dulibadzimu, Chinotimba and Musanawenzou.
13. Establish an inter-discipline regulatory framework for the housing sector.
14. Carry out a massive programme of rural housing as defined in DURA above.
15. Ensure that there is full compliance and harmonisation with the climate and environmental obligations with respect to every housing settlement.
16. Ensure that incentives are provided to suppliers of construction materials in particular those who supply bricks, cement steel, roofing material and other construction material. In the same vein ensure the existence of forward, backward linkages.
17. Ensure the mandatory provision of all amenities including water, paved roads, street lighting clinic schools, hospitals in all settlements.
18. Ensure that they is adequate provision for social and recreational facilities that includes, sports club, churches, mosques, synagogues, shopping malls , restaurants and night clubs.
19. Enact a new harmonised law to deal with all leases and set up, a special division of the high court to deal with construction and housing disputes that shall replace the rent board.
20. Establish a housing ombudsman that will provide consumer protection in respect of leases, rental and construction.



#### 4.4 MEDIA & INFORMATION

The constitution of Zimbabwe does a great job in providing solid rights around communication and the media. The constitution covers the right to freedom of expression, freedom of the media and most importantly provides a right to information.

Sadly, the expanded constitutional rights around media and information have not been actualised. The net result is that 38 years after independence Zimbabwe enjoys one of the most closed media spaces of any country in the world. The MDC Alliance thus pledges to create a media revolution in our country through the following:

1. Within the first week of office the MDC alliance government, we will end the monopoly of state broadcaster by allowing open and transparent applications to the BAZ of competitive privately owned, independent national television, and radio stations along with community based radio stations.
2. Encourage the establishment of competitive privately owned independent daily newspapers.
3. Allow credible and legitimate international broadcasters and other media house to have access to Zimbabwe.
4. Ensure that the public broadcaster moves away transmission to digital transmission.
5. Ensure that the public broadcaster sets up a parliamentary station that will provide live coverage of parliamentary proceedings.
6. Repeal the access to Information and Privacy Act and the Public Order Security Act.
7. Enact a new harmonised media and communications Act that recognises convergence brought about by ICT's and then;
8. Disband POTRAZ and the BAZ.
9. Review the *Official Secrecy Act* the *Censorship Act* and harmonise the same with the constitution.
10. Ensure that there is a framework for the self-regulation of the media through a voluntary media council.

11. Repeal and constitutionalise all laws affecting press freedom and access to government information. These include laws relating to contempt of parliament, civil defamation, subversive statements, and false statements likely to cause alarm and despondency.
12. Establish local authority on public libraries and information centres which will provide free internet access to members of the public.



Figure Source: Shutterstock



## CHAPTER 5: CITIZENS RIGHTS, INTERESTS & PROTECTION

### *Transformation Markers*

1. *Redefining the role of the citizen through an establishment of a citizen Charter.*
2. *Rolling out a diaspora policy including the granting of the right to vote.*
3. *Protection of workers' rights through among other things, harmonisation of all labour laws and the creation of a social contract.*
4. *Defining rights of people living with disabilities (PWD) including the provision of a grants to PWD's.*
5. *Defining rights of the aged and provision of grants to the aged.* 5.1
6. *Mainstreaming and protection of gender rights.*
7. *Protection of Minorities and Special Interest Groups.*
8. *Enacting the necessary laws and reforms necessary to protect children, including the abolition of child marriages, and the enactment of a new Children's Act.*
9. *Constructing a responsive state, that responds to the needs and interest of citizens.*
10. *Promotion of Citizen rights through ICT and E- Governance.*

### CREATION OF A RIGHTS BASED SOCIETY

In fragile and broken states such as Zimbabwe, the security of the citizen does not exist, and rights are trampled upon cynically and with great impunity. Zimbabwe in the last 38 years has been a society dominated by abuse, rule by law and not rule of law, and indeed selective application of the law.

The MDC Alliance government, through this smart pledge, will re-establish a rights-based society, in which citizens' interests and freedoms are protected. More importantly, we will fully protect the rights of minorities, special interest groups and disadvantaged communities. We therefore propose a citizen charter anchored on the following:

- i. Enforcement of the bill of rights

- ii. Strong independent institutions
- iii. An independent vibrant media
- iv. State that fears the citizen
- v. The restoration of the social contract as defined above
- vi. Constitutional institutions that protect public interest - i.e. Human Rights Commission, Gender Commission, Anti-Corruption Commission and Media Commission
- vii. Consumer protection laws
- viii. Constitutionalism and the rule of law

Through this Smart pledge, the MDC Alliance commits to upholding constitutionalism and the rule of law. The Zimbabwean Constitution will be the legal glue that will keep the nation state together and ensure the ultimate protection of all citizens.

## **5.2 RE-DEFINING THE ROLE OF THE CITIZEN**

The MDC Alliance, through the Smart pledge, promises to place the citizen at the epicentre of the body politic of Zimbabwe.

The MDC Alliance understands that the concept of citizenship is critical in the nation-building project. A nation is constituted by its citizens. To be a citizen is to be a member of the political community of the state.

Citizenship enables a person to participate fully in the affairs of the nation. It is an essential element to the idea of human dignity for it qualifies one as a member of the community and enhances self-worth. To be excluded from the community of citizens is an affront to one's dignity.

The MDC Alliance thus places a high premium on citizenship and is committed to greater inclusion and the elimination of exclusionary mechanisms that have seen citizens being classified as aliens or being excluded from taking part in national affairs. The MDC Alliance will fully implement the constitutional restoration of citizenship to all Zimbabweans. We will enhance the rights of the citizen, defined in Chapter 3 of the constitution of Zimbabwe.

More importantly we will guarantee the following:

- i. Every person born in Zimbabwe shall have the right to claim Zimbabwean Citizenship by Birth.
- ii. Every Zimbabwean citizen shall be entitled to dual citizenship

- iii. Every person born to a Zimbabwean citizen outside Zimbabwe, shall be entitled to Zimbabwean Citizenship.
- iv. Every citizen shall upon birth, be issued with a social security number that he/she will carry for life and will be used for the purposes of processing id, national births certificates.
- v. Every citizen shall as a matter of right be entitled to a driver's licence, passport and identity card.
- vi. All Zimbabwean citizens at home or abroad shall have the right to vote in any election.
- vii. The right of every citizen to e-governance and the benefits of e governance including
  - a. Online visa applications,
  - b. online passport,
  - c. online access to I.D Cards,

### 5.3 CITIZEN VALUES

Restoring the social fabric of the Zimbabwean state will be a key agenda of the reconstruction process.

The value system of the citizen has been devalued, through 38 years of existence under a failed, vicious extractive state.

The Zimbabwean constitution celebrates the promotion of values and principle that underlie a democratic society based on openness, justice, human dignity, equality and freedom

The MDC Alliance government through this smart pledge thus pledges to see the actualisation of those values of humanity and *Ubuntu* that are defined in the Zimbabwean Constitution. These include:

- i. Transparency, Justice Accountability and responsiveness.
- ii. Tolerance, inclusivity and solidarity.
- iii. Respect of the Rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedoms.
- iv. The recognition of the inherent dignity and worth of each human being.
- v. Honesty and dignity of hard work.
- vi. Recognition and respect of the liberation struggle.
- vii. Gender equality.
- viii. Good governance.
- ix. Patriotism
- x. Respect of the sovereign and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe as a nation-state.

#### **5.4 THE ZIMBABWEAN DIASPORA**

The Zimbabwean diaspora will play a key part in the reconstruction and rebuilding of a new Zimbabwe.

The MDC ALLAINCE government, will, pursuant to consultation with the diaspora, focus on the following:

- i. The full recognition of Zimbabweans in the diaspora as citizens and stakeholders with a say in the affairs of the country.
- ii. The restoration of voting rights to the diaspora.
- iii. The acknowledgement and encouragement of diaspora remittances.
- iv. Special incentives for the diaspora to invest in Zimbabwe.
- v. Special incentives for the diaspora to return home and use their expertise in the reconstruction and the rebuilding of the country.

#### **5.5 LABOUR RIGHTS**

The MDC Alliance government, under the Smart pledge, will protect and secure the rights and interests of the working people, through the following measures:

1. The harmonisation of all labour laws.
2. A regulated working week averaging 8 hours a days which will translate into three industrial shifts a day in our agenda to restructure working hours to promote 24 hours of work in many sectors.
3. A minimum living wage including for domestic workers
4. Equal pay for equal work for women
5. Annual paid leave
6. Fully paid maternity leave
7. Sick leave for all employees
8. Protection against harmful labour practices including child labour
9. Protection of employees in the informal sector
10. Freedom to join trade unions and elect representatives of their own
11. Gender sensitive practices including protection against harassment and discrimination
12. Ensuring all the working people are covered by health insurance
13. The provision and the securing of the right to strike as found in the Zimbabwean Constitution read together with ILO Conventions

## 5.6 PEOPLE LIVING WITH DISABILITIES

The MDC Alliance is alive to the fact that a significant percentage of the Zimbabwean population is living with disability. As a matter of fact depending on the severity these, people living with disability incur extra costs in the quest to ensure they compete with more able bodied individuals in society. In some cases the conditions are matter of life and death.

The MDC Alliance will therefore introduce a Disability grant. A special Board shall be established to manage the fund including the responsibility to assess the extent and severity of the disability and make recommendations of the amounts allowed on applicants.

Such allowances will be paid directly to the beneficiary or to the care giver or institution acting on the applicant's behalf in cases where the applicant cannot manage the fund on their own.



Figure 17 Source : Shutterstock

Beyond the disability fund the MDC Alliance government will undertake the following steps:

- i. Offer private sector incentives for all companies employing disabled people.
- ii. The Alliance will also ensure significant representation in decision making organs of the state.

- iii. Availability of versions of all acts of parliament, statutory instruments, public policies and public documents on sign language and brail.
- iv. Structural compliance on all public buildings and accessibility to all public amenities.
- v. Creation of specialized hospitals dealing with mental health including autistic children, those with bipolar among other conditions.
- vi. Ensure that all communications, public transport services, information and communication services, buildings and other infrastructures are accessible for persons living with disability.
- vii. Support personal mobility and assistive devices for persons with disability using the Disability Fund

## 5.7 GENDER RIGHTS

The **Smart pledge** is fully sensitive to the status of women in Zimbabwe. There are a lot of laws, norms and practices that perpetuate male dominance within the Country. The **Smart pledge** will work in tandem with the objectives set out in **Agenda 2030 SDG No 5** which seeks to **Achieve Gender Equality and empower all Women & Girls**.

The MDC Alliance will guarantee 50-50 representation at all levels of government. Adopting the ZEBRA proportional representation electoral system.

In as much as the national constitution provides for gender balance (**Section 17 of the Constitution**) and the express rights of women (**Section 80 of the Constitution**), there is need to actualise these provisions and ensure that provisions from our constitution that seek to uplift and empower women within the national are fully realised. We shall have gender responsive budgeting (National and Local Authority Budget shall be gender responsive and gender sensitive).

The MDC Alliance government will repeal laws and regulations that impede on the economic, social progression of women and the girl child. These Laws include:

**Child Marriages**- Changing the age of consent for marriage as provided for in the constitution and in line with the Constitutional Court judgment in 2016.

**Divorce**- Status of divorced women under customary law, particularly in communal households.

**Inheritance**- The rule of male primogeniture.

**Property Rights**- as influenced by marriage laws.

**Marriage Laws**. - Prima Facie Marriages to be In Community of Property. Repeal marriages act of 1929.

**Full domestication of international and regional conventions** applicable to the rights of women and gender especially the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of discrimination Against Women (**CEDAW**)

### **5.8 MINORITIES AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS RIGHTS**

The MDC Alliance is cognizant of the fact that Zimbabwe is populated by minority and special interest groups that have suffered from years of exclusion and discrimination. The constitution of Zimbabwe protects all minorities and special interest groups. The MDC Alliance will thus ensure that the interests of minorities and special interest groups are protected in the proposed citizen charter.

The Zimbabwean society has in the past ignored vulnerable communities who are either in the minority or resident in the peripheral areas of our country. The MDC Alliance government will do the following to protect these groups:

- i. Facilitate development in neglected areas where minorities live. This includes ensuring that the benefits of economic growth and increased investments are spread to all geographical areas of the country, with a specific bias towards historically underdeveloped regions.
- ii. Commissioning an education curriculum that includes all constitutionally recognized languages starting from elementary school
- iii. Embarking on a positive project to ensure communities are part of Zimbabwe, the project must ensure basics like access to radio signal, establishment of community radio stations for developmental information and ensuring consultations on legislation and the budget reach these communities.
- iv. Main streaming production projects in these communities.

### **5.9 RIGHTS OF THE VETERANS**

The MDC Alliance will protect the rights and interests of all veterans of the 1960's to 1970's liberation war (i.e. war veteran protect the rights of vets). Through this pledge the MDC Alliance government will

War veterans include detainees and war collaborators

Our concept of war veterans also include soldiers who participated in the DRC Civil war, Mozambican Civil War.

We propose to do the following:



- i. Guarantee the timely disbursement of pensions for war veterans. The pensions will be informed by the costs of living.
- ii. Guarantee and ensure the welfare of war veterans through guaranteed and subsidised access to essential social services.
- iii. Creation of a veterans Consultative State Advisory Council that works closely together with and advise the government on various issues.

The liberation struggle is the birth of our nation and the role veterans of that struggle will forever be cherished and celebrated.

#### **5.10 RIGHTS OF THE AGED**

The MDC Alliance government will ensure that it is the responsibility of the state to take care of its senior citizens. We therefore commit to do the following for those aged 65 and above:

- a) Provision of free health care under the HIP
- b) Ensure free use of public transport
- c) Ensure effective administration of pensions to ensure senior citizens draw living amounts after retirement.
- d) Creation and support of existing homes for the aged for specialized care in specific cases.

#### **5.11 RIGHTS OF CHILDREN**

In line with the constitution, the MDC Alliance commits to protect children from economic and sexual exploitation, harsh treatment and from abuse or neglect.

The MDC Alliance government will guarantee affordable health care for children under the Health Insurance Plan with the aim to reduce child mortality in line with Sustainable Goal

The MDC Alliance government will also protect children from harmful practices through the following legislative changes:

- i. The Marriage Act will be revised.
- ii. The African Marriages Act will be revised
- iii. The Child Protection and Adoption Act
- iv. The Criminal Codification and Reform Act specifically sections on the age of sexual consent and rape
- v. The Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act

- vi. Aligning the Children's Act (Zimbabwe) with international and domestic legal instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), Child Protection Model Law, Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe National Orphan Care Policy.
- vii. Introduce a consolidated Sexual Offenses Act that deals with all sexual crimes against children.

## **5.12 ENVIRONMENT & CLIMATE CHANGE**

### **5.12.1 Environment**

The MDC Alliance government will prioritize and adequately fund and incentivise protection and preservation of our environment. As the MDC Alliance we believe that the environment is currently being held in trust by present generations for future generations.

It is therefore imperative to protect flora and fauna, soil and river catchments and to establish cities and towns that are climate smart. It is our intention to establish a GREEN ZIMBABWE. Green Zimbabwe will be an exhaustive environmental policy that will facilitate the restoration of our environmental heritage.

- i. Tree planting
- ii. Establishment of climate-smart and clean cities
- iii. Promote the use alternative and clean energy
- iv. Provision of clean water.

The starting point will be to create a new national environmental consciousness that is rooted in the people's right and obligation to a clean, healthy environment as provided for within the Constitution of Zimbabwe. The MDC Alliance government will also promote sustainable natural resource exploitation for social and economic development, in line with our constitutional obligation.

The MDC Alliance Environmental policy programme, the Green Zimbabwe, will address the following:

- i. Re-establishing the rule of law in environmental management.
- ii. Integrating environmental sustainability across all sectors of the economy.

- iii. Strengthen the institutional and regulatory mechanisms for environmental protection. Strict adherence, implementation and enforcement of commitments made in respect of regional and international environmental treaties and conventions;

#### 5.12.2 Climate Change

The MDC Alliance affirms its commitment to effectively respond to the threats of climate change in ways that will achieve socio-economic transformation and development. To this end our climate change policy will be implemented within the confines of the Zimbabwean Constitution, the Bill of Rights, as well as other international agreements to which Zimbabwe is a party to. In implementing our climate change policy, our objectives will be the following:

- i. Mainstreaming climate change.
- ii. Standardising and regulating emissions.
- iii. Prioritising capacity building on climate change.
- iv. Investing in ICT for climate change.
- v. Contributing to regional and international climate change responses
- vi. Strict adherence to the United Nations Framework on Climate change (COP21) (Paris Agreement)

## **CHAPTER 6: RECONSTRUCTION & REMODELLING OF THE COUNTRY'S INFRASTRUCTURE**

### **TRANSFORMATION MARKERS:**

- 1. The preparation of an infrastructure roadmap with funding requirements.***
- 2. The enactment of legislation that promotes and provides incentives to public, private partnerships,***
- 3. The setting up of an infrastructure fund that leverages on the sovereign wealth fund, NASSA and our minerals.***
- 4. streamlining the regulatory environment in the infrastructure sector, including separating and splitting of regulation from operations (ZINARA, POTRAZ, and ZINWA.***
- 5. Establishment of brand new ports of authority, and ensuring that Border Posts in Zimbabwe are single entry.***
- 6. Securing funding and commencing the construction of the Batoka Gorge Hydro Station.***
- 7. Securing the funding and construction of the Harare-Chirundu Highway.***
- 8. Securing the funding and commencing the construction of the Beitbridge-Victoria Falls Highway***
- 9. Securing the funding and commencing the construction of a major railway artery within Zimbabwe and linking the same with Zambia, Mozambique and South Africa.***

Our country faces a severe, 40-year infrastructure deficit that is self-evident. For forty years there has been no meaningful Gross Capital Formation in Zimbabwe. The net result is a status quo of chronic dilapidation, decay and disuse of strategic infrastructure. It is very sad that the state of Zimbabwe's roads, railway and electricity is reminiscent of Africa in the fifties.

The MDC Alliance government will therefore address the country's infrastructure deficit of over 40 years. We strongly believe that the infrastructure backlog offers Zimbabwe an opportunity to reconstruct itself out of the persistent socio-economic crisis.

## **6.1 FUNDING REQUIREMENTS OF ZIMBABWE'S RECONSTRUCTION**

The African Development Bank estimates that the country requires at least \$14.98 Billion to modernise its infrastructure over a five-year period.

The MDC Alliance government will therefore prioritize resolving the Country's debt crisis in order to access huge development finance, at the World Bank and the African Development Bank, and other international financing institutions.

We therefore expect to obtain massive funds from IFI's upon resolution of Zimbabwe's debt crisis in the form of grants and concessional borrowing.

The MDC Alliance government will also leverage the country's mineral resources, through various instruments including securitisation, as a strategy to raise financing for infrastructural development.

The MDC Alliance government will also venture into Public Private Partnerships in particular BOT and BOOT arrangements to fulfil the reconstruction agenda.

The MDC Alliance government will also issue international infrastructure bonds and will seek to attract foreign portfolio investments.

The SWF will also be leveraged to finance infrastructure development projects.

### **Infrastructure Development Council**

The MDC Alliance government will set up an Infrastructure development council with focus on the following:

- i. A master plan to include every particular infrastructure, road, railways, energy, irrigation, energy, housing, smart cities and ICTs.
- ii. To co-ordinate the prioritisation on funding of all projects.
- iii. To ensure that procurement and contracting is done above board, on the basis of value for money and in the best interest of Zimbabwe.
- iv. To ensure that the infrastructure funding operations do not breach the county's prudent debt contraction levels defined in the Public Debt Management Act.

- v. To receive reports from treasuries' implementation and control expenditure department on progress of each infrastructure project

## **6.2 EXPECTED OUTCOMES OF SMART INFRASTRUCTURE PLEDGE**

The infrastructure development strategy under the Smart pledge will achieve the following economic benefits:

- i. Job creation.
- ii. Contribution to poverty eradication.
- iii. Increase in disposable income and aggregate demand.
- iv. Improving the country's transport system and accessibility.
- v. Improved communication efficiency.
- vi. Agro-Industrial infrastructure development.
- vii. Aiding regional integration and trade efforts.
- viii. Ensuring that all sub sectors of the economy have a modern infrastructural base.
- ix. Ensuring that there is local participation and community development and ownership in every infrastructure project.

## **6.3 ROADS**

Zimbabwe has a road network of 80 000 km, of which less than 14% is paved. Most of the roads are dilapidated, and this is a serious impediment to the conduct of business as this restricts and delays access to markets and services.

Zimbabwe's currently dilapidated road network also derails Zimbabwe's regional trade and integration prospects, which further obstructs access to markets and services, and opportunities to become a transport hub linking the SADC region and beyond.

Category	Department of Roads	Urban Councils	RDCs	DDF	Total	
					km	Percent
Regional corridors						
Paved	2306.8	...	...	...	2306.8	2.6
National primary						
Paved	2021.3	...	...	...	2021.3	2.3
Gravel	214.0	...	...	...	214.0	0.2
Sub-total	2235.3	...	...	...	2235.3	2.5
Secondary						
Paved	4571.7	...	356.0	...	4927.7	5.6
Gravel	5847.6	...	...	...	5847.6	6.6
Earth	1698.4	...	...	...	1698.4	1.9
Sub-total	12117.7	...	356.0	...	12473.7	14.2
Tertiary feeder						
Gravel	1212.3	...	33988.0	21500.0	56700.3	64.3
Earth	107.7	...	2133.0	3500.0	5740.7	6.5
Sub-total	1320.0	...	36121.0	25000.0	62441.0	70.8
Tertiary access						
Gravel	303.1	...	...	...	303.1	0.3
Earth	178.9	...	...	...	178.9	0.2
Sub-total	482.0	...	...	...	482.0	0.5
Urban						
Paved	...	8164.0	...	...	8164.0	9.3
Gravel	...	26.0	...	...	26.0	0.0
Earth	...	4.0	...	...	4.0	0.0
Sub-total	...	8194.0	...	...	8194.0	9.3
Total						
Paved	8899.8	8164.0	356.0	...	17419.8	19.8
Gravel	7577.0	26.0	33988.0	21500.0	63091.0	71.6
Earth	1985.0	4.0	2133.0	3500.0	7622.0	8.6
Total	18461.8	8194.0	36477.0	25000.0	88132.8	100.0

Source: Department of Roads.

**Table 6: Road network of Zimbabwe**

**The MDC Alliance government thus pledges to act quickly and the following:**

- Prepare a detailed roads master plan that should cover every ward and district in Zimbabwe.
- Rehabilitate the primary, secondary and urban road network over a five year period to 2023.
- Rehabilitate the tertiary network over a ten year period to 2029.
- Develop endeavour to ensure the construction of all-weather roads, whilst leveraging on new polymer hard surface technologies make all road surfaces that are substantial cheaper than the traditional bitumen surfaced roads.
- Implement environmental best practices for road development.



- vi. Modernise and expand regional trunk roads, identified below so that Zimbabwe becomes the regional transport nerve centre.
- vii. Construct and modernise new bridges across the countries.
- viii. Modernise the country's urban road networks through construction of ring roads, spaghetti roads and other modern forms of road decongestion.
- ix. Overhaul the road traffic act to ensure inter alia that
  - a. They are stricter requirements for the acquiring of drivers licenses to ensure public safety.
  - b. The introduction of a points based driver's license system.
  - c. The obligation of drivers to undergo regular tests.
  - d. The provision of stiffer penalties for alcohol related traffic offences.
  - e. The increase in the levels of third party compensation following road traffic accidents, from the current \$2,000 limit.
  - f. The transition to ICT based platforms, including geo information systems for monitoring traffic volumes, traffic surveillance,
- x. Revisiting the regulatory framework to ensure that ZINARA is not both a regulator and a player at the same time.
- xi. Returning to local authorities all vehicle licensing operations and collection of revenue.
- xii. Restore and return, locally supervised public transport systems particularly metro buses with fixed time tables and regular bus stops as used to be the case with ZUPCO.
- xiii.** As defined in DURA, construct modernise and rehabilitate rural roads to ensure access to markets by rural farming communities.

#### 6.3.1 Signature road projects

The MDC Alliance government will construct multi carriage highways with priority being given to the following roads:

- i. Beitbridge –Harare-Chirundu (M1)
- ii. Harare-Nyamapanda (M2)
- iii. Plumtree-Forbes Border Post (M3)
- iv. Beitbridge-Victoria Falls (M4)
- v. Kwekwe-Nkayi-Lupane (M5)
- vi. Chinhoyi-Sanyati-Gokwe-Lupane-Tsholotsho-Plumtree (M6)



**Figure 18 Source: Shutterstock**

#### **6.4 SMART PLEDGE RAILWAY COMMITMENTS**

Zimbabwe's railway infrastructure is a personification of the total decay and complete mismanagement and deliberate underdevelopment of Zimbabwe presided over by ZANU PF in the last 38 years.

At its peak the NRZ was the largest corporation of Zimbabwe employing over 15 K people in 4 different key departments.

Now what remains is a shell lacerated by corruption, mismanagement and incompetence.

The railway network itself has no single KM that is electrified. The railway track itself is not fit for usage, locomotives, coaches and wagons are obsolete.

There is an ineffective safety regime and more importantly various management regimes have absolutely no idea about running railway infrastructure.

The MDC Alliance rail infrastructure development priorities entail:

- i. Rehabilitation and renewal of the track infrastructure including signals, communication and electric equipment to improve efficiency and speed.

- ii. Decommission all diesel wagons and transit to electric wagons including the introduction of super-fast railway wagons for commuters.(The Bullet Trains)
- iii. Attracting concessionaires into operation of freight and passenger trains through appropriate legislation and incentives. This would leave Government as the owner of the track infrastructure responsible for its rehabilitation, maintenance and expansion, while concessionaires operate freight and passenger trains.
- iv. Establish an independent regulatory authority for the railway sector.
- v. Construct new railway links and new lines that expand into the region, particularly, South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia (all the way to the copper belt) so as to make Zimbabwe the railway nerve hub of the region.)
- vi. Amend the NRZ Act to introduce inter alia a national rail safety programme.

#### 6.4.1 Creation of Urban metro- systems

The defining status quo of modern cities is the development of a fast, environmentally clean, urban commuter network commonly known as the Tube or the Metro.

The Alliance will thus develop a modern metro- system for all its major cities with priority being given to Chitungwiza – Harare – Norton - Ruwa Network and the Pumula – Llewellyn – Cement Side – Bulawayo, Network.

#### 6.4.2 The National Railways of Zimbabwe

The MDC Alliance the government will restructure the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) into two companies:

- i. A state-owned railway Infrastructure Company that would own the track and related infrastructure. It will be responsible for the operation and maintenance of the railway transport system. Private rail concessionaires will pay concession fees to the Infrastructure Company for maintenance and operation of the railway.
- ii. A state-owned commercialized railway services company that would compete with other private players. The state-owned rail company will operate a freight and passenger service.

#### 6.4.3 New Railway Lines

The MDC Alliance government will facilitate the construction of new rail lines linking various production centres and for urban mass transit systems, beginning with Harare (including Chitungwiza, Ruwa and Norton) and Bulawayo. Other cities and towns would be linked as population densities allow. Furthermore, a railway line linking Beitbridge and Chirundu border posts would be constructed in the first 5 years of the new administration.

## **6.5 CIVIL AVIATION**

- i. Reorientation of the Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe to focus on air control and supervision of all ground services.
- ii. The administration of the Airports Development Fund to be strengthened to guarantee airports maintenance and expansion.
- iii. The adoption of an open air policy to allow any airline to operate to and from Zimbabwe and on all domestic routes
- iv. Rationalizing, commercializing or restructuring the National Airline.
- v. Investment in air safety and communications equipment to enable Zimbabwe to achieve Category One Aviation Status.
- vi. The rehabilitation and modernization of every city airport including Buffalo Range, Gweru, Mutare, Kwekwe, Hwange, Masvingo and Beitbridge Airports.
- vii. Set- up an independent regulatory framework.

## **6.6 WATER AND SANITATION INFRASTRUCTURE**



The MDC Alliance government will place the issue of access to water at the center of its agenda.

In this regard, the goal is to introduce a stakeholder participatory framework under the **Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM)** –that involves particularly women (who bear the brunt of water problems at the household level).

The MDC Alliance government will address the following challenges:

- i. Harnessing water for enhanced agricultural production (as well as clean water for domestic purposes) and other low-cost productive water technologies that can be availed at mass levels.
  - ii. Harmonising all legislation that deals with water in particular the water act, Zinwa act, mines and mineral act, urban councils act, rural district councils act and the Environmental Management Act.
  - iii. Ensuring that there is covered water and proper sanitation facilities in every rural home as defined in DURA.
  - iv. Ensuring that local authorities have full control over the provision and management of water in their jurisdictions.
  - v. Ensuring the protection of wet lands and all catchment areas in Zimbabwe.
  - vi. Establishing a water commission in Zimbabwe that will among other things regulate the quality of water and sanitation facilities being offered by local authorities as well as the pricing of water itself.
  - vii. Ensure local participation and localisation of the manufacture of water infrastructure such as pipes, tubes, meters and water treatment chemicals.
  - viii. Rehabilitating commercial irrigation capacity as part of agrarian reform.
  - ix. Setting and enforcing standards of service, especially for quality and prices, while ensuring the protection of vulnerable groups.
  - x. Separating the roles of regulation from service provision as opposed to the current situation where **Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA)** is in charge of both.
    - i. Enforcing high sanitation standards through introduction of technologies, including Blair latrines and eco-friendly options.
- 6.6.1 Signature projects
- i. The construction of boreholes in rural areas.
  - ii. The construction of Gwai Shangai water project.
  - iii. The construction of Sadza dam and other rural dams defined in existing
  - iv. The construction of Kunzvi dam.



- v. The leveraging of existing water infrastructure in Zimbabwe such as Kunzvi, Osboure, Winimbi, Shamva, Mazowe, Tokwe Mukose and turn them into valuable recreational tourism assets on the scale of Lake Kariba.

## 6.7 Energy

The current estimated electricity demand is 2200 MW against actual generation of 1100 MW. The current output of 1100 MW is not sufficient to guarantee support for a rapid economic growth programme. The supplies are fraught with persistent outages. In addition, there are significant electricity losses as a consequence of aged and inefficient transmission and distribution networks.

The MDC Alliance government recognises the importance of expanding installed generation to at least 6K mw by the year 2029.

It is however important we have increase capacity of 4,2 mw by the year 2023 which we estimate will cost 4.33 billion USD.

**Table 7: Selected Indicators for Electric Power in Decade Ahead**

Indicator	2009	2010	2015	2025	Growth rate 2009-2015 (% p.a)
<b>Generation (MW)</b>					
Installed capacity					
Available capacity	1920.0	1920.0	2220.0	4220.0	8.2
Capacity Utilization (%)	1100.0	1100.0	1600.0	3600.0	12.6
	57.3	57.3	72.1	85.3	...
<b>Supply (GWh)</b>					
Domestic	7165.0	6105.1	10602.5	23085.4	14.2
Imports	2164.0	1182.6	3013.4	...	...
Less: Exports	-999.4	-11000.0	...	...	...
Total	8329.6	6187.7	13615.9	23085.4	14.2
Technical losses	1112.0	801.6	1497.7	2539.4	12.2
Consumption	577.0	371.3	272.3	230.9	-4.6
	6640.6	5014.8	11845.8	20315.2	15.0
<b>Household electrification (%)</b>					
Urban	81.0	80.4	87.6	97.3	1.9
Rural	9.8	10.0	12.0	14.6	3.9
National	36.6	36.5	41.1	47.4	2.7
<b>Memo items:</b>					
Technical losses (% of supply)	13.3	13.0	11.0	11.0	...
Non technical losses	6.9	6.0	2.0	1.0	...
Consumption per capita (kWh)	530.3	396.6	844.4	1304.7	12.6
Population (000)	12523.0	12644.0	14029.0	15571.0	2.1

Source: MDC ALLIANCE adopted from AfDB, 2011

The generation expansion will focus on the following signal projects:

- i. The rehabilitation and modernization of Hwange 1- 6 Power Stations.
- ii. The construction of Hwange 7 and 8 thermal Stations.

- iii. The construction of a 2 000 MegaWatt Hydro – Power Station at Batoka Gorge to be shared with Zambia.
- iv. The construction of a coal fired power plant in Gokwe Sengwa and the Lupane Gas Projects.
- v. The construction of at least 30 small Hydro Power stations throughout the country.
- vi. The rehabilitation and modernization of Sanyati, Harare and Bulawayo Power Stations.

#### 6.7.1 Renewable energy

The MDC Alliance strongly believes that the ultimate energy solution in Zimbabwe lies in alternative green energy sources.

A comprehensive green energy policy will be developed that will focus on the following game changing sources of energy.

- i. Solar energy
- ii. Wind Energy
- iii. Degradable biomass energy.
- iv. Promotion of cleaner fossil energy products.
- v. Liquid bio fuels including ethanol.
- vi. Exploitation of Zimbabwe's methane gas located in Matabeleland north,



Figure 19 Source: Shutterstock - Renewable energy sources



#### 6.7.2 Transmission

Zimbabwe's transmission infrastructure is archaic. The MDC ALLIANCE government pledges to source through the private sector the sum of USD 300 million dollars that is required to modernise our grid.

#### 6.7.3 Domestic use

The conservation and efficient use of energy is an obligation of every citizen.

In this regard the MDC alliance government will ensure that every household in Zimbabwe has solar energy powers that will power domestic geysers. Incentives will also be provided to citizens who will migrate from electricity energy to alternative forms of energy.

The regime of prepaid meters will be rolled out to every sector of the economy including farms, and industrial areas.

Large corporations that consume electricity such as huge mining houses and fertilizer companies will be encouraged to migrate to forms of industrial processing that are not dependent on electricity. Furthermore any individual or corporation that so requires will be provided with an independent power producer IPP license to generate their own electricity

#### 6.7.4 Structure of the electricity sector

The MDC ALLAINACE government will allow private players in the form of independent power producers. We propose a separate state company to own and operate.

The old units of ZESA shall continue to be the main suppliers of electricity that in future we expect independent power producers to play a major role particularly in the production of alternative energy

#### 6.7.5 Regulation

ZERA will be strengthened to ensure qualitative oversight of the entire energy sectoring of electricity and all other forms of energy will strive to be regulated .Zimbabwe's energy whether electricity or hydro carbon fuel cannot and should not cost more than the regional pricing.

### 6.8 FUEL

With respect to fuel supplies,

- i. A new pipeline from Beira to Harare will be constructed to turn Harare into a regional hub for fuel distribution into other landlocked SADC countries, also utilising the bulk

storage facilities already in place. The use of pipelines will benefit industry and the population through lower costs and quick supplies.

- ii. Fuel supplies will operate on an open competition basis dominated by the private sector, while government would facilitate entry of other players to enable consumers to benefit from increased competition.

## **6.9 INFORMATION COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY**

The MDC Alliance government intends to usher Zimbabwe to a fourth industrial revolution centred on technology that will fundamentally alter, the way Zimbabweans, work , live and do their business.

The first industrial revolution used water and steam power to mechanise production. The second used electric power to create mass production. The third used electronic and information technology to automate production.

Building on the 3<sup>rd</sup> production, the MDC Alliance government, intends to take Zimbabwe to another level, through the following key components.

- i. Universal access to broad band and Wi-Fi service
- ii. Cloud computing services.
- iii. Artificial intelligence and machine learning
- iv. Block Chain technology
- v. 3D printing
- vi. Internet of things.
- vii. Nano Technology

The MDC Alliance government will implement an ICT policy anchored on the following:

- i. Creation of an enabling environment for the growth of the ICT industry in the country;
- ii. Facilitating the introduction of nationwide free access to broadband services with special emphasis on rural areas, as well as high level training in ICT at tertiary institutions;
- iii. Creation of a single regulatory body for the ICT sector;
- iv. Creation of a new legal framework covering all the converged ICTs;

- v. Ensure reduced costs of service delivery by promoting competition among service providers;
- vi. Expansion of the range of e-applications that are available, particularly in government, health, education, accounting, engineering and financial services.

The MDC Alliance will ensure that the following services are available:

- i. Online visa applications;
- ii. Online passport application;
- iii. Online voter registration;
- iv. Online access to ID cards, births and death registration certificates

#### 6.8.1 Block Chain revolution

Block chain technology is the epicentre of the fourth industrial revolution. The block chain revolution technology, is a complex, growing list of records and platforms (Blocs) which are technically linked and secure through cryptography.

The MDC Alliance government will promote the integration and use Block Technology in the following areas:

- i. Finance and Banking.
- ii. Identity Management
- iii. Asset registration.
- iv. Crypto Assets
- v. Revenue Collection

#### 6.8.2 Roll Out Phase of the fourth revolution

The MDC Alliance government will roll-out the integration of blockchain technology in industrialization through the following:

- i. Setting up task force teams, for each of the priority areas identified above, made up of subject matter experts to fast track policy guidelines and to advise on the formation of permanent structures to deal with the continuous evolution in this space.
- ii. Radical transformation of existing government departments to align with the new requirements of this 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution. This include restructuring of existing departments and the formation of new departments. For example – the department of

ICT need to be merged with finance (block chain will form the basis of future finance) as well as health (Artificial Intelligence is a key component of future of Health Care).

- iii. The role of the Central Bank need to be re- evaluated in the light of the digital economy and its role in the emerging decentralised share economy.
- iv. Awareness and capacity building both in private and public sector to ensure local Zimbabweans are capable to capitalise on this new economic era of block chain technology and government is capable of fulfilling its future regulatory and custodian obligations.
- v. Establish strong Public, Private Partnerships around block chain technology in the areas above, both with local and international stakeholders.
- vi. The MDC Alliance government will engage with the various diaspora communities to find out what skills in these areas already exist and how those skills can be transferred back home. Incentives schemes that could include tax holidays and investment facilities should be investigated. This is a key task that should be a priority.
- vii. The MDC Alliance government will also assess the option of bringing in expat senior managers on contract into government departments to boost capacity building and skills transfers in the short term.

The MDC Alliance is guided by the fact that the economy of the future lies in knowledge based institutions and industries, and these have no boundaries. The MDC Alliance government will therefore ensure that ICTs are the major drivers and enablers for future economic transformation and development. The MDC Alliance government will use ICTs to enable the country to leapfrog its developmental deficit by creating a high value, inclusive, equal and informed society.

The first bold step the MDC Alliance will take, is to make the access to broadband or Wi-Fi a priority and a basic right to ensure efficient communication economic growth and to enhance education in Zimbabwe.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

This is the MDC Alliance's blueprint for transforming Zimbabwe. This is our promise to the people of Zimbabwe. We have gone into detail and covered the broad spectrum of issues so that the people of Zimbabwe have the bigger picture of what we intend to do when they choose us to lead in this election. We are ready and we have the programs to take Zimbabwe in a different and better direction.

The implementation of the MDC Alliance's Pledge for Transformation, Opportunities and Prosperity and all its programs offers a route to the reconstruction of Zimbabwe, restoration of the dignity of the Zimbabwean people, poverty eradication and fighting the growing scourge of inequality.

This program however depends on the right choice the Zimbabwean people have to make in the coming election. It is a choice to elect a team which is ready to place self-interest aside and put Zimbabwe first or to continue with the false promises of the past 38 years. The MDC Alliance is committed to transform Zimbabwe and to position the nation and its citizens where it competes with other growing economies in Africa and the world over. The time for change is NOW. The alternative is to continue with a kleptocratic state and all the weaknesses associated with it. That can't be a viable option. NOW is the time for change.