

**FROM CRISIS
TO
DEMOCRATIC HUMAN-CENTRED
DEVELOPMENT**

**Values, Goals and Policies
of the
Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)**



**Movement for Democratic Change
Zimbabwe**

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Preface

The struggle in Zimbabwe has always been one for dignity and freedom. Working people, workers and peasants, were in the forefront of the first and second liberation struggles that brought the country to independence and gave sovereignty to its people. Two decades later, when it was evident that the ruling nationalist elite was exploiting this long history of struggle for its own ends, the labour and constitutional movements played a key role in challenging the government, particularly on its economic policies and human rights record.

The government proved itself unwilling to involve non-state actors in any meaningful way in policy-making. When the army was used against citizens who protested about food prices, the labour movement and civil society organisation went back to the people. Following consultation with urban and rural people across the country about their priorities, the National Working People's Convention was convened in February 1999. It was evident from discussions at the Convention that the ruling elite had betrayed the trust of the people and that the way forward required the formation of a political party. As a result, the Movement for Democratic Change was formally launched on 11 September 1999.

The policies and strategies that emerged from the Convention formed the basis for the MDC Manifesto for the June 2000 parliamentary elections and the platform adopted for the presidential elections of March 2002. During 2003, the MDC began a process of internal participatory consultation to reassess its policies and programmes.

This document is one output of that process. It summarises the values, goals, policies and programmes of the MDC, which are rooted in our national aspirations as a people and respect the heroic struggles that have been made throughout our history for those aspirations. They also respond to our present reality and challenges, and provide for the economic, social and political justice we all yearn for.

The considerable effort that has gone into the development of its policies and programmes has positioned the MDC as the alternative to fulfil the people's aspirations. We are ready to make an immediate start on the challenging task of restoring the political, economic and social fabric of Zimbabwe.

Morgan Tsvangirai
MDC President

The Challenge

Zimbabwe today faces many challenges. The country is in a crisis, whose roots are structural in nature but whose visible signs are political, economic and social. Poverty has deepened to extreme levels. Inequalities have widened, and land redistribution is incomplete and distorted. Production and employment have collapsed, a tiny minority have been aggressively enriching themselves at the nation's expense, and there is severe economic instability. Social rights are not being satisfied because of poor-quality, inaccessible or unaffordable social services. Political rights have been abused and withdrawn. There is deep political conflict, insecurity and a crisis of governance. The development of a new people-driven Constitution has been halted. The country is isolated from the international community.

The crisis in Zimbabwe is deeper than it has ever been, and it fundamentally contradicts the goals of the liberation struggle and the potential of the people and the economy. There are high-priority political, social and economic issues that need to be resolved immediately and in a manner that progressively and consistently addresses the deeper structural issues of inequality in access to resources and in opportunities to earn incomes. These structural inequalities were inherited at independence, but have worsened over the past two decades.

Zimbabwe is not alone in facing some of these problems. Globally, African countries continue to face trade and market barriers. Systems for the global protection of security, human rights, and economic and social justice are still weak and poorly represent the interests of African countries.

By 2003, after phases of colonial control, military-led liberation, post-Independence state intervention, neo-liberal structural adjustment in the 1990s, and recent authoritarian government, there is now huge pressure for economic, social and political justice. The quest for economic, social and political justice was a driving force of our liberation struggle. The abuses, instability, conflict and looting of recent years call for national healing processes that build both justice and reconciliation. The level of economic, social and gender inequality and poverty demands affirmative action and state intervention. The level of displacement, hunger, illness and acute suffering calls for immediate relief and recovery. Our history has also made clear that our quest for justice must be built on a foundation of democratic and participatory government and a representative, consultative and effective state that serves the public as citizens with rights and obligations, not as subjects of a powerful élite.

Part 1

The MDC as a Force for Social Democratic Change

This section outlines our **core values, goals and policy principles**. These have been developed through a process of participatory consultation, dialogue and work within the party, by the party's portfolio committees, and with other stakeholders. They have been reviewed through the formal democratic structures of the party, and recognise

- ✎ the struggles of the Zimbabwean people throughout our history for economic, social and political justice,
- ✎ the conclusions and resolutions of the National Working People's Convention, and
- ✎ the continuing liberation struggle for social, economic and political rights and freedoms.

1.1 OUR CORE VALUES

Addressing these challenges demands clear values and principles to guide our policies and actions. The Movement for Democratic Change stands for values that have emerged from traditional society, that have been advanced in the liberation struggle, and that have been fought for since Independence. Our values and policies are drawn from the National Working People's Convention in 1999 and the policies adopted at the MDC's first congress in 2000.

- ✎ We stand for **Solidarity**. We aim to achieve a society that is nationally and globally based on compassion. We recognise individual rights and good as long as they do not harm collective rights and good. We aim for a society where the strong support the weak, and where an injury to one is an injury to all.
- ✎ We struggle for **Justice**. We seek economic, social, political and gender justice, as well as formal legal justice and respect for the rule of law.
- ✎ We protect **Freedom and Liberty**. We protect rights at all levels – individual, civil, political, economic and social rights. We intend to ensure that these do not simply exist on paper but are felt in practice.
- ✎ We will be guided in all things by our struggle for **Democracy**. This means that authority will be exercised through consensus, with participation and representation, and with due regard to gender equity. We will ensure that the majority voice is exercised, with tolerance of diversity and of minority views. We insist on integrity, accountability and transparency in governance, through an effective state that builds the confidence of the population in their government.
- ✎ We will provide **Empathetic Leadership**. Leadership is a social contract between the power of the leader and the interests of the people. We will build a transparent, accessible, accountable, reliable and hardworking leadership, clear on issues, accepting criticism, and sensitive to the views of the people.
- ✎ Our quest for **Equity and Equality** means that we will seek equal and fair treatment and distribution of opportunity for all our citizens. We aim for a non-racist, non-sexist, non-tribalist society. Where opportunity is not fairly distributed, we will apply affirmative action.

1.2 OUR GOALS

We will draw on our core values to build inclusive and sustainable development in Zimbabwe that is based on substantive participatory democracy.

We will do this through social-democratic, multi-party political policies that build reconstruction and growth, that address economic, social and political justice, that protect constitutionalism and the rule of law, that build complementarity between participatory democracy and representative democracy, and that build accountable and transparent governance.

We will build:

- ✎ A participatory political democracy through constitutional and other democratic institutions.
- ✎ A strong economy using market principles, with state intervention to promote economic and social justice.
- ✎ A redistributive state that addresses social rights and development.

1.3 OUR POLICY PRINCIPLES

We will achieve our goals through our policies and programmes. Noting the current challenges, our policies and programmes in the first five years will be based on the following policy principles.

- ✎ Our economic recovery and stability will be based on policies aimed at reconstruction, growth, and economic and social justice. We will sequence measures for macroeconomic stabilisation and recovery together with measures for redistribution, poverty reduction, gender equity and social development. We will transform the economy towards sustained, equitable growth.
- ✎ We are committed to redirecting resources from the excessive expenditure on the maintenance of a military and authoritarian state towards investment in human-centred social and economic development.
- ✎ We will build growth that is internally driven by increasing our capacity to produce, and by absorbing labour into value-added productive activities. We will prioritise recovery in agriculture and industry, and in employment-generating activities. We will deal with the dual economy that segments formal and non-formal producers and marginalises the latter.
- ✎ We will resolve the historical and existing political, economic and social dimensions of inequality in access to land through the equitable, transparent, just, lawful and economically efficient distribution and use of land. We recognise land as a national asset. We recognise and respect individual rights to the ownership of property and the authority of the state to acquire land in the interest of public policy and the public good. Any limits to property rights will be made clear in law, and the rule of law will be consistently applied in implementing such limits. We will provide for reasonable compensation for the loss of property, based on fairly judged claims.
- ✎ Our land-reform programme will be based on need and ability (not greed and accumulation). It will aim to revitalise the economic and social empowerment of communities, strengthen the relationship between citizens and the state in rural areas, and provide for sustainable growth in rural production.
- ✎ We will satisfy social rights to health, education, housing, pensions, water, sanitation, transport and energy for all in rural and urban areas. Our financing and delivery mechanisms will ensure affordable and equitable access to services to secure these rights.

- ✎ We will provide for core social rights through a basic level of public services, funded by progressive taxation or solidarity financing. The level and distribution of public financing to different communities will be linked to household capabilities and needs. We will use investment in production that improves employment and incomes as a means of improving households' capacities to attain their social rights.
- ✎ We will protect labour rights, including core international labour standards, and ensure that labour and unions are centrally involved in the development and implementation of policies.
- ✎ We will build modes of governance that are representative and that encourage participation in the state, social partnership and dialogue. These modes of governance will be based on freedoms and securities embedded and guaranteed in a new people-driven Constitution and on strong and independently monitored electoral rights.
- ✎ We will strengthen democratic participation through the reform of Parliament and of local and central government to build confidence in the institutions of government. We will develop equity in representation and the democratic participation of women and vulnerable groups. We will ensure media and judicial independence, and restore and build confidence in the rule of law and in the mechanisms for its enforcement.
- ✎ We will restructure and build an effective, developmental state that can ensure the delivery of our economic, social and political policy goals. We will direct resources to areas where state performance is needed.
- ✎ We will finance our policies by directing domestic resources and savings towards national goals and away from individual speculative interests. We will negotiate for external resources based on clear national policies and agendas. Our external borrowings will be consistent with our national policy goals; they will be used productively for sustainable development, acquired transparently, and monitored publicly against clear targets.
- ✎ We will introduce a system of truth, justice and reconciliation that enables national healing.
- ✎ We will recognise individual, social and organisational contributions to national-building before and after our independence.
- ✎ We will ensure that security forces are subject to democratic control, constitutionalism and the rule of law, and that they operate in a professional manner and towards national interests.

Part 2

The Policy Objectives of the MDC

This section summarises our **main policy objectives** for the next five years in the major areas of economic, social and political activity, and towards the implementation of our values and policy principles. Additional documents contain more specific details about the programmes relating to particular sectors.

2.1 THE ECONOMIC AGENDA

2.1.1 Reconstruction, stabilisation, recovery and economic justice

- ✎ The MDC government aims to reduce and in the near future eliminate poverty through an internally-driven development process, based on equitable income distribution that widens domestic demand and thereby provides the underlying momentum for economic growth.
- ✎ We will tackle the serious economic crisis through a comprehensive five-year programme of fully co-ordinated fiscal, monetary, exchange-rate, sectoral and trade policies (called the Reconstruction, Stabilisation, Recovery and Transformation Programme, RESTART).
- ✎ We will revive the economy by reducing inflation, stabilising the exchange rate, increasing foreign-currency inflows, restoring domestic business confidence, and securing support from international development partners.
- ✎ Our policies will address the pressing social needs of the population, restore the availability and affordability of food and other basic commodities, and rebuild the public health and education systems.
- ✎ We will create the conditions for and mobilise domestic investment.
- ✎ Our fiscal and sectoral policies will aim to increase employment as rapidly as possible and enhance economic empowerment outside the formal sector. We will encourage positive links between the formal and non-formal sectors of the economy, and increase productivity, wealth and incomes in both. High levels of income and employment will be the basis for building domestic demand, improving household incomes for social development, and providing the underlying momentum for long-term sustained growth and development.
- ✎ Early gains will arise from investments in state-supported housing, public works and small enterprises, providing enhanced employment, incomes and living standards. We will promote investment to restore sustained dynamism and growth, implement land and agrarian reform, recover national assets plundered by the previous regime, and restore functioning infrastructure sectors, particularly energy (liquid fuels, coal and electricity), transport (rail, road and air) and telecommunications.
- ✎ By reallocating expenditures, we will re-establish the provision of adequate resources to the social sectors while maintaining the overall fiscal targets

needed for stabilisation. We will work with business and labour towards a social contract that sets agreed wage and price levels to control inflation, and ensure that the gains are passed on to workers and consumers and are not appropriated solely as higher profits.

- ✎ We will repudiate the odious components of national debt, contracted by an illegitimate government and which there is no moral imperative to repay. For the remaining debt, we will negotiate and agree on a comprehensive debt strategy with creditors and international development partners that will be fully incorporated in the macroeconomic stabilisation framework.

2.1.2 Mobilising meaningful land and agrarian reform

- ✎ The MDC is committed to land reform. The MDC government will bring Zimbabwe's land crisis to closure through a democratic and participatory process that seeks to achieve the equitable, transparent, just, lawful and economically efficient distribution and use of land.
- ✎ Agricultural recovery will be founded on an unequivocal return to the rule of law and adherence to the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Constitution.
- ✎ Our laws and measures will recognise and respect individual rights to the protection of person and property and the authority of the state to acquire land in the interest of public policy and the public good. Any limits to property rights will be made clear in law and the rule of law will be consistently applied in implementing the limits. We will provide for reasonable compensation for losses of property, based on fairly judged claims.
- ✎ We will, through a democratically constituted Land Commission, audit land tenure and distribution. We will not go back to the pre-2000 land distribution position, nor will we maintain a chaotic, unfair and unjust status quo. On the basis of the land audit, we will rationalise land allocation based on principles of justice, transparency, respect for the rule of law, need, use and equity.
- ✎ Our wider agrarian reform will embrace and integrate all types of land tenure and production systems.
- ✎ We seek to undertake significant economic transformation of the communal areas, transform the dual agrarian structure (communal/

commercial farm) by unifying the land-tenure system and providing security of tenure. We will provide training, extension and support to raise productivity, incomes, social development and social empowerment throughout the country.

- ✎ We will acquire land for urban development.
- ✎ We will strengthen infrastructure and social development, and encourage agro-based industrial production in centres within rural areas.
- ✎ We will encourage strategic public–private-sector-driven partnerships to rehabilitate food, horticultural, livestock, dairy, seed and other commercial crop production for local and export markets.

2.1.3 Sustainable mining for community benefit

- ✎ The MDC government will revitalise the mining sector, unlock its developmental potential, and enhance exploration and exploitation of mineral resources in a manner that benefits local communities and contributes to economic growth and social development.
- ✎ We will provide a stable legal and fiscal environment that encourages investment in the mining sector.
- ✎ We will balance the state’s and operators’ share of returns, and ensure that revenue due to the state is equitably and accountably collected.
- ✎ We will strengthen indigenous participation in the minerals sector, integrating small-scale mining into mainstream economic growth.
- ✎ We will promote the processing of minerals to add value to our resources and encourage mining-sector investments that implement processing to add value where economically feasible.
- ✎ We will facilitate access to world markets by deregulating minerals marketing and reorienting the state marketing organisation to assist small-scale miners.
- ✎ We will safeguard the highest possible health and safety standards in the mining industry for the workers and the community living on or around mines. We will implement mining in a manner that protects the environment.

2.1.4 Stimulating industrial development and trade

- ✎ The MDC government will stimulate the recovery of industry and trade towards increased employment and incomes.
- ✎ We will provide the environment for Zimbabwean firms to exploit their competitive advantage in domestic, regional and global markets.
- ✎ We will exploit opportunities in global trade and financing, while confronting the threats arising from globalisation. We will co-operate with countries with shared trade goals regionally, within the African Union and globally to shape regional and multilateral economic co-operation agreements and trade pacts.
- ✎ We will stimulate domestic investment, and encourage regional partnerships and direct foreign investment in infrastructure, technology and production in the industrial and services sectors.
- ✎ We will promote industrial diversification, widen the distribution of industry nationally, and promote the development of small-scale enterprises.
- ✎ We will involve business, labour unions, civil society, farmers and commerce in trade strategies and agreements.
- ✎ We will restore the country's capacity for scientific research and technological development, and enhance the adoption and application of science and technology.

2.1.5 Stimulating tourism through local participation

- ✎ The MDC government will realise Zimbabwe's tourism potential with an integrated approach that emphasises local participation and beneficiation.
- ✎ Tourism will be given increasing importance as an integral element of the economy, utilising local resources and mainly domestic capital to generate employment and foreign-currency benefits for the nation as a whole.
- ✎ We will diversify tourism and develop cultural tourism, community-based tourism, eco-tourism, conference and incentive travel, and sports- and recreation-based tourism, and actively participate in regional and cross-border tourism initiatives.

- ✎ We will build the role and capacity of local authorities and communities to develop and manage tourism.
- ✎ We will develop strategies to enable more Zimbabweans to enjoy national tourist facilities.

2.1.6 Sustainable use of environmental resources

- ✎ The MDC government will ensure that Zimbabwe's natural resources are used in a manner that protects rights to clean air, water and other natural resources; that adds value to natural resources and achieves equitable distribution of and access to natural resources; that is located within our general framework of land, property and social rights; and that provides for a high level of consultation with and involvement of the beneficiaries of environmental policy, particularly people in the rural areas.
- ✎ We will resolve the immediate environmental crisis and strengthen the institutional and legal framework for participation in, and the planning and regulation of, the use of natural resources.
- ✎ We will implement community-based biodiversity conservation initiatives to ensure adequate protection of eco-systems and species.
- ✎ We will monitor Zimbabwe's adherence to international environmental conventions and participate vigorously in regional and international initiatives on environmental sustainability.

2.1.7 Restoring coherent and viable infrastructure

- ✎ In each infrastructural sub-sector, including energy, water, transport, information technology (IT) and communications, the MDC government aims to have a modern, efficient infrastructural base, adequately maintained, and sufficient to meet the country's needs. We will ensure a rapid increase in the levels of access by the mass of the population to modern infrastructural services, with clear goals being set for the achievement of universal access.
- ✎ We will restore the coherence and viability of the major infrastructure utilities. We will retain the current ownership pattern, but commercialise the operations of infrastructure utilities, while ensuring goals of universal and equitable access and discouraging wasteful consumption.

- ✎ We will encourage the participation and development of Zimbabwean enterprises and skilled personnel in infrastructural services.
- ✎ We will establish one or more professional regulatory bodies which will be independent of the executive arm of government, covering energy, water, transport, IT and communications.

2.1.8 Securing national energy needs

- ✎ The MDC government will ensure adequate energy supplies at lowest cost for national development and for the enhancement of household living standards. We will strive to achieve equitable access to energy.
- ✎ We will encourage the participation and empowerment of all Zimbabweans in the development and distribution of energy resources.
- ✎ We will create a fair and transparent system for predominantly private-sector liquid-fuel importation, and ensure that appropriate regulatory mechanisms are in place to protect consumer interests.
- ✎ We will meet immediate electricity needs through imports while preparing an investment strategy to enhance local power generation to meet long-term power needs.
- ✎ We will develop additional coalfields outside of Hwange, subject to protection of the environment, and move rapidly to ensure that the potential of coal-bed methane is realised.
- ✎ We will actively promote renewable forms of energy.

2.1.9 Strategic development of transport and communications

- ✎ The MDC government will strive for all-weather-road access to cities, towns and rural areas, complemented by efficient, comfortable, competitive, affordable and safe passenger services. We will build an urban mass-transport system. We will ensure that our transport services are accessible to people with disabilities.
- ✎ We will restore the national rail network and freight and passenger rail services.

- ✎ We will create an environment for the competitive provision of air transport services domestically, regionally and internationally.
- ✎ We will facilitate the growth of passenger and freight services on inland lakes.
- ✎ We will regulate the transport sector to ensure a high standard of safety, discipline, and protection of infrastructure, at the same time encouraging public and private-sector investment in infrastructure and transport service provision.
- ✎ We will create an enabling environment for the growth and provision of, and access to, postal services and information and communication technologies (ICTs), with a view to making Zimbabwe a regional ICT hub.
- ✎ We will transform the communications regulator to strengthen professionalism and autonomy within the framework of wider infrastructural regulation.

2.1.10 Securing water supplies and access to safe water

- ✎ The MDC government will implement principles of integrated water-resource management, including holistic management of land and water and user participation, particularly of women. We will manage water as an economic and social/public good.
- ✎ We will rehabilitate irrigation capacity, and encourage rainwater harvesting and a range of low-cost, sustainable, technologies to greatly increase access to water for productive purposes.
- ✎ Our rural water and sanitation programme will emphasise the provision of clean water for domestic purposes, access to sanitation, and associated health education.
- ✎ We will ensure that regulation and pricing mechanisms for water safeguard service standards and economic viability, and protect vulnerable groups. Regulation will be separated from service provision.
- ✎ We will adhere to the letter and the spirit of the SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourses.

2.2 THE SOCIAL AGENDA

2.2.1 Education for citizenship and economic participation

- ✎ The MDC government will rebuild the education system. We will recognise 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.
- ✎ We will ensure adequate financial, material, infrastructural and human resources to manage and administer Zimbabwe's education system competently, transparently and accountably. We will ensure that all educational institutions in the country design relevant curricula and offer training programmes that are pertinent to our economic and social development.
- ✎ We will improve the professional status and conditions of service of teachers. We will implement staff development programmes to orient and prepare teachers for significant curriculum changes and quality improvements in the sector.
- ✎ We will promote gender equity throughout the education system and deal with the barriers that undermine access by female children.
- ✎ We will promote and ensure children's attendance for at least one year at a pre-school as a prerequisite for entering primary school, and ensure, through legal, financing and institutional means, that all children of school-going age receive seven years' compulsory, basic education in quality schools. We will provide state support to those in need.
- ✎ We will stimulate curriculum development and restructure curricula with a bias towards science, mathematics and information technology; technical, commercial and management skills; and civic, environmental and HIV/AIDS education.
- ✎ We will expand vocational and technical institutions, improve adult literacy levels, and create linkages between vocational, technical and higher-education training.
- ✎ We will support national, regional and private universities in order to increase the number of graduates from higher education as a means of addressing the need for high-level skills in the labour market.

- ✎ We will encourage and invest in mechanisms for student, parent and community participation in all levels of education that are representative, autonomous and competent.
- ✎ We will formulate a national-language policy that promotes the use of local languages, their literature and culture in the education system.
- ✎ We will encourage and support the participation in sporting activities by all sectors of society for their health and enjoyment, and facilitate the participation of national teams and individuals in regional and international competitions and events in all sports.
- ✎ We will encourage and support the promotion and development of all the arts, including the visual arts, performing arts and literature, as reflections of the diverse and vibrant cultures of Zimbabwe.

2.2.2 Unleashing the full participation of labour

- ✎ The MDC government will address the crisis of unemployment, income erosion and insecurity, and reverse decades of neglect of the majority work-force in the non-formal, mainly rural, sectors of the economy.
- ✎ We will build a motivated labour force, supported by respect for labour rights, with enhanced incomes and standards of living. Our policies towards skilled, labour-intensive, knowledge-based, value-added production, the stimulation of links between formal and non-formal sectors of the economy, and policies for an integrated, inclusive economy, will improve employment, incomes and employment equity.
- ✎ We will ensure the co-ordination of labour-market activities and facilitate the participation in the labour market of disadvantaged groups and sectors, particularly non-formal and female workers.
- ✎ We will ensure that wages are adequate to meet requirements for the subsistence of a family, and provide the framework for a fair and equitable incomes policy through a negotiated social contract that will agree and set wages, prices and fiscal policy. We will aim to bring all incomes above the poverty datum line. We will ensure that the burdens and benefits of macroeconomic measures are equitably distributed.
- ✎ We will implement measures to enhance the retention, and encourage the return, of skilled personnel within the public sector and nationally.

- ✎ We will respect and protect labour rights, including core international labour standards. We will overhaul labour law to reflect those rights for all workers, and ensure transparent, accountable and efficient dispute settlement. We will promote tripartism and participate in important national labour days and events.

2.2.3 Securing rights to health

- ✎ The MDC government will uphold the people's health rights and provide for a minimum platform of health rights in the Constitution and in law. We will fulfil the state's obligation to provide sound health services, equitably distributed, directed towards priority health concerns, and with adequate staff, drugs and other essential supplies to deliver those services. In a resource-scarce environment, we will do this by directing available resources towards consistent and reliable support for the preventive, primary-care and district-level services used by the majority of the population.
- ✎ We will ensure that, where there is conflict of interest, the safety and health of citizens, residents and visitors alike take precedence over everything else. The health sector is central to national development.
- ✎ We will aim to spend a minimum of US\$21 per capita in the public budget for health to cover core services. We will meet SADC, African Union and international standards for the allocation of not less than 15 per cent of the public budget to health.
- ✎ We will enhance the referral system by making improvements in the quality of lower-level services in urban and rural areas, localising the management of services and monitoring their performance.
- ✎ We will ensure national implementation of an essential-drugs policy, and support the national procurement, regulatory and logistical mechanisms and human resources necessary to make essential drug supplies available at all levels of health care.
- ✎ We will use the core, quality, public-health services to facilitate and co-ordinate participation in private and traditional health services. We will give greater recognition to the role of traditional health services, and legislate to protect the country's plant species used for medicinal purposes.
- ✎ We will facilitate public involvement and accountability at all levels in the planning, implementation and management of the health systems.

- ✎ We will improve the working conditions of health workers and provide the resources needed (e.g. transport, equipment, accommodation and general welfare), as well as appropriate incentives, training and retention measures, to maximise the application of their skills within public-sector services and to reduce losses from the system. We will negotiate with countries to which health personnel have fled to assist in the provision of conditions that will retain personnel in Zimbabwe.
- ✎ We will promote health, and work to prevent ill health, across all spheres of social and economic activity by providing for and enforcing standards of safe water, sanitation, housing, waste disposal and food hygiene in rural, urban and resettlement areas.

2.2.4 Effective responses to HIV/AIDS

- ✎ The MDC government will provide and encourage leadership across the political, public, private and community sectors to face the realities and challenges of HIV/AIDS, to confront social and economic conditions that increase the risk of HIV, to change environments that produce risk, and to provide equitable treatment of and care for people and communities infected and affected by HIV.
- ✎ We will declare HIV/AIDS a public development crisis, and set up immediate mechanisms for working with national stakeholders to enhance access to proven prevention methods, access to anti-retroviral drugs for the prevention of mother-to-child transmission, post-exposure prophylaxis, treatment for HIV-related opportunistic infections, and anti-retroviral therapy for AIDS.
- ✎ We will ensure that any new resources for AIDS reach beyond urban central facilities and users to community and district levels in poor communities and are implemented in a sustainable manner. We will ensure greater co-operation between public, private and traditional sectors in the prevention, treatment and mitigation of impact of the AIDS epidemic.
- ✎ We will ensure that all sectors integrate measures to reduce risk environments, support treatment and care, and mitigate the impact of AIDS in a clear and publicly accountable manner.
- ✎ We will review the 1999 National HIV/AIDS Policy through a consultative and all-inclusive approach to bring it up-to-date and strengthen its

implementation. We will review, agree on and assign specific responsibilities to all sectors and social and economic institutions, mobilise national and international resources for their implementation, and monitor their implementation.

- ✎ We will finance our core response to AIDS through the national budget, from the private sector, and through solidarity and global financing flows. The AIDS fund will obey principles of accountability, transparency, equity and efficiency, with legal, institutional and financial mechanisms to ensure parliamentary scrutiny, wider community input and strengthened mechanisms for accountability.



2.2.5 Securing rights to shelter

- ✎ Through public, private and home-owner co-operation, the MDC government aims to eliminate the urban housing backlog within five years and to provide good family housing on farms and mines.
- ✎ Working through local government, we will provide resources to expand housing provision and provide the stands for site and service schemes.
- ✎ We will make the tax and legal changes necessary for an effective secondary-mortgage market, allowing institutional savings to be channelled into housing, particularly low-income housing.
- ✎ We will streamline and simplify planning and other bureaucratic procedures related to housing construction and occupation.
- ✎ We will clarify tenure and farmland subdivision procedures for farm-worker and settler housing.
- ✎ We will enhance the capacity of the local construction industry.

2.2.6 Securing social welfare

- ✎ The MDC government will base sustainable social welfare and social security on economic and social policies that reduce poverty, improve incomes and secure social rights for all.
- ✎ We will provide for social security through a mix of: incomes and social service policies; publicly funded social safety-nets and public assistance for

disadvantaged groups; widening public and private social-security coverage in rural and informal enterprises; and national social-security benefits, in the long and short term, complemented by private-sector pension and insurance funds.

-  We will audit the performance of the National Social Security Scheme and private pension funds with stakeholders in the sector to ensure their continued viability and relevance to social-security needs.
-  We will stimulate and encourage community literacy, community information services and participation in social-security schemes and systems, and ensure ethical and equitable functioning of all social-security funds.

2.3 THE POLITICAL AGENDA

2.3.1 Constitutionalism, truth and justice

- ✎ The MDC government will rebuild democratic structures based on the rule of law. We will complete the process of people-driven constitutional reform and enact laws that give practical effect to the broad principles set out in the Constitution. We will set up institutions for ensuring that our society is founded on a constitutional culture, including a constitutional court and a strong and independent Human Rights Commission, Public Services Commission and Judicial Services Commission.
- ✎ Institutions that have been damaged or abused will be rebuilt, particularly the courts, the law-enforcement agencies and the public service. This will be done through extensive retraining and redeployment of personnel. No one who is found guilty of serious human rights abuses will remain in a government post.
- ✎ We will reform government to shift power from the executive to the people. We will ensure a more democratic balance of power between the executive, parliament and the judiciary. We will set up a strong democratic parliamentary system, strengthen the constitutional provisions protecting fundamental human rights, and set up bodies to ensure the observance of those rights. We will restore an independent judiciary that will uphold and enforce the Constitution and laws of Zimbabwe.
- ✎ We will institute reforms to the electoral system to secure free and fair elections, at which the people can freely and confidently choose who they want to govern them, and which will be supported by civic education and information. This system and the duties of those responsible for electoral administration will be provided for in laws in line with SADC electoral standards. An independent Electoral Commission will be set up to organise, conduct and supervise the electoral process and deal with complaints of irregularities, backed up by independent monitoring and observation.
- ✎ The public service will be reconstructed, conditions of service and pay levels re-examined, and competencies assured through recruitment, deployment and training so that it becomes a professional, non-partisan organisation that will efficiently service the needs of the public as a whole. Principles of selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership will be applied in assessing and deploying holders of public office.

- ✎ Specific measures will be used to strengthen information flow and consultation between government and citizens, to circulate and receive input on proposed laws, and to gather and use public evidence in policy-setting.
- ✎ We will put in place an anti-corruption commission, and establish measures to restrict those factors in the political, economic and social environment that foster corruption, to deter and remove determinants of individual acts of corruption, to promote the exposure of acts of corruption, and to identify and punish acts of corruption in the public and private sectors.
- ✎ We will establish mechanisms for truth, justice, reconciliation and restitution. A Truth Commission will be established to gather evidence on human rights abuses reported by the public and to make recommendations on a course of action to government. While general provisions of amnesty for prisoners will continue, we will ensure that due legal process is applied to all human rights abuses, and provide for systems at community, traditional, social and national level to provide for restitution and reparation and for the rehabilitation of perpetrators of abuses.

2.3.2 Media and information

- ✎ The MDC government will restore the confidence of citizens in the ability of state to play its role of provider of infrastructure and regulator to enhance freedom of movement, expression and real access to information.
- ✎ We will repeal laws and dissolve institutions that restrict rights to information and expression, specifically the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (POTRAZ) and the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ), and replace them with a legal environment that encourages investment in communications and media, guarantees freedom of expression and access, and allows for competition and partnership.
- ✎ Media laws will be enacted or reformed to include constitutional provisions guaranteeing press freedom and provide for right of access to government information. Laws relating to contempt of Parliament, civil defamation, criminal defamation, subversive statements and false statements likely to cause alarm or despondency will be reviewed. A media council will be set up as a voluntary, not a statutory, body to promote standards of media ethics, professionalism and practice.

- ✎ We will encourage the establishment of privately owned independent national television stations, commercial privately owned independent community-based radio stations, and privately owned independent national and community-based newspapers.

2.3.3 Local government at the centre of people-driven policies

- ✎ The MDC government will entrench the status, roles and responsibilities, powers and functions of local government in the Constitution. We will build strong and participatory local democracy, through freely elected local authorities, with sound professional management standards and good local governance, fostering public accountability and transparency. We will promote gender equity in local government and in civic–state relations.
- ✎ We will ensure the operational autonomy, competence and effectiveness of local government, and retain policy, regulatory and supervisory roles at central levels of government.
- ✎ We will expand the ‘own revenue’ base for local government, and ensure that economic activities in local government areas benefit local communities through tax and employment measures. We will establish mechanisms for negotiating and setting fair levels of fiscal transfers from central to local government within clear guidelines and backed by value-for-money accounting systems.
- ✎ We will follow principles of ‘subsidiarity’ so that public responsibilities are exercised at levels as close to citizens as feasible. Where decentralisation takes place, the responsibilities delegated to local government will be accompanied by the necessary financial and human resources.
- ✎ We will seek, through the promotion of dialogue and through the operation of local government, to build trust and accountability between local authorities and local communities, entrepreneurs and civic organisations. We will build a meaningful role for communities within local government in political and civic life, in ensuring the accountability and transparency of local government in decision-making on budgets and in effective service provision.
- ✎ We will provide for basic social infrastructures through publicly owned utilities, and encourage private-sector and community participation in supporting water supply, refuse collection, sewage disposal, primary health care, social and rental housing, and other community and social services.

2.3.4 Affirming women's economic, social and political opportunities

- ✎ The MDC government aims to afford women equal opportunities and rights to participate fully in economic, social and political life. We will provide for single and joint ownership of land and other economic assets by women to support economic opportunity.
- ✎ We aim to create conditions for, and direct resources towards, equal employment opportunities for women.
- ✎ We aim to transform negative patriarchal and stereotypic attitudes and practices, to review educational curricula and systems, and ensure open access to the media and cultural institutions to ensure that they facilitate the social inclusion, political participation and leadership of women from community to national level.
- ✎ We will raise the social, economic and political literacy of women and promote their general education.
- ✎ Where our broad economic, social and political policies do not address unequal opportunity for women, we will apply affirmative action to promote women's roles and participation while ensuring competent performance.
- ✎ We will ensure that programmes and services providing for child care, health, education and social welfare prioritise and reach women appropriately and effectively, and deal with issues of priority to them, including HIV/AIDS and reproductive health.
- ✎ We will ensure that our mechanisms for social mobilisation, inclusion, service provision and economic empowerment will give priority to specific measures for reducing the increased risk and vulnerability of women and youth, and particularly female youth, to the impact of HIV/AIDS.

2.3.5 Empowering youth

- ✎ The MDC government will ensure equal opportunities and rights to economic, social and political participation by youth, backed by resources, training and measures that reduce barriers to their participation.
- ✎ We will ensure that our economic, social and political policies effectively reach and include youth, and that youth have a voice on issues affecting them.

- ✎ We will ensure that programmes and services providing for health and education, for promoting civic and electoral rights, and for social welfare prioritise and reach youth appropriately and effectively, and will deal with issues of priority to them in a socially and culturally appropriate manner, involving them in planning.
- ✎ We will use education, the media and debate to cultivate social attitudes that provide for the tolerance, peace, justice and restitution needed for the effective economic and social participation of the youth. We will stop the partisan training of the youth with state resources and support the rehabilitation of the youth that have been perpetrators or victims of violence.
- ✎ We will ensure that our mechanisms for social mobilisation, inclusion, service provision and economic empowerment give priority to specific measures for reducing the risk and mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS in youth.

2.3.6 National integration towards peace and national healing

- ✎ The MDC government will build peace, healing and national integration on a foundation of the rule of law, political tolerance, respect for diversity, and justice. Our economic, social and political policies will be inclusive of and integrate all national groups, and support political and social integration through economic integration.
- ✎ We will recognise individual, social and organisational contributions to nation building.
- ✎ We will respect our national heritage and shrines.
- ✎ We will ensure peaceful political activity and an end to the violence with impunity that characterises current political activity. We will restore law and order, disband militias, and ensure that the police and other law-enforcement agents apply the law impartially.

2.3.7 A security force that protects national and people's interests

- ✎ The MDC government will base national security in the first instance on meeting the political, economic, social and cultural rights and needs of Zimbabweans.

- ✎ We will ensure the constitutional, non-partisan and professional functioning of the security forces in the national interest and subordinate them to Parliament and the executive.
- ✎ We will build a non-racist, non-sexist and non-discriminatory culture in the security forces, and respect the rights of their members within the normal constraints of military discipline and training.
- ✎ The defence forces will assist internally in relief and other areas of civilian support and will not be used against the country's citizens. The coercive role of the defence forces will be restricted to cases of external aggression and armed insurrection.
- ✎ We will establish and resource security-force levels that take into account the external and internal security environment and wider economic and social policy objectives.
- ✎ We are committed to the international cause of arms control and disarmament. We will participate in, and seek to strengthen, international and regional efforts to contain the proliferation of small arms, conventional armaments and weapons of mass destruction. We will adhere to international laws on armed conflict, strengthen co-operation on peace and security with SADC member states, and pursue peaceful relations with other states.

2.3.8 International relations in support of national interests

- ✎ The MDC government will adopt a foreign policy that is clear, focused, consistent, economically and politically sound, sustainable and, above all, predictable.
- ✎ We will build our international policy on national rather than partisan interests, and on the core values of individual freedom, democratic governance and the rule of law. We will base international policy on a commitment to human rights, individual and collective freedoms, peaceful co-existence, the elimination of poverty and a concerted fight against ignorance.
- ✎ We will develop its communications and diplomatic capacity to engage in international and multilateral dialogue within SADC, with the African Union, and with the international community.

- ✎ We will focus our engagement towards realising our values of justice, solidarity, freedom and liberty, democracy and equity. We will participate in international measures to end the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, trafficking in illicit drugs, and to manage intra-state conflicts.
- ✎ We will play a leading role in shaping SADC as a community of nations that reconcile unique national policies for collective advancement, and share prosperity, political stability, innovative social programmes and foreign policies that are supportive of global order, peace and justice. We will ensure that in regional blocs and collective diplomacy, Zimbabwe's national interests remain unique and loudly distinct.
- ✎ We will ensure that Zimbabwe is counted among the leading democracies in Africa by its adherence to democratic constitutionalism, human rights and the rule of law.

Delivery through a Just, Developmental State

Our history of struggle, our values and our political principles imply that the path to realising our policies and programmes must be based on a new political culture. Government must serve the people and citizens by being actively involved in producing an environment that secures our economic, social and political rights.

We will not shut our ears and eyes to the people. We will mobilise, inform, support and build mechanisms for working people, producers and citizens in urban and rural areas, in formal and non-formal economies, and in all communities of the country to shape and participate in the necessary change. We will collectively secure for all generations the progress that we all seek to build.

Recognising the history in Zimbabwe of the use of state machinery in support of the interests of one minority ruling élite after another, we will build a state that serves national and people's interests above any individual or partisan interests. We will establish a firm path towards an effective, just, accountable, representative, participatory and sovereign developmental state, capable of realising our family, community and national aspirations.

Our state will be a positive, **modern, facilitatory and effective developmental state**. It will not operate in the interests of leaders and patronage but in the interests and service of the people. It will intervene to ensure that basic rights to health, education, jobs and food security, and that policies of equity, access, efficiency and effectiveness in services, are fulfilled for all areas and social groups.

We will rebuild the state to ensure sufficient, capable, responsive human resources that will realise its strategic role and social obligations. We will co-operate with and co-ordinate private-sector and civil-society organisations in a manner that respects their autonomy and roles.

We will build a **representative and participatory government**, with mechanisms for social partnership, dialogue and the direct involvement of its citizens in decision-making. We will reform Parliament and central and local government to build confidence, accountability and transparency in government. We will secure, monitor and enforce electoral rights, supported by systems that facilitate voter registration and participation in elections. We will apply the principle of 'subsidiarity' in the devolution of decision-making and budgetary authority to local government, and decentralise services. We will

ensure and strengthen mechanisms for citizens to participate in the planning and organisation of social services at all levels, and invest in the capacity and functioning of these mechanisms. We will cease to use traditional systems as instruments of executive authority and restore their traditional leadership role.

We will build an **accountable and just state**, based on freedoms and securities guaranteed in a people-driven Constitution and respect for the rule of law, with equal access to justice and arbitration. Our state will be consistent, fair and stable in policy-setting. It will provide in a consistent manner for individual and collective justice and reparation. We will ensure media and judicial independence, and build mechanisms for the creation of autonomous watchdogs over rights and state performance. We will strengthen accountability through professional regulatory bodies independent of the executive, even where state ownership is to be maintained.

We will draw on our considerable national talents and capacities in the maintenance of a **sovereign state** within the global community, so that we are able to capture the advantages of global trends and to advance national interests within global institutions. We will build cordial, principled and beneficial relations with regional and international states and development partners, and will ensure that, through consultation, we reflect national interests in our international relations and agreements.

Our policies and state will provide the vehicle to build a Zimbabwe that secures a decent life for all, based on solidarity, justice, freedom, democracy and equity.

