

# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013

PEACE BEGINS WITH **ME**

PEACE BEGINS WITH **YOU**

PEACE BEGINS WITH **ALL** OF US



**VOTE ZANU PF**



***TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY***

**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

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 **TEAM ZANU PF 2013**

INDIGENISATION IS **REAL** FREEDOM



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# ACRONYMS

AFDB	African Development Bank
CABS	Central Africa Building Society
CBZ	Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe
CES	Community Empowerment Scheme
COPAC	Zimbabwe Constitution Select Committee
CSOS	Community Share Ownership Scheme
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EES	Employee Empowerment Scheme
ESOS	Employee Share Ownership Scheme
ESOT	Employee Share Ownership Trusts
ETF	Education Transition Fund
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPA	Global Political Agreement
HSE	Harare Stock Exchange
HTF	Health Transition Fund
IBRD	International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
ICTs	Information and Communications Technologies
IDBZ	Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IndigeNex	Indigenisation Index
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NGOs	Non - Governmental Organisations
NIEEF	National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDC	School Development Committees
SEDCO	Small Enterprises Development Corporation
SMES	Small and Medium Enterprises
SWF	Sovereign Wealth Fund
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
US	United States
YEF	Youth Empowerment Fund
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front



# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013

**SAFEGUARDING AND PASSING ON THE  
LIBERATION BATON**



***TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY***

**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

# 1



## **FROM THE PRESIDENT & FIRST SECRETARY CDE R.G MUGABE**

This People's Manifesto of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (Zanu PF) for the 2013 harmonised elections comes against the background of the enduring and unforgettable fact that it is Zanu PF which liberated Zimbabwe after prosecuting a heroic armed struggle. It was this people's resort to the bullet that won Zimbabweans the right to the ballot that everyone enjoys today as a legacy of our liberation struggle.

That legacy permanently connects past, present and future generations of this nation with one another. It is a legacy that we all own as Zimbabweans. Accordingly, this People's Manifesto is a solemn call from the fallen and living heroes of our liberation struggle, indeed from the wailing bones that lie in many places known and others yet to be discovered, for every Zimbabwean to patriotically cherish and jealously guard the gains of our heroic liberation struggle.

The essence of Zanu PF's ideology is to economically empower the indigenous people of Zimbabwe by enabling them to fully own their country's God-given natural resources and the means of production to unlock or create value from those resources. Through our deliberate socio-economic policies and achievements since our heroic independence, we have laid a firm foundation for the attainment of this strategic goal. Notably, our achievements have been blighted since 1999 by the twin evils of regime change and the illegal economic sanctions. And the last five years of the awkward GPA government have exerted the greatest toll on the people's aspirations.



Our People's Manifesto provides the ways and means out of the quagmire created by the above obstacles to enable us to work together as Team Zanu PF to put our national development back on its revolutionary path. The ways and means in the Manifesto are anchored on Zanu PF's policy of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment, which seeks to enforce the transfer to local entities of at least 51 percent controlling equity in all existing foreign owned businesses. Over and above this, the policy is to empower indigenous entities to hold 100 percent of equity to start up or take over strategic enterprises across the economy, especially in key sectors such as mining, tourism and agriculture.

The targeted equity threshold recognises Zimbabwe's total ownership of all its natural resources as an expression of our national sovereignty. This policy will create dignified employment especially for the youth, distribute wealth amongst citizens more equitably, cause a general improvement in the quality of life of every Zimbabwean and bring about sustainable national development which is home-grown.

In response to widespread concerns and expectations that ordinary people should be the primary beneficiaries of the policy of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment, the next Zanu PF Government will put in place robust measures to ensure an even more transparent, accountable, tangible and measurable implementation matrix in the national interest.

It is therefore the national duty of each and every one of us – young or old – to go out in our historic numbers to vote for Zanu PF in the forthcoming elections.



We must vote as Team Zanu PF regardless of our divergent political affiliations because Zanu PF is your Party which can guarantee you a secure future as the country's liberator.

Zanu PF is the Party of our collective national aspirations. As we campaign for our Party, and when and after we vote, each and every one of us must draw inspiration from the eternal words bequeathed us by our beloved late Vice-President John Landa Nkomo that, "Peace begins with Me; Peace begins with You; Peace begins with all of Us".

Let us go and vote in peace for Zanu PF and be the true masters of our God-given natural resources and our own destiny.

Pamberi neZanu PF!  
Pamberi neIndigenisation!  
Pamberi neEmpowerment!  
Pamberi nekuhwina maElections!

Phambili leZanu PF!  
Phambili leIndeginisation!  
Phambili leEmpowerment!  
Phambili lokuwina amaElections!

**BHORA MUGEDHI 🏴󠁧󠁢󠁥󠁮󠁧󠁿 IBHOLA EGEDINI**

**VOTE ZANU PF**



# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013

BE PART OF IT



VOTE ZANU PF & SCORE



***TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY***

**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

# 2

## INTRODUCTION

**Z**imbabwe has truly come of age with a proud global reputation of resilience, survival and real achievement in winning the goals of the people against unprecedented odds.

Under Zanu PF and President Mugabe's leadership, Zimbabwe has become one of the most indigenised and empowered countries in the developing world in terms of the untold livelihood opportunities that have been availed to the indigenous population.

The opportunities have widened and deepened since independence as a direct result of Zanu PF's pro-people policies such as the hugely successful land reform programme which is now widely acknowledged as a major source of economic prosperity for the country.

Zanu PF's empowerment policies have not been diminished by the daunting challenges that have come in the way over the last decade such as the illegal economic sanctions and the illegal regime-change machinations of the British government and its allies in the EU, US and the White Commonwealth.

Thanks to the leadership of Zanu PF, the people's responses to these challenges have been gallantly exemplary.

Against this proud backdrop, this People's Manifesto for the 2013 harmonised elections explains why an overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans are voting for Zanu PF, by chronicling how the Party will enable Zimbabweans to take back the economy to meet the goals of the people as a direct response to their grievances and needs.



This will be done against the backdrop of major Zanu PF achievements in recent years. The goals of the people that the Zanu PF Government will consolidate, widen and deepen after the forthcoming elections include the following: Independence, Sovereignty, Unity, Security, Respect for the values and ideals of the liberation struggle, Patriotism, Gender equality, Respect for the elderly, Economic prosperity, Achievement, Equity, Peace, Freedom and democracy, Non-violence, Tolerance, Stability, The youth as the future, Employment, Housing for all, Respect for persons with disabilities, Development, Freedom of worship.

For example, in the past decade, Zanu PF has indigenised 12,117,000 hectares of land which was previously in the hands of 3,500 beneficiaries of colonialism and illegal and racist Rhodesian rule and has resettled 276,600 households that have created over one million jobs that have become a source of livelihood with enormous trickle down effects on the economy.

The People's Manifesto also details what Zanu PF is going to do in the same vein and for the same reasons over the next five years.

This includes creating value of US\$7,3 billion from the indigenisation of 1,138 companies across 14 key sectors of the economy and over US\$1,844,223,157,000 created from the idle value of empowerment assets unlocked from parastatals, local authorities, mineral rights and claims and from the State to capacitate Agribank with US\$2 billion to finance the stimulation of agricultural productivity; to capacitate IDBZ with US\$3 billion to finance the rehabilitation and construction of physical infrastructure; and US\$2 billion to finance the rehabilitation of social infrastructure



and to capacitate Sedco with US\$300 million to fund innovative women's and youths initiatives.

These initiatives will create 2,265 million jobs across key sectors of the economy and contribute to export earnings, food security and to the fiscus among many other benefits including urban housing, and construction or peri-urban farms acquired during the land reform exercise.

In addition, Zanu PF's Indigenisation and Empowerment initiatives outlined in this People's Manifesto will see an average GDP growth rate of nine percent by 2018 up from the current 4,4 percent; 250,000 low income housing units will be built; 1,250 public houses and buildings will be rehabilitated; 2,500 shell factories, flea and vendor market stands will be created; 310 clinics and 300 schools will be built and a new Parliament Complex will be constructed in Mt Hampden.

Zanu PF's pro-people policy interventions have always been informed by an unwavering determination and revolutionary commitment to address and meet the goals of all Zimbabweans regardless of their social, economic, cultural or ethnic affinity, background or affiliation.

In particular, the beneficiaries of the policy interventions will include rural and urban communities, youths, women, war veterans, war collaborators, ex-detainees, ex-restrictees, indigenous business enterprises, professionals, academics, workers, farmers, civil servants, teachers, students, sports men and women, artists, parents and children, small and medium scale enterprises, schools, churches, patriotic NGOs, traditional leaders and indeed, all citizens and residents.



- **Other key post-election deliverables**

As part of taking back the economy over the next five years after the elections, the Zanu PF Government will unlock value from the following currently idle assets within the Zimbabwe economy in order to augment the US\$7,3 billion of assets to be unlocked from the indigenisation of 1,138 foreign-owned companies to capacitate IDBZ, Agribank and Sedco:

- US\$1,844,223,157,000 of idle assets based on the technically determined or indicated economic or mining viability of Zimbabwe's unexploited but measured mineral reserves.
- US\$7,681,078,582 of idle assets in the custody of parastatals.
- US\$1,357,010,326 idle assets with local authorities.
- Support of the following programmes led by the President and First Secretary of Zanu PF, Cde R.G Mugabe:
  - (i) US\$19,572,000 Presidential Scholarship Programme
  - (ii) US\$27,200,000 Presidential Support Programme for Chiefs
  - (iii) US\$5,900,498 National Presidential Youth Initiative
  - (iv) US\$300,000,000 Presidential Agricultural Input Support Scheme
- Establish the Harare Stock Exchange (HSE), including under it an exclusive platform called **IndigeNex** for exclusive participation by indigenous individuals and 100 percent indigenous companies to generate incomes and create employment.
- Recapitalise and capacitate all sectors of the national economy using value unlocked from idle assets.
- Reduce the urban housing backlog by, among other interventions, urgently regularising the tenure of urban dwellers that were allo-



cated housing and commercial stands on peri-urban farms under the Land Reform Programme.

- Maintain proficient, technologically competent and well-motivated defence and security capabilities.
- Restore sanity and eliminate corruption, particularly in urban councils.
- Give bankable leasehold security of tenure to all agricultural beneficiaries of the Land Reform Programme.
- Institute measures to legalise artisanal mining (makorokoza).
- Ensure food security as a central pillar of Zimbabwe's sovereignty by launching a targeted national programme to spearhead, coordinate and promote production, processing, marketing and utilisation of nutrients for both rural and urban communities.
- Give national languages the same status as English in accordance with the new Constitution.
- Promote and fund the development of local content in the music industry and the preservation of national cultural norms and values through education and other national platforms.
- Create more and vibrant opportunities for the youth by establishing a twenty-five percent quota as threshold for their participation across all sectors of the state and the economy.
- Repatriate Zimbabwe's sanctions-bled human capital from the diaspora.
- Engage Britain and its EU, US and White Commonwealth allies to unconditionally lift illegal sanctions, stop their sustained regime-change onslaught and normalise relations with Zimbabwe.



# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013

**PROUDLY INDIGENOUS**



***TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY***

**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

# 3



## THE GOALS OF THE PEOPLE

**B**ut what are the goals of the people that inform Zanu PF's policies?

There are at least 23 goals of the people that are at the core of what Zanu PF has done for the people over the years. For example, in the historic indigenisation of land whose huge success is now widely acknowledged and the same goals are inherent to Zanu PF's policy of Taking Back the Economy through the current thrust of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policy intended to benefit the totality of the people as communities, war veterans, war collaborators, ex-detainees, ex-restrictees, indigenous business enterprises, young professionals, workers, farmers, civil servants, teachers, students, parents and children, small and medium scale enterprises, schools, churches, patriotic NGOs, traditional leaders and indeed as citizens and residents.

This policy will be the centrepiece of the work programme of the Government over the next five years between 2013 and 2018 and the policy will be specifically guided and motivated by the goals of the people that are summarised below.

- **Independence**

Independence – which is celebrated on 18 April – is everything to all Zimbabweans because it is the source and pillar of their self-determination, freedom and democracy.

Although Zimbabweans heroically won their independence in 1980 after a protracted armed liberation struggle waged under Zanu PF by selfless sons and daughters of the soil who sacrificed their lives, the goal of independence is a permanent aspiration of the people.



It is for this reason that every Zimbabwean has a duty to defend the national independence by putting Zimbabwe first and rejecting all forms of treachery.

- **Sovereignty**

The overarching goal of Zimbabweans during the struggle for independence in the First Chimurenga, the Second Chimurenga and the Third Chimurenga was the fight for sovereignty in terms of self-determination to enable Zimbabweans to shape their own destiny as their own liberators.

Today the aspiration for sovereignty among Zimbabweans is expressing itself through the resurgence of resource nationalism among the youth, women, professionals, workers, farmers and business leaders who are spearheading the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policy to ensure that Zimbabweans exercise sovereignty over their God-given natural and economic resources. In essence, the goal for sovereignty is defined by autonomy with respect to national and foreign affairs.

- **Unity**

Zimbabweans aspire for national unity because they cherish it as a fundamental and indivisible gain of the liberation struggle. This goal is the epitome of Zimbabwe's indivisible unitary State in which power is devolved through decentralisation.

It is precisely for this reason that December 22 is an important day on the Zimbabwean calendar as, "National Unity Day" to mark the historic 1987 unity Accord between PF Zapu and Zanu PF.

It is impossible to achieve anything that uplifts the livelihood of the people without Unity hence Zanu PFs call for "Unity, Unity and More Unity" which is underlined by the fact that "Unity" is the first pillar of the Party's motto whose timeless mantra is "Unity, Peace and Development".



When the late Vice-President Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo, popularly known as Father Zimbabwe, signed the Unity Accord on 22 December 1987 together with President Robert Gabriel Mugabe, they were affirming a pervasive goal of the liberation struggle and confirming an enduring goal of the people of Zimbabwe. Zanu PF will never betray the people's desire for and indeed entitlement to unity as an abiding aspiration for all Zimbabwean generations past, present and future.

The quest for Unity is the wind behind the sails of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment. Unity is particularly relevant as the defining inheritance of the Youth to whom President Mugabe is passing the heroic baton of the legacy of the liberation struggle through the new policy of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment.

- **Security**

It is the goal of every Zimbabwean to be secure. This goal has two complementary aspects. First, there is the human security of the individual, family and community. Second there is the national security of the State which incorporates peace, non-violence and stability and whose undisturbed existence guarantees the human security of the individual. All other goals of the people are meaningless where there is no human security and where there is no State security.

As the liberation movement that brought freedom and democracy to Zimbabwe, Zanu PF is committed to ensuring that the people get the human security and State security that they deserve as a gain of their independence.

- **Respect for the values and ideals of the liberation struggle**

The one enduring and overarching goal of every Zimbabwean to which Zanu PF is eternally committed is to uphold, cherish



and honour the values and ideals of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. These values and ideals include but are not limited to anti-imperialism, anti-slavery, anti-colonialism, anti-neocolonialism, anti-racism, self-determination, national and resource sovereignty, gender equality, universal adult suffrage and the empowerment of the indigenous population through the restoration of its civil and political rights along with the restoration of its cultural, social and economic rights.

- **Patriotism**

The one goal sought by every Zimbabwean which precedes all other goals is patriotism. This is why the full name of Zimbabwe's only people's Party is "Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (Zanu PF). Zanu PF understands that patriotism is the glue that makes and keeps Zimbabwe together such that there can be no Zimbabwe without it. Enemies of patriotism are sellouts.

The people's goal of patriotism is rooted in the historic sacrifices of Mbuya Nehanda and King Lobengula in defense of Zimbabwe's sovereignty and independence. Patriotism is the first line of attack against foreign domination and the last line of defence against treachery. Fighting against such evils as illegal sanctions and illegal regime change is a matter of patriotism.

Similarly, asserting and safeguarding Zimbabwe's independence and the ownership of the country's God-given natural and economic resources by the indigenous population to benefit the people through Zanu PF's policy of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment is a patriotic endeavour.

At its core, patriotism puts Zimbabwe and therefore the people first as the overarching affirmation of the historic and permanent values and ideals of the country's heroic liberation struggle. As such, every Zimbabwean has a duty to be patriotic as an expres-



sion of their nationality. It is in this connection that Zanu PF is Zimbabwe's only Patriotic Front.

- **Gender equality**

Inspired by the heroism of Mbuya Nehanda against colonialism and the historical fact that women fought side by side with their male counterparts during the liberation struggle, the goal of gender equality is profoundly embedded in the Zimbabwean mindset. It is for this reason that every Zanu PF policy seeks gender equality as an aspiration of the liberation struggle.

Zanu PF has raised the status of women by championing gender equality through laws, empowerment programmes and promotion of women in sectors and positions previously held by men only. Examples include a woman Vice President since 2005, female judges, pilots to mention a few.

The party will consolidate programmes to economically empower women, build strong families and develop communities where men and women, boys and girls are equal partners and beneficiaries in development.

- **Respect for the elderly**

It is the goal of every Zimbabwean, especially the youth who make up the majority of the population, to value and respect the elderly who are the country's fountain of wisdom and guidance. The preservation and celebration of the wisdom of the elderly in Zimbabwe today is a national goal of the people not least because the ranks of the elderly has living heroes who initiated, led and prosecuted the Second Chimurenga under Zanu PF and who are today passing the baton of the liberation struggle to the youth. These ranks include revolutionary nationalists some of whom are icons of nationalism and pan-Africanism, liberation war veterans, ex-detainees, ex-restrictees, liberation war collaborators and many unsung heroes among ordinary people.



- **Economic prosperity**

Every Zimbabwean wants to enjoy a high quality of life in terms of access to decent work or employment, reliable transport, quality education, good health, decent housing or shelter, water and sanitation etc. In essence, Zimbabweans aspire for all the good things of life which come with and from economic growth which is essentially about wealth creation that is generally reflected by the country's GDP.

To meet the national goal of economic growth over the next five years through Indigenisation and People's Empowerment, Zanu PF is committed as a matter of policy to ensuring that the Zimbabwean economy maintains a GDP growth rate that will not be less than six percent.

- **Education for all**

With a literacy rate of 94,2 percent, Zimbabweans are a highly achievement-oriented people who value education as a key goal. The fact that education has become inherent to the goals of Zimbabweans – as a result of Zanu PF's widely acknowledged investment in education – has seen the rise of meritocracy as an important national goal especially among the youth who now make up the majority of the country's population.

The successful implementation of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policy is essentially a boardroom challenge that requires the achievement-based skills not only to meet the demands of the emerging knowledge-driven Zimbabwean economy but also to be able to compete with positive results in the global telecommunications village. This is only possible through Zanu PF's acclaimed policy of education for all.

- **Equity**

While Zimbabweans value and aspire for the creation of wealth to achieve economic growth, they also cherish equity in the en-

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joyment of their national wealth. It is for this reason that Zanu PF's national policies have always been underlined by a strategic balance between growth and equity.

The period 2013-2018 will not be different in this regard as Zanu PF intensifies the implementation of its Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policy, to create wealth from the country's God-given natural resources in order to benefit the majority of Zimbabweans, especially the youth and women.

- **Peace**

The people of Zimbabwe want to live in undisturbed peace, tranquility and harmony. A legacy bequeathed by the late Vice-President John Landa Nkomo which defines one of the most important goals among most Zimbabweans regardless of their political affiliation is that; "Peace begins with me; Peace begins with you, Peace begins with all of us".

An overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans have taken this aspiration for peace into their hearts and Zanu PF believes that the goal should be translated into the everyday deeds of each and every Zimbabwean beyond elections not least because the aspiration speaks to the Party's second pillar in its revolutionary motto, "Unity, Peace and Development".

Peace goes with unity and, in fact, it is the prerequisite for unity. Where there is no peace there is war and where there is war there is no unity. As such, peace guarantees unity and this explains why it is a permanent goal of the people behind Zanu PF policies.

The essence of the heroic liberation struggle was to bring peace to Zimbabwe by ending British colonialism and Rhodesia's illegal Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) both of which were inherently violent in every respect.



The overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans that genuinely aspire for peace have the opportunity in 2013 to reflect on the historic fact that the heroic liberation struggle waged by Zanu PF which brought independence and democracy to Zimbabwe was in fact waged to bring peace to the country and this is something which the youth who make up the majority of the electorate understand very well and are prepared to defend with their vote in support of Zanu PF in the forthcoming elections peacefully.

- **Freedom and democracy**

An important goal of all Zimbabweans which was a defining quest of the liberation struggle and which is a pillar of Zimbabwe's heroic independence is the people's freedom and democracy to define their destiny as individuals, as communities and as a united and indivisible nation living in peace. This freedom includes but is not limited to civil and political rights as it also incorporates cultural, social and economic rights of the indigenous population.

- **Non-violence**

In their quest for unity, peace and development through the exercise of their hard-won freedom, Zimbabweans have made it clear that they cherish non-violence as a shared goal across the political divide.

As a vanguard liberation movement with mass support across all walks of life, Zanu PF is committed to doing everything it can possibly do to ensure that the scourge of political violence is banished from the country's political culture. The Youth have a right to inherit a violence-free political culture and a responsibility to entrench that culture into posterity as an inter-generational goal.

- **Health for all**

An overarching goal of the people is the improvement of the health delivery system to attain health for all. This is particularly important in view of the numerous challenges facing Zimbabwe's



health sector such as shortage of skilled professionals and health-care staff, an eroded infrastructure with ill-equipped hospitals or clinics and lack of critical medicines and commodities. As part of its policy of health for all, Zanu PF will address these challenges as a matter of top priority over the next five years.

- **Tolerance**

The fact that Zimbabwe has come of age is particularly borne out by the wide and deep extent to which tolerance of each other's lawful and patriotic views, differences and affiliations has become a cherished national goal. Zanu PF is proud to champion this goal as Zimbabwe's only liberation movement that heroically fought for and brought the freedom and democracy that Zimbabweans who value tolerance enjoy today.

- **Stability**

An equally notable and cherished goal of most Zimbabweans is stability and order. This explains why Zimbabwe has remained one of the most stable countries in the world despite having faced unprecedented challenges that would have easily brought instability, chaos and disorder in any other country facing similar challenges. It is because of the pursuit of this goal of stability that Zimbabwe's military, police and prison services constitute a highly skilled, highly professional and highly disciplined national security system that has not only maintained stability in the country but has also been of widely acknowledged service to the international community under the auspices of the United Nations.

- **The youth as the future**

The fact that the youth are Zimbabwe's lifeline for securing the country's future means that their wellbeing today is a critical goal of the people. It is for this reason that Zanu PF is committed to fostering a youth that is patriotic, has a proud sense of belonging and is prepared to defend the national heritage as expressed in the ethos and by the nationally cherished gains of the liberation struggle.



The critical importance of fostering a patriotic youth as a national aspiration of the people is dramatised by the fact that – according to the 2012 population census – youths aged between 18 and 35 years and who are thus eligible to vote number up to 4,8 million. This represents 37 percent of the total population of 13 million and 61 percent of the 7,9 million Zimbabweans who are eligible to vote. Adults over 35 years are 3,1 million, representing only 24 percent of the total population and 39 percent of the voting population.

This 18 to 35 year age group is particularly important in Zimbabwe's political landscape for many reasons. Firstly, it is the engine-room within which future leaders in all walks of life and at all levels of society are being groomed and nurtured. Secondly, it is the age bracket which is preoccupied with finding its role and station in life, seeking gainful employment, looking for decent housing and starting up families.

Thirdly, many young people in this bracket will be voting for the first time and that places a huge responsibility on them which requires historical guidance in the national interest. Fourthly, it is this age group that is most vulnerable to external political, cultural and information manipulation which, if left unchecked, often results in the youth becoming politically apathetic or misguided, engaging in pre-marital promiscuity, resorting to the use of hard drugs and falling prey to all sorts of ills of life.

Zanu PF has a solid track record of promoting and protecting the aspirations of the youth. In fact, Zanu PF is a natural home for the youth who are the frontline of the people's revolution. After the elections, the next Zanu PF Government will intensify its efforts to empower the youths in a very deliberate way to benefit them through focused application of the programme of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment.

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This thrust will find expression in Zanu PF's new youth policy which seeks to create more and vibrant opportunities for the youth by establishing a 25 percent quota as a threshold for their participation across all sectors of the State and economy.

- **Employment**

It is a goal of every Zimbabwean, especially the youth, to be gainfully employed in the broadest possible sense in order to have a decent living for themselves and their families and to be able to meaningfully contribute to the development of their community and their country. It is for this reason that employment creation has always been at the heart of Zanu PF's policies to the point of creating a ministry responsible for creating employment opportunities. Indigenisation and People's Empowerment is particularly designed to create unprecedented employment opportunities over the next five years.

- **Housing for all**

One of the most important goals every Zimbabwean aspires for and which Zanu PF is determined to achieve is adequate, decent and affordable housing together with all the social amenities that come with it as part of human civilisation.

Zimbabwe faces serious homelessness characterised by a very high national housing backlog which stands at 1,25 million. This is a consequence of the combined effects of discriminatory urban settlement policies of the pre-independence era, the massive rural-urban migration of the post-independence years – which is on the increase as large numbers of school leavers and college graduates annually seek to secure employment opportunities – and the deterioration of both physical and social infrastructure and economic decline that has been caused by the illegal sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by Western countries over the past 14 years.



The sanctions and the economic decline, in particular, have had a negative impact on wealth generation, employment creation and the promotion of savings. This impaired the capacity of the citizens to choose their own habitat and dented the focused programmes and gains that Zanu PF had made towards the goal of providing housing for all Zimbabweans.

A National Housing Policy, launched by the Government in 1999 with the aim of surpassing the Millennium Development Goals, was immediately checkmated by the illegal sanctions before it could make any progress. After the forthcoming elections, the Zanu PF Government will embark on a vigorous housing programme to address the housing backlog of 1,25 million using financial resources from assets to be unlocked from the indigenisation of foreign-owned companies.

- **Respect for persons with disabilities**

Zimbabweans recognise the challenges faced by their compatriots with disabilities. Against this backdrop, it is a goal of the people to ensure that persons with disabilities are fully respected and assisted by the Zanu PF Government to realise their full mental and physical potential in order for them to be self-reliant so as to participate fully in the national economy and to be able to live with their families and pursue their hopes and dreams while being protected from all forms of abuse or exploitation.

- **Development**

The goals of Unity and Peace cherished by Zimbabweans are the foundations for the overarching goal for Development which is the third pillar of the trinity that makes up Zanu PF's motto of "Unity, Peace and Development". For most Zimbabweans, their goal for Development is in terms of bread-and-butter issues that revolve around the existence and state of physical infrastructure



(economic enablers such as energy, dams, roads, railway and information communication technologies) and the existence and state of social infrastructure (such as education, health, welfare, recreation and human and national security in terms of police, defence and prison services).

Equally important is the development impact of physical and social infrastructure in terms of economic growth, employment creation, equity, freedom and democracy, housing, quality water and sanitation, contribution to export earnings and contribution to GDP and to the fiscus among related goals of the people.

#### • Freedom of worship

Zimbabwe is a deeply spiritual country and it is a goal of every Zimbabwean to be one with his or her creator in the religious sense. As such, and as a matter of their conscience, every Zimbabwean has a right to their freedom of worship in pursuit of their faith. In recognition of this fact, Zanu PF is committed to empowering faith-based organisations and churches as part of the historic Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Programme including land allocation.

#### Box 1 Goals of the people

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Independence</li><li>• Sovereignty</li><li>• Unity</li><li>• Security</li><li>• Respect for the values and ideals of the liberation struggle</li><li>• Patriotism</li><li>• Gender equality</li><li>• Respect for the elderly</li><li>• Economic prosperity</li><li>• Education for all</li><li>• Equity</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Peace</li><li>• Freedom &amp; democracy</li><li>• Non-violence</li><li>• Tolerance</li><li>• Stability</li><li>• The youth as the future</li><li>• Employment</li><li>• Housing for all</li><li>• Respect for persons with disabilities</li><li>• Development</li><li>• Freedom of worship</li></ul> |
|--|--|



 **TEAM ZANU PF 2013**



***TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY***

**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

# 4



## WINNING THE GOALS OF THE PEOPLE

Only the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme can meet the goals of the people. There's no other alternative. Therefore, Zanu PF will unapologetically intensify the implementation of this programme over the next five years in order to meet the goals of the people. But, what is the meaning of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment programme? There are four critical components to the programme.

### (i) The ideology of indigenisation and empowerment

The ideological meaning of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment arises from the historical fact of our independence and sovereignty as Zimbabweans, as an expression of our heroic liberation struggle that was waged by Zimbabweans to attain the freedom and democracy we all enjoy today.

Our independence and sovereignty has empowered us to use the State as the revolutionary instrument to reclaim our land as its owners as a matter of our sovereignty. Now Zimbabweans have an historic opportunity to extend the ownership of their land to 14 key sectors of the economy whose control and ownership are in foreign hands as a direct result of colonialism and Rhodesian racist rule. In the same way we have taken back our land as Zimbabweans through the Third Chimurenga, we are now taking back our economy as its rightful owners.

The economy is land and land is the economy. From this flows the people's aspiration to take full control and ownership of both our land and our economy. Both our land and our econ-



omy are ideological expressions of indigenisation to assert our independence and our sovereignty over our natural and economic resources. In other words, we must indigenise both our land and our economy.

Beyond the indigenisation of our land and economy, our independence and sovereignty bid us to use our own initiatives to – for example – organise, empower and capacitate our youth, women and professionals to create business enterprises from value unlocked from the economic exploitation of our natural and economic resources.

#### (ii) The indigenisation and empowerment law

Zanu PF’s ideological thrust to indigenise the ownership of Zimbabwe’s natural and economic resources that fell into foreign hands as a consequence of colonialism or racist Rhodesian rule is based on the law to ensure fairness, transparency, accountability and predictability in its policy implementation.

The relevant law in this regard is the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (Chapter 14:33) as read with the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment (General Regulations, 2010).

The main objective of this law as enshrined in Section 3 of the Act is “to endeavour to secure at least 51 percent of the shares (ownership) of every public company and any other business shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans”. For the avoidance of any real or mischievous doubt, this law is very clear in its application and thus does not exempt any public company or any other business for any reason whatsoever and therefore applies equally to all the 14 key sectors of the economy.



As this is an important matter of law which needs to be widely understood, the legal position that no sector in the economy is exempt from indigenisation on the grounds that the sector in question falls under a separate licensing or regulatory authority or is supervised under a different law which contradicts or is contradicted by the indigenisation law is provided in section 5 (1)(2)(5)(6) of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act whose import is that no sector is exempted and that the Indigenisation Act takes precedence over all other laws.

In section 5 (1) the Indigenisation law defines a licensing authority as:

“(a) in respect of public service vehicles, the Commissioner of Road Transport referred to in section 3 of the Road Motor Transportation Act [*Chapter 24:19*] (Act No. 1 of 1997) or any Assistant Commissioner of Road Transport;

(b) in respect of any financial institution, that is, anybody or association licensed or registered under any law relating to asset managers, banks, building societies, unit trust schemes, insurers or pension funds, the licensing or registering authority appointed under that law;

(c) in respect of the trades and businesses required to be licensed in terms of the Shop Licences Act [*Chapter 14:17*], the licensing authority as defined in that Act;

(d) in respect of the persons who own, conduct or operate designated tourist facilities as defined in the Tourism Act [*Chapter 14:20*] or who provide or assist in providing any services which are such designated tourist facilities, the licensing authority as defined in that Act; and,

(e) any other statutory person, body or authority charged with licensing any business or activity”.



It should be clear from the provisions of section 5 (1)(b) that financial institutions and banks are in fact covered by the law let alone the policy which must follow the law.

With section 5 (1) of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in mind, section 5 (2) provides that:

“Subject to this section and section 20, the Minister may issue a written order to the licensing authority of any non-compliant business, ordering that the licensing authority concerned decline to renew the licence, registration or other authority to operate the business concerned, or, where the licence, registration or other authority concerned is granted for an indefinite term, ordering that the licence, registration or other authority concerned be terminated no later than six months from the date when the Minister issued the order to the licensing authority concerned”.

In the same vein, section 5 (5) of the Act stipulates that:

“If, within thirty days after the Minister has written to the parties in terms of section 4 (3) (or such longer period as the Minister may, for good cause, allow), the parties have not complied with anything the Minister has required them to do under that provision, the Minister may, without further notice to the parties concerned, issue a written order to the licensing authority of the business in question, to decline to renew the licence, registration or other authority in question to operate the business concerned or, where the licence, registration or other authority is for an indefinite term, ordering that the licence, registration or other authority concerned be terminated no later than six months from the date when the Minister issued the order”.



Finally, the fact that the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act takes precedence over other laws is clearly stated in section 5 (6) which provides that:

“An order issued by the Minister to a licensing authority in terms of subsection (2) or (5) shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law under which the licensing authority operates”.

While the law is clear that at least 51 percent of the shares or ownership of every public company and any other business across the economy shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans, there has been some confusion and misunderstanding over the modalities for achieving this threshold. Consequently, and going forward, there is a need to review, tighten and strengthen the law to among other things clarify the fact that indigenous Zimbabweans can not be expected or required to buy back their God-given natural or economic resources.

In particular, the Zanu PF Government will make sure that the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act is strengthened to specifically align it with Section 14 of the new Constitution which deals with “Empowerment and employment creation” and which provides in Section 14 (1) that “The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must endeavour to facilitate and take measures to empower, through appropriate, transparent, fair and just affirmative action, all marginalised persons, groups and communities in Zimbabwe” and which in Section 14 (2) stipulates that “At all times the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must ensure that appropriate and adequate measures are undertaken to create employment for all Zimbabweans,



especially women and youths”. These revolutionary provisions of the new Constitution on indigenisation, empowerment and employment creation were crafted by Zanu PF during the 2012 Copac drafting process in line with the views given by the majority of Zimbabweans during the Copac outreach process. At long last, Zanu PF’s commitment to Indigenisation and People’s Empowerment has a constitutional basis which will be used to strengthen the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act.

It should be noted that going forward, the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act will be further strengthened where necessary under the weight of section 71 of the impending New Constitution dealing with property rights and which provides in section 71 (3) that:

“Subject to this section and to section 72, no person may be compulsorily deprived of their property except where the following conditions are satisfied – (a) the deprivation is in terms of a law of general application; (b) in order to develop or use that or any other property for a purpose beneficial to the community”.

### (iii) The policy of indigenisation and empowerment

Put simply, the policy of the Indigenisation and People’s Empowerment Programme is to implement the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act to its fullest extent without any exemption in a fair, transparent and predictable manner in the national interest guided by Zanu PF’s ideology outlined above. The law requires that “at least 51 percent of the shares (ownership) of every public company and any other business shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans”.

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Zanu PF is committed to implementing this law as a matter of policy in a responsible, professional and business-like manner which is fair, transparent and predictable through boardroom negotiations that do not compromise the law or the Party's ideological position.

For the avoidance of any real or mischievous doubt, the fact that the policy requires that “at least 51 percent of the shares (ownership) of every public company and any other business shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans” does not mean that the policy is “equity” or “dividend” based and thus does not take into account the all-too-important reality that the real value of business enterprises is derived less from shareholding and more from the everyday transactions of the business through such activities as procurement, including the sharing of gross income.

The essence of the policy of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment is to ensure that Zimbabweans constitute the majority of the critical core of shareholders who make procurement and related business decisions in every public company or any other business in terms of the law and indeed the Party's ideological position.

It is also important to understand the difference between indigenisation and people's empowerment. Indigenisation is using the law to ensure that at least 51 percent of the shares (ownership) of every public company and any other business is owned by indigenous Zimbabweans and, empowerment is using the value of our natural and economic resources to unlock value to capacitate or to create small, medium or large scale business enterprises that are wholly owned by indigenous Zimbabweans in the 14 key sectors of the economy.



#### (iv) The beneficiaries of indigenisation and people's empowerment programme

A critically important question about the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Reform Programme is about the programme's beneficiaries.

For the avoidance of doubt, it should be understood that the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment Programme is not about acquiring and distributing shares of the public companies or businesses to be indigenised to individuals in the same way land was acquired and distributed to individuals.

This reform programme is about indigenising the economy to empower employees, communities and all Zimbabweans as collectives. As such, the beneficiaries of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment Programme, and indeed the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, are not individuals or some elite but the people seen in three very important categories.

The first beneficiary category is defined by **Employee Empowerment Scheme (EES)** which have generally been called employee share ownership schemes. This covers employees and staff of the public company or business that must be indigenised in terms of the law and policy and who must collectively benefit by acquiring 10 percent of the relevant shareholding.

The Employee Empowerment Schemes give equity to employees and entitle them to participate in the day-to-day business of their company including having a commensurate share in procurement transactions of the business.

This translates into income such as dividends and profits, thus augmenting the salaries, bonuses or any allowances to which

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the employees may be entitled. In turn, this will create new capacity to save and grow personal wealth which also will increase the options available to the employee in terms of achieving better living standards with decent housing and access to health facilities for themselves and their families and facilitating the education of their children.

The grand strategic goal of the Employee Empowerment Schemes is to move away from the slave-wage worker culture of yesterday to usher in an owner-participant culture, to create a national workforce that is patriotic and which espouses and defends Zimbabwe's national goals while also bringing a general improvement in the quality of life of employees of indigenised companies.

The second beneficiary category is the **Community Empowerment Scheme (CES)** known as community ownership schemes, which covers the immediate and direct community that hosts the public company or business that is indigenising and which must collectively benefit by acquiring 10 percent of the relevant shareholding as well as receiving a community development grant as part of the indigenising company's social responsibility. By applying the proceeds of Community Empowerment Schemes – whether in the form of royalties, profits from procurement transactions, community development grants or dividends – the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Programme empowers communities by giving them autonomy over key decisions that enhance the quality of life of the concerned community.

For example, a beneficiary community may take decisions to build new asphalted feeder roads connecting it to the national



trunk roads; reconstruct that bridge that was washed away in the flood or build new ones altogether; upgrade or build new schools and health facilities or even start businesses that grow the wealth of the community.

The third and final category of beneficiaries includes all the people of Zimbabwe under the **Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF)** (which is currently being temporarily warehoused as the **National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund (NIEEF)**).

This category collectively benefits by acquiring 31 percent of the indigenised public company or business whose proceeds are used for national development projects such as the rehabilitation or construction of physical infrastructure (economic enablers such as energy, telecommunications and transportation, railway, airlines, dams, roads etc), social infrastructure (such as healthcare, education, housing, welfare and human security) and the stimulation of agricultural productivity (through support for crop and livestock development, irrigation schemes and food security etc) in order to contribute to employment creation and economic growth among other objectives.

It is important to underscore the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment fact because foreign companies to be indigenised, especially in the mining sector, are limited in number including in their equity value and also because the indigenous equity threshold in such companies is 51 percent; the policy of taking back our economy is beyond just acquiring this limited shareholding. President Mugabe has directed that the key thrust of the policy of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment is not just the indigenisation of foreign companies to ac-



quire 51 percent equity in the foreign companies to be indigenised but is more about creating new value from Zimbabwe's God-given natural and economic resources for total or 100 percent empowerment of the indigenous population, through the creation and development of new enterprises. In other words, the crux of Zanu PF's Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policy is to enable Zimbabweans, especially the youth, women, professionals and entrepreneurs to be empowered with assets from our natural and economic resources to start or develop new business entities whose total equity is in indigenous Zimbabwean hands.

## Box 2 Pillars of indigenisation and economic empowerment

- **The ideology:** Total independence and sovereignty over and ownership of our natural and economic resources as an enduring expression of our hard won freedom and democracy.
- **The law:** That "at least 51 percent of the shares (ownership) of every public company and any other business in Zimbabwe shall be owned by indigenous Zimbabweans". To strengthen this law by aligning it with Section 14 of the New Constitution that enshrines the importance of the indigenisation of the economy and the empowerment of the indigenous population. Ultimately the main thrust of the policy is to take back our economy by enabling Zimbabweans to use our natural and economic resources to start or develop business enterprises in all the 14 key sectors of the economy which are 100 percent owned, controlled and run by indigenous Zimbabweans.
- **The policy:** To implement the fullest extent of the law without any exemption in a fair, transparent and predictable manner in the national interest guided by Zanu PF's indigenisation and empowerment ideology.
- **The beneficiaries:** Employees of the indigenising public companies or businesses through Employee Empowerment Schemes; communities that host these companies or businesses through Community Empowerment Schemes and the generality of Zimbabweans through the Sovereign Wealth Fund. Individuals are the so called political elites and well-connected individuals are strictly excluded.



# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013

AT THE DEEP END



**TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY**

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# 5



## THREATS TO WINNING THE GOALS OF THE PEOPLE

There are threats that stand in the way of the people's 23 goals outlined in this manifesto. We must all of us as Zimbabweans understand and defeat the threats to the goals of the people in order to enable everyone to enjoy all the fruits of Zimbabwe's hard won independence and democracy attained under Zanu PF.

The threats to the goals of the people include but are not limited to poverty, corruption, the illegal and evil sanctions and the illegal regime change agenda sought by the founders and funders of reactionary political parties that do not have any programme of their own and which are essentially anti-people and pro-crisis not least because they have defined themselves as enemies of Zimbabwe's heroic liberation struggle.

- **Poverty**

According to the latest statistics, 62,6 percent Zimbabweans live below the poverty datum line, and out of these, 32,5 percent are women and 27,5 percent are children with most of them living in the rural communities and high density urban areas.

Poverty is an enemy of the people whose destructive impact needs an urgent, comprehensive and decisive response by the State on behalf of the people.

The full implementation of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme by the people's Government under Zanu PF will tackle the scourge of poverty by enabling Zimbabweans to break out of its crippling cycle.



- **Unemployment**

This is an equally destabilising economic scourge that has become a major threat to the goals of the people, especially among the youths in general and graduating students from tertiary institutions in and outside the country.

In formal terms, and notwithstanding the growth of the informal sector in recent years whose value is equivalent to 63 percent of the GDP, unemployment is hovering around 60 percent out of which the majority are youths between the ages of 15 and 30 years.

This situation is a clear threat to the stability and sovereignty of our country and thus needs an urgent and practical solution. As detailed in this People's Manifesto, Zanu PF's Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme is specifically designed to solve this challenge by creating employment opportunities for the most affected segments of our population, especially among the youths.

- **Homelessness**

Zimbabwe is currently facing a serious challenge of homelessness as a direct consequence of the deterioration of both physical and social infrastructure coupled with the decline of economic growth and their concomitant negative impact on wealth and employment creation. According to the latest habitat data, 18 percent Zimbabweans are technically homeless.

The national housing backlog currently stands at 1,25 million. The measures proposed in the Manifesto seek to address the homelessness challenge which is a clear threat to human and national security by among other things rehabilitating Zimbabwe's physical and social infrastructure from funding to be unlocked

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from indigenisation and empowerment assets through IDBZ, Agribank and Sedco.

- **HIV and AIDS**

All strides have been made in combating HIV and AIDS in terms of increasing awareness and reducing infection rates, largely as a result of the positive impact of the AIDS levy introduced by the Zanu PF Government.

The menace of HIV and AIDS remains a serious threat to the realisation of the people's goals and more still needs to be done to contain it altogether. The current infection rate is 14,3 percent with ages between 15 and 49 years being the most vulnerable. The measures to rehabilitate the healthcare system proposed in this Manifesto will go a long way towards dealing with the threat of HIV and AIDS.

- **Lack of safe water and sanitation**

Only one fifth of Zimbabwe has access to clean water. This situation constitutes a clear and present threat to the health of the population with rural communities being the most threatened. The mis-management and corruption in local authorities by the MDC formations has led to the collapse of local water systems across the country. This has left many Zimbabweans, especially in urban centres such as Harare and Bulawayo, exposed to water-borne diseases without access to safe drinking water and even without means to flush toilets. Zanu PF will reverse this situation after the elections.

- **Corruption**

The last four years of the GPA government have witnessed a sharp and very worrying rise of reports and incidents of corruption in the public, private, professional, NGOs, and religious sectors. This rise



is a threat to the attainment of the goals of the people in general and to the erosion of public trust and accountability in particular. Of particular concern is the rampant corruption in local authorities which interface directly with the people on a daily basis in terms of the delivery of key public services. The victims of corruption when in the public or private sector; the professional, NGO or religious sectors are always the people. This is why zero-tolerance of corruption has become a national priority.

- **Treachery**

A particularly insidious threat to the people's aspirations that has reared its ugly head over the last decade or so is the rise of treachery in politics.

It has been common for political parties and NGOs to be formed on the altar of treachery and for politicians to seek public office on the same platform and for religious groups to organise prayers to appease latter-day imperialists and colonialists in the hope of either derailing or reversing the gains of Zimbabwe's hard won heroic independence and democracy for which many gallant sons and daughters of the soil sacrificed their lives.

The essence of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policy is to uproot treachery across the political divide and to consign it to the dustbins of history as a consequence of the resurgence of resource nationalism that has gripped the revolutionary imagination of the youths against the backdrop of the liberation struggle.

While it is indeed true and quite important that Zimbabweans cherish their goal for the tolerance of diverse points of views, it is also true that they despise and deplore treachery which they do not mistake for an opinion or a right.

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Treachery is a betrayal of the fallen heroes of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle and daylight robbery of the aspirations of Zimbabweans.

As a total rejection of treachery to protect the goals of the people today and in posterity, and guided by the views that the majority of Zimbabweans proffered during the Copac outreach programme, Zanu PF ensured first the inclusion of Section 3 (1)(h) on the "Founding values and principles" which states that "Zimbabwe is founded on recognition and respect of the liberation struggle" and Section 90 (2)(a) in the new Constitution which deals with the "Duties of the President" and which provides that "The President must recognise and respect the ideals and values of the liberation struggle".

- **Sanctions**

A serious threat to the goals of the people and which have devastated their livelihoods and sources thereof are the illegal and evil sanctions imposed by Britain and its allies in the EU, US and the White Commonwealth countries of Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

While Britain and its allies have misled the world with false claims that the sanctions are either mere travel bans or so-called "restrictive measures", the unassailable fact is that the sanctions are in fact targeted against Zimbabwe's economy and the British government describes them in its Treasury regulations as "Zimbabwe Financial Sanctions Regulations 2009".

These sanctions which are a direct violation of the GPA and which are illegal insofar as they are not sanctioned by the United Nations are a threat not only to the goals of Zimbabweans but



also to the country's national security. The cost of sanctions in terms of their negative contribution to political tensions and polarisation of views in the country, economic decline, the deterioration of physical and social infrastructure, poverty and unemployment is incalculable.

Against this backdrop, Zanu PF rejects the proposition that the very same countries that have destroyed the livelihoods of ordinary people can also be the champions of the country's economic recovery.

Some of these countries have even had the temerity to incredulously seek to observe Zimbabwe's forthcoming elections when they have actively been meddling participants in the country's affairs.

- **US\$10 billion debt burden**

A major threat to winning all the goals of the people over the next five years is the crippling debt burden now estimated at some US\$10 billion whose unjust origins dates to a US\$700 million debt incurred by Ian Smith's illegal Rhodesian regime ironically from some Western countries – that have imposed illegal sanctions against Zimbabwe – to enable Smith and his racist cabal to fund their brutality and atrocities during the liberation struggle and to avoid the UN backed sanctions against Rhodesia.

The US\$700 million Rhodesian debt imposed a large repayment burden on Zimbabwe and that burden increased and ballooned as the Government of Zimbabwe sought ways to respond to the impact of severe droughts which increased the country's import bill while the British and US governments reneged on their Lancaster obligations, thereby forcing the Government of Zimbabwe to rely



on more loans. This bad situation got worse in 2001 and 2002 when the same Western countries that helped the illegal Rhodesian regime to evade UN sanctions to generate a debt that reached an astronomical figure of US\$700 million in 1980 imposed illegal sanctions on Zimbabwe that are not sanctioned by the UN.

As a result, Zimbabwe's debt burden multiplied over the last 14 years and the rest is history.

The US\$10 billion debt burden is clearly a threat to the attainment of all the goals of the people over the five years.

There are two policy actions that are needed to address this threat. In the first place, it is not right that Zimbabweans should continue to be burdened by a debt whose unjust origins are in Rhodesia and whose loans came from Western countries that have imposed illegal sanctions against Zimbabwe today thereby making the burden of the original unjust debt even worse.

The time has come to revisit this issue once again with a view to cancelling a significant portion of the debt to redress the unjust origins of the debt. In the second place, any settlement of the remaining debt should be based on mobilising domestic resources from the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment programme.

- **The US\$42 billion cost of the sanctions burden**

Apart from the debt Burden which threatens the goals of the people, there is also the very serious threat from the Sanctions Burden in terms of what they have cost the country in monetary terms.

- The illegal sanctions imposed by the West have been equivalent to a declaration of war on Zimbabwe's sovereignty. Since



2001, the illegal sanctions have put the Zimbabwe economy under siege with negative downstream effects on vulnerable groups, communities and civil society. These sanctions have manifested themselves as financial, trade, cultural, academic, sport embargoes, diplomatic isolation, travel bans, freezing of financial accounts of the national leadership, influential individuals in the business community and strategic entities and generally worsening Zimbabwe's sovereign risk.

**Table 1 The \$42 billion cost of the sanctions burden**

Description	Annual cost US\$million
Donor support	36
IMF, IBRD and AfDB loans	79
Commercial loans	431
GDP reduction	3,499
Opportunity cost of sanctions over 12 years (2001 - 2013)	42,000

- The cancelation of lifeline short and long term loans from International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the African Development Bank (AfDB) saw Zimbabwe losing an average of US\$79 million per annum with the onset of the illegal sanctions.
- The negative publicity created an artificially-induced negative national image which attracted high risk premium on alternative sources of offshore lines of credit and killed the tourism market. It also scared away potential creditors and reduced annual commercial loans by US\$431million per annum during the 2000s.

Furthermore, the interruption of trade and constraints on manufacturing and general economic activities saw GDP almost halving from US\$7,499 million in 2000 to US\$4,000 million in 2010.



- Diplomatic isolation of Zimbabwe saw donor support reducing from US\$46,83 million per annum to US\$10,88 million per annum and balance of payments shortfalls ranging between US\$2,7 - 5,1 billion per annum.

- **NGOs**

An obvious and unacceptable threat to the goals of the people is posed by the NGOs that roam the country to peddle influence and whose number of more than 3,000 is scandalously disproportionate to the country's population.

Virtually all of these NGOs have been founded and funded by the same countries that have imposed illegal sanctions against Zimbabwe for purposes of effecting illegal regime change outside the constitutional and democratic processes.

Particularly egregious in this regard is the fact that over the last four years during the life of the GPA government, some US\$2,6 billion has been poured into these NGOs to support nefarious activities that have been camouflaged by the sanitised language of humanitarian and developmental assistance to cover up sinister regime-change intentions. The US\$2,6 billion has been disbursed via opaque parallel budget channels that are not accountable and which have been used to damage national accounts and Treasury processes.

- **Donorfication of the education and health sectors**

Over the last four years of the GPA Government, a cluster of regime-change donors have taken sinister advantage of the fact that the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare fell under the opposition formations and they have been pouring funds into the two ministries through illegal parallel structures.



One such parallel structure is called the Education Transition Fund (ETF) illegally controlled by David Coltart which has since 2009 received over US\$200 million outside government accountability structures. The ETF has been used to undermine Indigenisation and People's Empowerment in the book publishing industry for primary and secondary education by ensuring that set books are published and printed by foreigners outside the country. The ETF has been used to bribe and corrupt headmasters, teachers, provincial and district education officials some who are now hostile to the established system of education in the country.

Even more worrying is the fact that the donor-led ETF has specifically targeted School Development Committees (SDCs) to transform them into political structures of opposition formations that run schools while also linking up with headmasters, teachers, school children and parents for purposes of political mobilisation at the grassroots level.

In effect, there is now a determined but illegal and corrupt programme to donorficate the education sector, and also the health sector which has an equivalent Health Transition Fund (HTF).

This donorfication is driven by sinister motives inspired by the desire to uproot the architecture of education and health delivery built by Zanu PF since 1980 and widely acknowledged around the world as hallmarks of unparalleled success.

This threat needs to be nipped in the bud to restore the people's confidence in education and health delivery systems and to ensure their sustainability and relevance to the indigenous imperatives.

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### Box 3 Threats to the goals of the people

- Poverty
- Unemployment
- Homelessness
- HIV and AIDS
- Lack of safe water and sanitation
- Corruption
- Treachery
- Sanctions
- US\$10 billion debt burden
- US\$42 billion sanctions burden
- NGOs
- Donorfication of the education and health sectors



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# 6

## GOALS OF THE PEOPLE SCORED BY ZANU PF

As Zimbabweans look ahead to the next five years, they have reasons to be confident about the quality of decisive leadership offered by Zanu PF. That confidence is based on the strength of Zanu PF's formidable record of achievements in meeting the goals of the people whose highlights include the following.

- **Zanu PF liberated Zimbabwe**

In view of the fact that the goals of the people outlined in this Manifesto are actually the goals of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, it should go without saying that Zanu PF's most enduring achievement in meeting the goals of the people is that it liberated this country.

As such, Zanu PF brought the freedom and independence that all Zimbabweans and residents are enjoying today. Without this freedom and democracy, none of the goals of the people is achievable. It is therefore understandable that Zimbabweans trust Zanu PF as the party of liberation committed to ensuring that Zimbabwe shall forever be free.

- **Zanu PF has indigenised land**

One clear current achievement of Zanu PF, whose benefits have become self-evident and widespread, with far reaching positive implications over the next five years is the indigenisation of land and the empowerment of newly resettled farmers.



As part of this indigenisation programme, Zanu PF has through the Government also acquired various peri-urban farms where many low and middle income home seekers have been resettled under informal tenure that is set to be formalised. This has given real hope to many hitherto homeless urban dwellers on the housing waiting list whose backlog stands at 1, 25 million. The success of this programme has been threatened by corrupt urban councils run by opposition formations.

After the elections, Zanu PF will prioritise offering security of tenure to the urban beneficiaries of the historic land reform programme to foster home ownership to the people as an achievement of indigenised land. This will be accompanied by the rehabilitation of Zimbabwe's physical and social infrastructure through funding to be unlocked from indigenisation and empowerment assets. As such, urban voters – especially those on the growing housing waiting lists – have a clear and urgent reason to vote for Zanu PF to ensure that they benefit from the success of the indigenisation of land from peri-urban farms that have been earmarked for massive housing development.

Today land is the most indigenised resource in Zimbabwe with 91 percent now owned by the indigenous population.

While the indigenisation of this key resource started with the attainment of Zimbabwe's hard won freedom, democracy and independence in 1980, it gained revolutionary momentum during the Third Chimurenga which saw 276,620 indigenous households taking full ownership of 12,117,000 hectares, representing 31 percent of prime agricultural land, previously

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controlled by some 3,500 white minority colonial settlers.

The beneficiaries of the third chimurenga are shown on Table 2.

It is notable that farmers under the A1 resettlement scheme have benefited with over four million hectares while those under the A2 scheme have gained 3,5 million hectares.

Table 3 shows how key social categories of the indigenous population have benefited from the indigenisation of land as an achievement of Zanu PF.

Beneficiaries (households)	A1	A2	Total
War veterans	32,550	3,793	36,343
Women	13,020	1,517	14,537
Youths	651	76	727
Mixed beneficiaries	116,529	13,580	130,109
Old resettlement	-	-	940,904
<b>Total</b>	<b>162,750</b>	<b>18,967</b>	<b>276,620</b>

Sector	1980 (ha)	1999 (ha)	2013 (ha)
Communal	16,400,000	16,400,000	16,400,000
A1	-	-	4,137,000
Old resettlement	-	3,500,000	3,500,000
Small scale commercial	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,400,000
A2	-	-	3,497,000
White large scale commercial	15,500,000	11,725,000	3,383,000
State	500,000	721,000	721,000
Urban land	196,000	250,000	250,000
Forest/parks	5,074,000	5,074,000	5,074,000
Unallocated land			708,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>39,070,000</b>	<b>39,070,000</b>	<b>39,070,000</b>

Equally significant about the indigenisation of land by Zanu PF is the fact that its scope, thrust and impact have been national in every respect as shown by the farm household distribution on Table 4.



**Table 4 Farm household distribution by sector: 2013**

Province	Communal	SECTOR							Total
		A1	Old resettlement	Small Scale Commercial	A2	Estates 57	IS	P-U	
Manicaland	212,112	14,813	24,780	2,712	1,465	89	2,853	7,579	266,371
Mash Central	174,873	20,134	7,950	1,658	2,097	193	148	9,420	216,369
Mash East	197,814	18,752	14,200	3,808	2,313	333	14,666	5,793	257,539
Mash West	115,175	33,741	18,595	3,367	8,114	71	560	4,470	184,355
Masvingo	227,966	28,641	7,828	2,667	1,526	19	4,327	964	273,990
Mat North	108,043	9,570	3,510	1,167	1,351	407	501	1,040	125,201
Mat South	88,543	15,417	5,772	1,325	872	1,393	2,115	75	114,526
Midlands	223,284	21,682	12,269	1,983	1,229	2,562	2,520	30	264,390
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,347,810</b>	<b>162,750</b>	<b>94,904</b>	<b>18,687</b>	<b>18,967</b>		<b>27,690</b>	<b>29,371</b>	<b>1,702,741</b>

A particularly telling aspect of the success of the indigenisation of land by Zanu PF which has greatly contributed to the generation of local incomes and export earnings is the emergence of new A1, A2 and communal farmers who are now growing and marketing tobacco. Prior to the indigenisation of land, tobacco was exclusively grown by some 1,547 white settler-colonial farmers. But since the indigenisation of land, 25,610 communal farmers, 26,069 A1 new farmers, 3,372 new A2 farmers and 4,994 small scale commercial farmers have taken to tobacco growing in 2012, with a combined total of 60,045 between them. These new farmers produced 144,500,000 million kilogrammes of tobacco, generating US\$527,000,000 in farm incomes and contributed US\$771,000,000 to export earnings.

**Table 5 Flue-cured tobacco growers in 1980 and 2012 by Sector**

Year	White large Scale commercial	A1	A2	Communal	Small scale Commercial	Total
1980	1,547	-	-	-	-	1,547
2012	-	26,069	3,372	25,610	4,994	60,045

**Table 6 Land-reform based employment and livelihoods**

Sector	Pre- land reform	A1	A2	Total
Permanent workers	348,000	81,375	96,732	178,107
Temporal workers		309,225	138,459	447,684
Individuals benefiting from land reform		976,500	113,802	1,090,302
Total land reform based livelihoods	348,000	1,367,100	348,993	1,716,093

The real development impact of the indigenisation of land has been in employment creation and the opening up of new livelihood opportunities. In total, some 1,717,093 real sources of livelihood have been created over the last decade by the historic indigenisation of land under Zanu PF as shown on Table 6.

- **Zanu PF has successfully defended Zimbabwe's sovereignty**

The defence of Zimbabwe's sovereignty is an acknowledged achievement of Zanu PF in view of the determined and now well - documented machinations of western governments that have sought illegal regime change in the country over the last decade.

The machinations, according to the autobiography of former British Premier Tony Blair, included a planned military invasion by the British army which could not be executed due to lack of support in SADC.

Zanu PF's success in this regard has been its ability and capacity as a liberation movement to maintain peace and stability in the country and to unite the people against illegal regime change and against the divisive politics of treachery. In effect, Zanu PF has given living proof to its ideological principle that Zimbabwe will never be a colony again.



It is against this backdrop that Zanu PF has been preoccupied with addressing the grievances and goals of the people by reaffirming and reasserting the country's sovereignty to defend and advance the goals of the liberation struggle which are the goals of the people.

- **Zanu PF signed the GPA in 2008 with the goals of the people in mind**  
Looking back, it is now very clear from any and every informed perspective that Zanu PF's signing of the GPA on 15 September 2008 with the two MDC formations was a stroke of genius by the Party's President and First Secretary Cde Robert Mugabe.

That stroke of genius, which is a hallmark of President Mugabe's iconic leadership, stands today as a major achievement of Zanu PF. While there are many factors about the GPA which demonstrate this achievement, three stand out. First, and thanks to Zanu PF's political maturity to know when to negotiate and when not to, GPA negotiations were meaningfully used by progressive elements in the international community to blunt and defeat spirited efforts by the British and US governments and their allies to put Zimbabwe under UN sanctions to aid their now failed regime-change purposes.

Second, the strategic signing of the GPA by Zanu PF, which was wrongly seen by political amateurs as a statement of capitulation, contributed immensely to Zanu PF's commitment to promote peace, unity, non-violence, tolerance and stability that was necessary in the country given the volatile political tensions of the time.

The now pervasive refrain that "peace begins with me; peace begins with you and peace begins with all of us" championed by the late Vice-President John Nkomo as his contribution to the Organ of Na-



tional Healing and Reconciliation is fundamentally rooted in Zanu PF's positive use of the GPA.

Thirdly, the GPA has enabled Zanu PF to prove its leadership quality, political maturity and governance experience while it has also exposed the political immaturity, ideological bankruptcy, policy inexperience, corruption, sexual scandals and the incapacity to govern of the MDC formations whose officials have used the GPA to show their true colours by abandoning the people in pursuit of selfish interests.

- **Zanu PF introduced the multicurrency system to protect and benefit the people**

On 29 January 2009, Zanu PF introduced the multicurrency system to protect the people from the runaway hyperinflation that had become uncontrollable and the effects of the collapse of the Zimdollar that had been precipitated by the runaway hyperinflation which had become a potent tool for illegal regime change.

While Zanu PF is clear that the collapse of the Zimdollar was a shameful development not worthy of celebration, its strategic replacement with the United States dollar as the leading legal tender to serve Zimbabwe in a basket of multi-currencies is in effect poetic justice given that the same US dollar had been used to kill the Zimdollar by merchants of regime-change in their vain hope of killing Zimbabwe.

It is ideologically satisfying that Zanu PF had the strategic vision and ideologically stomached the use of Uncle Sam's currency to protect the people from the vagaries of hyperinflation and to pro-



vide a practical and viable monetary foundation for economic recovery, which is currently underway and which will be intensified over the next five years through the Indigenisation and People's Economic Empowerment programme.

Zanu PF's strategic adoption of the multicurrency system for transitional purposes is the clearest evidence that the Party has the capacity and experience to rise to any challenge in defence of the people's goals which are the goals of the liberation struggle.

At an appropriate time when the economy has reasonably recovered and stabilised and after full and transparent consultations with key stakeholders in the economy and financial sector, the next Zanu PF Government will work out the necessary fiscal and monetary modalities and timeframe for bringing back the Zimbabwe dollar to function along with the multicurrency system.

Among other reasons, this will be done to enable the majority of the people who have been negatively affected by the liquidity pressures of the multicurrency system to fully participate in the national economy by doing their transactions in a normal way.

- **Zanu PF has maintained the architecture of Zimbabwe's system of education**

Notwithstanding the challenges that Zimbabwe has faced over the last decade or so, Zanu PF has ensured that the fundamental architecture of the country's internationally acclaimed system of education has remained intact. This is exemplified in a dramatic way by the fact that during the height of the hyperinflation period in 2008, Zimbabwe recorded the highest literacy rate in Africa which was authoritatively put at 96,4 percent by the



UNDP. This achievement is the clearest testimony to the fact that Zimbabwe's system of education is built on a profound and durable architecture enabled by Zanu PF. This unquestionable architecture has tenaciously withstood the unprecedented regime-change pressures that have among other things sought to make its subversive point by seeking to demolish the pillars of the country's system of education.

As part of its sound pillars, Zimbabwe currently has 73,160 teachers in the primary school stream out of which 90 percent have requisite professional qualifications while the secondary school system has 43,300 teachers whose qualified ranks are 72 percent. In 2005, Zanu PF introduced an innovative primary school module called "Early Childhood Development" (ECD) that is in two parts, targeting infants aged between two and three years old and those aged between four and five years. The phenomenal growth of ECD enrolment is shown on Table 7.

**Table 7 Phenomenal growth of ECD enrolment**

Level	Year	Enrolment
ECD	2007	168,677
	2009	170,000
	2011	345,556
	2012	352,946

**Table 8 Primary & secondary school enrolment: 1980 - 2012**

Year	Primary			Secondary		
	Total boys & girls	Girls	Girls %	Total boys & girls	Girls	Girls %
1980	1,235,994	588,233	47%	74,321	32,189	44%
1990	2,119,881	1,046,429	48%	672,656	291,626	44%
2000	2,460,323	1,208,748	49%	844,183	395,202	47%
2004	2,490,568	1,213,089	49%	866,399	394,514	46%
2007	2,560,413	1,254,602	49%	897,106	430,611	48%
2012	3,019,397	1,498,905	49.6%	936,734	461,917	49%



Table 8 shows the gendered enrolment growth in primary and secondary education highlighting selected years from 1980 to 2012.

**Table 9** Number of primary & secondary schools & their enrolment

	Primary	Secondary	Teachers
Number of Schools	5,753	2,312	83,900
Enrolment	3,019,397	936,734	41,000

The above impressive enrolment figures were achieved as a result of Zanu PF's consistent commitment to devote the largest single portion of the national budget to education and this accounts for the profound and durable architecture upon which the country's system of education is built. Table 9 and Table 10 indicate the extensive infrastructure that has been achieved in laying a profound and durable architecture in primary, secondary and tertiary education in Zimbabwe.

**Table 10** Giant steps taken in education from 1980 - 2013

	1980	2013
Number of universities	1	12
Enrolment at universities	2,000	69,000
Number of teacher's colleges	8	14
Enrolment at teacher's colleges	4,900	17,300
Number of polytechnics	2	13
Enrolment at polytechnics	3,000	17,000

- **Zanu PF has empowered the youth through 75 percent local content**  
An example of indigenisation is how the music in particular but also the entertainment industry in general has been truly



indigenised as a result of Zanu PF's progressive policy that requires that at least 75 percent of all broadcasting content should be local.

The youth have particularly benefited from this policy which has seen the mushrooming of new talent which is internationally competitive.

The success of the policy requiring 75 percent local content as a matter of law demonstrates quite clearly that indigenisation is effective.

Over the next five years, the Zanu PF Government will use assets from indigenisation to empower the youth to create a national entertainment industry with international quality to celebrate Zimbabwean culture and creativity and to project it on the international scene.

- **Zanu PF has built a resilient healthcare infrastructure**

Even though the sector has been put under the strain of unprecedented pressure from forces of regime change over the last decade, and while a lot more needs to be done to rehabilitate it to meet the goals of the people, Zimbabwe's healthcare system is defined by a robust infrastructure and critical human resource base which has enabled it to overcome untold adversity over the last decade or so of a sustained regime-change onslaught.

A signature policy initiative that defines Zanu PF's achievement in the provision of healthcare in Zimbabwe and which has become an exemplary pillar of Zimbabwe's healthcare in-



infrastructure is the AIDS levy which has been a pivotal factor in the country's successful interventions against AIDS, whose infection rates have dramatically declined.

Zimbabwe's healthcare infrastructure and human resource base, built by Zanu PF to meet the healthcare goals of the people and which will serve as the critical foundation for the rehabilitation and revival of the sector in the next five years, is summarised on Table 11, showing the physical infrastructure on the ground; Table 12 details the medical and dental practitioners that are delivering healthcare; Table 13 reflects medical rehabilita-

**Table 11 Health Infrastructure**

Hospital Level	Facilities	Beds
Clinic/ RHC	1,259	4,071
Rural hospitals	126	2,499
District hospitals	48	5,663
Other referral hospitals	73	6,641
Provincial hospitals	7	17,315
Central hospitals	6	4,893
Grand total	1,523	41,182

**Table 12 Medical & dental practitioners: 2010**

Register of medical and dental Practitioners for 2010	
Anaesthetist	45
Clinical immunologist	1
Community dentist	1
Community physician	17
Dental hygienist	1
Dental Intern	8
Dental practitioner	109
Dental technician	11
Dental therapist	82
Dermatologist	3
Maxillo-facial and oral surgeon	4
Medical practitioner	849
Neuro surgeon	4
Obstetrician and gynaecologist	48
Ophthalmologist	23
Orthodontist	1
Orthopaedic surgeon	12
Otorhinolaryngologist	6
Paediatrician	24
Pathologist	6
Pathology – Haematology	1
Periodontist	1
Physical medicine	1
Physician	39
Plastic and reconstructive surgery	2
Psychiatrist	5
Radiology – Diagnostic	11
Radiology – Therapeutic	4
Surgeon	31
Urologist	10
Vascular and thoracic surgeon	2
Venereologist	1



**Table 13 Medical rehabilitation associates**

Register of medical rehabilitation associates	Government	Private
Physiotherapists	98	44
Occupational therapists	58	16
Rehabilitation technicians	288	5
Orthopaedic technologist	17	2
Audiologist	1	
Speech therapist		3
Orthopaedic technicians	3	
Chiropracist		4

**Table 14 Health Practitioners Council**

Allied health practitioners council	
Radiographers	460
X-ray operators	130
Health education promotion officers	73
ECG technicians	4
Dieticians	14
Nutritionists	25
Psychologists	152
Natural therapists	15
Hospital food services supervisors	236
Clinical assistants	18
Clinical social workers	49
Emergency medical technicians	171
Medical physicist	5
Ambulance technicians	732

tion associates and Table 14 shows the ranks of the Health Practitioners Council.

- Zanu PF defended the goals of the people during the COPAC constitution making process**

As the only liberation movement in Zimbabwe, Zanu PF ensured that the people were given an opportunity to freely express themselves during the Copac outreach programme on the kind of constitution they want for themselves and posterity and that their views were respected in the drafting of the New Constitution.

The Party was vigilant throughout the constitution-making exercise to guard against treachery and to protect the process from being hijacked by foreign or regime change interests. More importantly, and specifically, Zanu PF ensured that the New Constitution enshrines the following provisions that not only guarantee that Zimbabwe will never be a colony again but which also protect the values and dignity of the people against such evils as homosexuality.



- (a) **Section (3)(1)(i) on the permanence of the Liberation Struggle** which provides for the “recognition of and respect for the liberation struggle” as a fundamental value and principle of the New Constitution.
- (b) **Section 14(1) on indigenisation** which states that “The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must endeavour to facilitate and take measures to empower, through appropriate, transparent, fair and just affirmative action, all marginalised persons, groups and communities in Zimbabwe” and **Section (14)(1) on employment creation** which provides that “At all times the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must ensure that appropriate and adequate measures are undertaken *to create employment for all Zimbabweans*”.
- (c) **Section 23(1)(a)(b)(c) on the welfare of the veterans of the liberation struggle** which stipulates that “The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must accord due respect, honour and recognition to veterans of the Liberation struggle, that is to say (a) those who fought in the war of Liberation; (b) those who assisted the fighters in the war of Liberation; and (c) those who were imprisoned, detained or restricted for political reasons during the liberation struggle”; and **Section 23(2)** which requires that “The State must take reasonable measures, including legislative measures, for the welfare and economic empowerment of veterans of the liberation struggle”; and **Section 84(1)(a)(b)(c) on the rights of veterans of the liberation struggle** which provides that “Veterans of the liberation struggle, that is to say (a) those



who fought in the war of Liberation, (b) those who assisted the fighters in the war of Liberation and (c) those who were imprisoned, detained or restricted for political reasons during the liberation struggle are entitled to due recognition for their contribution to the liberation of Zimbabwe, and to suitable welfare such as pensions and access to basic health care and **Section 84(2)** which provides that “an Act of Parliament must confer on veterans of the Liberation struggle the entitlements due to them under subsection (1)”.

- (d) **Section 65(1) on labour rights that Zanu PF fought for during the Liberation struggle and has defended since Independence in 1980** which says that “Every person has a right to fair and safe labour practices and standards and to be paid a fair and reasonable wage”.
- (e) **Section 72(7)(a)(b)(c)(i)(ii) on the irreversibility of Indigenisation of land and non compensation thereof by the indigenous people** which provides that “in regard to the compulsory acquisition of agricultural land for the resettlement of people in accordance with land reform, the following factors must be regarded as of ultimate and overriding importance – (a) under colonial domination the people of Zimbabwe were unjustifiably dispossessed of their land and other resources without compensation; (b) the people consequently took up arms in order to regain their land and political sovereignty, and this ultimately resulted in the Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 (c) the people of Zimbabwe must be enabled to reassert their rights and regain ownership of their land and accordingly – (i) the former colonial power has an obli-



gation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement, through an adequate fund established for that purpose; and (ii) if the former colonial power fails to pay compensation through such a fund, the Government of Zimbabwe has no obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement”.

- (f) Section 27(1)(a)(b) and 27(2) on Zanu PF's signature of education for all** which stipulates that “ The State must take all practical measures to promote (a) free and compulsory education; and (b) higher and tertiary education” and that (2) “The State must take measures to ensure that girls are afforded the same opportunities as boys to obtain education at all levels”; and **Section 75(1)(a)(b) on the right to education** which says that “Every citizen and permanent resident of Zimbabwe has a right to (a) a basic State-funded education, including adult basic education; and (b) further education, which the State, through reasonable legislative and other measures, must make progressively available and accessible.
- (g) Section 76(1)(2)(3) on Zanu PF's widely acknowledged promotion of health care for everyone in Zimbabwe** which provides that (1) “Every citizen and permanent resident of Zimbabwe has the right to have access to basic healthcare services, including reproductive healthcare services; (2) Every person living with a chronic illness has the right to have access to basic healthcare services for the illness; and (3) “No person may be refused emergency medical treatment in any healthcare institution”.



- (h) **Section 80(1)(2)(3) on Zanu PF's longstanding quest for gender equality** which stipulates that (1) “Every woman has full and equal dignity of the person with men and this includes equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities”; (2) “Women have the same rights as men as regarding the custody and guardianship of children”; and (3) “All laws, customs, traditions and cultural practices that infringe the rights of women [conferred under the New Constitution] are void to the extent of the infringement”; and **Section 124(1)(a)(b) on Zanu PF's policy of increasing the representation of women in Parliament** which provides that (a) “The National Assembly consists of two hundred and ten [210] members elected by secret ballot from two hundred and ten constituencies into which Zimbabwe is divided; and (b) for the life of the first two Parliaments [after the adoption of the New Constitution] an additional sixty [60] women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divided, elected through a system of proportional representation based on the votes cast for candidates representing political parties in a general election for constituency members in the provinces, shall be included”.
- (i) **Section 78(3) against homosexuality** which provides that “Persons of the same sex are prohibited from marrying each other”.
- (j) **Section 81 on the rights of children** which provides among other things that “Every child, that is to say every boy and girl under the age of eighteen years, has the right to equal



treatment before the law, including the right to be heard; to be given a name; and a right to the prompt provision of a birth certificate in the case of a child who is born in Zimbabwe or is born outside Zimbabwe and is a Zimbabwean citizen by descent”.

- (k) Section 82 on the rights of the elderly** which states that “People over the age of seventy years have the right to (a) receive reasonable care and assistance from the State (b) receive healthcare and medical assistance from the State; and (c) receive financial support by way of social security and welfare”.
- (l) Section 83 on the rights of persons with disabilities** which stipulates that “The State must take appropriate measures, within the limits of the resources available to it to ensure that persons with disabilities realise their full mental and physical potential including measures to (a) enable them to become self-reliant, (b) enable them to live with their families and participate in social, creative or recreational activities, (c) protect them from all forms of exploitation and abuse, (d) give them access to medical, psychological and functional treatment, (e) provide special facilities for their education and (f) provide State-funded education and training where they need it”.
- (m) Section 90(1)(b) on the duty of the President of Zimbabwe to respect the Liberation struggle** which institutionalises the obligation of any future President to be guided by the legacy of the Liberation struggle by providing that “The President must recognise and respect the ideals and values of the Liberation struggle”.



(n) **Section 280(1) on traditional leadership** which provides that “The institution, status and role of traditional leaders under customary law are recognised”.

- **Zanu PF has defended the sovereign principle of having National Security Sector (NSS) free from external influences**

Zanu PF is proud of the fact that Zimbabwe’s national defence, police and security forces in general are rooted in the liberation forces represented by Zanla and Zipra that freed our country from colonial and Rhodesian bondage. In the same vein, Zanu PF is proud that the leadership of the country’s security sector is drawn from professional, disciplined and patriotic sons and daughters of the revolution who fought the heroic liberation war that brought the freedom and democracy which all Zimbabweans enjoy today and who along with their fallen comrades are owed a debt of gratitude.

- **Zanu PF has established Community Empowerment Trusts (CET)**

As clear evidence that indigenisation is real and already taking place where the people live, Zanu PF has spearheaded 59 Community Empowerment Schemes covering 93 local authorities across 10 provinces. This is in line with the principle that the beneficiaries of indigenisation and empowerment are not individuals per se but the people as communities, workers and the generality of the population as shown on Table 15.

- **Zanu PF has launched Employee Empowerment Schemes (EES)**

Zanu PF’s commitment to alleviating the plight of workers over and above employment creation is evidenced



**Table 15 Status of community share ownership trusts**

Community	Province	Company	Pledge US\$	Receivd US\$	Spent
1. Chegutu 2. Mhondoro-Ngezi 3. Zvimba	Mash West Mash West Mash West	Zimplats Zimplats Zimplats	10,000,000	4,966,000	69,659.94 184,674.00 125 495.00
4. Marange-Zimunya	Manicaland	Marange, Anjin Mbada	50,000,000		
5. Zvishavane	Midlands	Mimosa Murowa	10,000,000 500,000	3,000,000 300,000	1,275,998.00
6. Shurugwi	Midlands	Unki Mine	10,000,000	10,000,000 (2012)	1,772,398.00
7. Gwanda	Mat South	PPC, Blanket Jessie Mine	2,000,000 5,000,000 250,000	1,000,000 (2012) 3,000,000 (2012) 250,000 (2012)	1,261,721.39
8. Umguzu	Mat South	PPC	1,000,000	1,000,000	
9. Hwange	Mat North	Hwange Colliery Makomo Resources Chibondo Mines South Mining Hwange Coal Casification	600,000 600,000 600,000 600,000 500,000		
10. Bubi	Mat North	Duration Gold Casyrn Mine	1,000,000 1,000,000		
Lupane	Mat North	China of Africa Sunlight	1,000,000 1,000,000		
11. Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe	Mash East	Lafarge	1,000,000		
12. Goromonzi	Mash East	Lafarge	1,000,000		
13. Mabvuku	Mash East	Lafarge	1,000,000		
14. Bikita	Masvingo	Bikita Minerals	500,000		
15. Chivi	Masvingo	Murowa Diamonds	500,000		
16. Masvingo	Masvingo	Renco Lenox Mine	1,000,000 100,000		
17. Bindura	Mash Central	Freda Rebecca	10,000,000		



by the fact that the Party launched 133 Employment Empowerment Schemes between 2010 and 2013 which are detailed on Table 16.

- Zanu PF has supported the creation of a youth empowerment fund

In view of the central role of the youth in the implementation of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme, Zanu PF has supported the establishment of a Youth Empowerment Fund to empower youths and women with innovative projects that have a community impact. The Fund, run through CABS approved US\$6 million out of which US\$4,901,788 has been disbursed to support 3,477 youth projects which have created 10,431, jobs at the rate of 3 jobs per project across the country.

In the same vein, the Stanbic Wealth Creation Fund has disbursed US\$5,648,000 to 254 youths creating 1,270 jobs at the

**Table 16 Employee Share Ownership Trusts**

No. of Companies	Province	Sector	Total Value US\$
9	Bulawayo	Mining	12,658,995
2	Bulawayo	Manufacturing	7,800,000
2	Harare	Finance	730,000
31	Harare	Manufacturing	6,273,877,966
2	Harare	Property	3,253,000
6	Harare	Mining	4,460,000
2	Harare	Transport	17,089,928
1	Harare	Tourism	159,135,227
1	Harare	Construction	-
1	Manicaland	Mining	200,065,000
1	Mash Central	Mining	3,200,000
1	Mash East	Tourism	216,070
1	Mash East	Health Services	1,300,000
7	Mash West	Mining	3,672,844,812
1	Masvingo	Mining	600,000
1	Mat North	Mining	340,000
1	Mat South	Mining	116,400,000
48	Midlands	Mining	656,644,424
1	Midlands	Property	11,000,000
1	Midlands	Retailing	244,034
2	Midlands	Energy	60,083,573
1	Midlands	Manufacturing	-
1	Midlands	Tourism	1,500,000
1	Midlands	Transport	20,579,335
<b>125</b>	<b>Grand Totals</b>		<b>11,224,022,364</b>



rate of 5 jobs per project nationally. CBZ has to date disbursed US\$745,900 to 534 youths, creating at least 1,068 jobs at the rate of 2 jobs per projects. More similar youth projects will be supported over the next five years as shown on Table 17.

**Table 17 Youth empowerment and women's empowerment**

Budget	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Support (USUS\$000)	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	150,000

- Zanu PF has maintained cordial international and diplomatic relations**

For Zanu PF, the people's goals for peace and unity are not only national but also regional, continental and indeed international. Zanu PF believes in regional peace and African unity and has for these reasons supported the peace initiatives of Sadc, the AU and the UN. Zanu PF is proud of the geopolitical solidarity it has given to and received from sister liberation movements in the region, the continent and around the world. Because of its unwavering commitment to peace, Zanu PF has maintained international and diplomatic relations with virtually all countries including, those that have imposed illegal sanctions against Zimbabwe and with whom Zanu PF remains ready to open a new page of mutually respectful re-engagement.



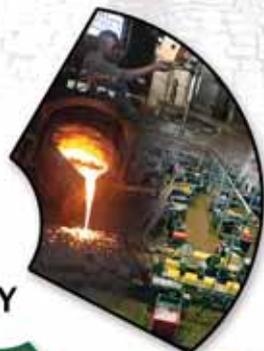
#### Box 4 Meeting the goals of the people: Zanu PF's achievements



- Zanu PF liberated Zimbabwe & brought freedom & democracy.
- Zanu PF has indigenised land ownership from which over one million now earn their livelihoods in terms of employment.
- Zanu PF has defended Zimbabwe's sovereignty & kept the country stable & united against regime change & treachery.
- Zanu PF introduced the multicurrency system on January 29, 2009 to protect the people from hyperinflation & collapse of the Zimdollar & to facilitate economic recovery.
- Zanu PF has established a resilient educational system which has produced the highest literacy rate in Africa of 94,6 percent as confirmed by the UNDP in 2009 and which will see phenomenal growth over the next five years to empower the youths.
- Zanu PF has put in place a formidable healthcare infrastructure that has withstood untold challenges and which is now poised for massive revival.
- Zanu PF has ensured the delivery of a New Constitution which respected the views of the people on key constitutional fundamentals including rejecting homosexuality; entrenching the irreversibility of indigenised land; guaranteeing the recognition of the values and ideals of the liberation struggle; safeguarding the welfare interests of veterans of the liberation war, war collaborators, ex-detainees and ex-restrictees; enshrining the rights of women including balanced representation of men and women in public institutions at all levels; the right to education and to healthcare; the rights of the child, of the elderly and of persons with disabilities; labour rights and recognising the status, role and institution of traditional leadership and authority.
- Zanu PF has promoted and defended the establishment of a professional & disciplined national security sector.
- Zanu PF has spearheaded the launch of 59 Community Empowerment Schemes (CES), 133 Employee Empowerment Schemes (EES) and a Youth Empowerment Fund (YEF) valued at US\$10.5 million which has created 8,691 jobs.
- Zanu PF has spearheaded the development of Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) through the expansion of telecommunication opportunities that have empowered the youths and opened new strategies and markets for commerce and industry.
- Zanu PF has implemented a progressive and vibrant 75 percent local content policy that has empowered the youth and others in the music and entertainment industries.
- Zanu PF has maintained cordial relations with all countries including those that have imposed sanctions and has given and received geopolitical solidarity from sister liberation movements in the region, the continent and around the world.



# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013



**TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY**



**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

# 7

## TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY

**W**hat we will do together to win more goals for the people under Zanu PF over the next five years.

- **The background**

Zimbabwe's Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (Chapter 14:33), which was enacted in 2007, requires all non-indigenous enterprises operating in Zimbabwe to dispose of at least 51 percent shareholding to indigenous entities. The Act was introduced to correct the historical imbalances that resulted in the marginalisation of indigenous Zimbabweans prior to Zimbabwe's heroic independence in 1980. To date, equity valued at US\$1,7 billion is in the process of being acquired with a dead line of June 2013. These pending acquisitions include the Zimplats transaction worth US\$971 million, Mimosa's US\$550 million, Anglo-America US\$142 million, Pretoria Portland Cement US\$27,8 million and Caledonia US\$30 million.

While the indigenisation and economic empowerment exercise has generated a great deal of debate in and outside the country, there is now broad based consensus first on the fact that the minimum threshold of 51 percent ownership by the indigenous population is statutory and thus non-negotiable across all the 14 key sectors of the economy; secondly that this equity threshold does not preclude the so-called supply side of enterprises which deals with the value of the operations or transactions of the business in terms of procurement and related activities to which indigenous entities must be responsible for at least 51 percent; and thirdly that the beneficiaries of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment programme, well-connected individuals or elites but must strictly be



communities hosting the indigenising companies, workers and staff of the indigenising companies and the generality of Zimbabweans.

With the above in mind, the ownership of at least 51 percent of equity by indigenous entities, especially but not only in the mining sector, is based on the fact that Zimbabweans have sovereignty over their God given natural resources which they fully own and out of which they have 100 percent stake. This stake is what entitles Zimbabweans to 51 percent ownership of any joint business venture with foreign investors whether that investment is in a green field or is an existing enterprise that has been unfairly exploiting the country's God-given natural resources over the years, at the expense of its rightful owners.

As such, foreign investors are most welcome but they must understand and accept that their most appreciated investment in terms of capital, plant and equipment translates to 49 percent of the joint enterprise or business, with the 51 percent remaining in the hands of Zimbabweans who own the natural resources for the benefit of the country's current and future generations.

In order to win this important and historical goal of the people, it is critical to address the binding constraints on the economy such as poor and inadequate infrastructure and the shortage of affordable medium term to long term finance for industry. To achieve this, relevant existing development finance institutions need to be appropriately capacitated as a matter of urgency. Accordingly, Zanu PF's reform programme of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment is the only meaningful and viable vehicle to mobilise critical resources that are meaningful, concrete and viable to finance the development of economic and social infrastructure and to finance the productive sectors of the economy to benefit everyone.



- **The challenge**

Zanu PF is fully aware and acknowledges that the indigenisation and economic empowerment programme has been subjected to much criticism – some of it misplaced – as having been designed to benefit the political elite and a few well connected individuals at the expense of the majority of previously disadvantaged Zimbabweans.

The programme has also been criticised with allegations – which are sometimes self-serving – that it treats the question of indigenisation and empowerment as an event and that it puts too much emphasis on the equity or ownership or dividend streams while ignoring the broader aspect of economic empowerment, including the supply side or procurement dynamics of business enterprises where the daily flows of money, logistics and resources are found.

Policy issues arising from these broadly shared criticisms of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment programme are important to unravel and to resolve notwithstanding the misplaced motives of some of the critics of the programme. Consequently, it is important to implement mechanisms that inspire national and broad based confidence and which indeed guarantee that the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment programme will not favour or benefit the political elite or the well-connected at the expense of the ordinary indigenous Zimbabweans.

In most indigenisation transactions that have been initiated thus far, the approach has been to earmark 10 percent of the 51 percent of indigenised equity to community trusts, another 10 percent to employee share ownership schemes and the balance of 31 percent has been earmarked to the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund (NIEEF) for warehousing in a structure and



for purposes that still need elaboration and refinement. Community trusts and employee share ownership schemes have generally been well received as they are considered to be viable and effective mechanisms for ensuring that communities and workers benefit from indigenisation in ways that are tangible and thus demonstrable on the ground. The lingering question, however, which now needs attention and bold action relates to how best to use the 31 percent that has been meant for temporarily warehousing NIEEF in order to leverage and achieve broad-based indigenisation and economic empowerment to create employment and foster development. Zanu PF's response to this very important challenge is proposed below.

- **Zanu PF'S indigenisation model to achieve broad-based empowerment**

In the same way that Zimbabwe has successfully taken back its land by indigenising it with the result of resettling some 276,620 households that have created more than one million employment opportunities for Zimbabweans over the last decade, the time has now come to take back the economy through the historic Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme that Zanu PF is now poised to implement in full after the elections. As a revolutionary programme that seeks to meet the goals of the people in line with the objectives and legacy of the liberation struggle as an expression of the people's sovereignty, it is important to understand that the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment programme is not about benefiting a few well-connected individuals.

Rather, and just like the indigenisation of land, it is about taking back the whole economy in terms of the law, without exempting any sector, to benefit the people as a whole, who are the true owners of the natural resources that make up and drive the economy to sustain livelihoods.



Over the next five years between 2013 and 2018, Zanu PF will meet the goals of the people through the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment programme by creating value from the 51 percent of assets that will be unlocked from the Indigenisation programme. That value will be used in three distinct but mutually complementary ways, whose developmental impact would be to rehabilitate the agro-infrastructure, physical infrastructure that drives economic enablers and social infrastructure which generates education and health in order to meet the goals of the people by generating incomes, creating employment, contributing to export earnings and boosting the growth of the country's GDP. The indicative quantum of the overall assets in question is shown on Table 18.

**Table 18 Assets to be indigenised**

Sector	No. of foreign companies	Value US\$	51% of value
Mining	398	6,367,598,696	3,247,475,335
Agriculture	2	107,560,837	54,856,027
Manufacturing	374	1,462,602,899	745,927,478
Finance	11	28,656,879	14,615,008
Communication	14	406,951,029	207,545,025
Construction	28	91,296,488	46,561,209
Retail	4	24,348,341	12,417,654
Energy	9	638,794,329	325,785,108
Property	27	163,970,325	83,624,866
Services	20	30,920,753	15,769,584
Engineering	7	1,572,634	802,043
Tourism	244	5,000,000,000	2,550,000,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 138</b>	<b>14,324,273,210</b>	<b>7,305,379,337</b>

As can be seen from Table 18 above, at least US\$7,3 billion worth of assets is projected from the indigenisation of 1,138 foreign companies in 12 key sectors of the economy. The net value of the assets to be indigenised is in fact far higher than the indicated US\$7,3 billion because the list of companies is not exhaustive and a mop-up



exercise is underway to complete the list as some foreign companies across the 12 sectors did not comply with the census that was undertaken by authorities. More significantly, the value that can be unlocked in the financial markets from the US\$7,3 billion worth of indigenised assets is fourfold the nominal amount, taking the actual value that can be created to US\$29,2 billion.

- **The goals of indigenised assets**

Below is a summary of the model for creatively using the US\$7,3 billion worth of indigenisation assets to unlock value to grow the economy, create employment and develop the nation by recapitalising and capacitating **Agribank** to stimulate agricultural productivity and safeguard food security; **IDBZ** to rehabilitate physical and social infrastructure to revive the country's key economic enablers; and **Sedco** to finance innovative youth and women's projects to promote financial inclusion on the formal sector.

- **Capacitation of IDBZ**

An important pillar of Zanu PF's economic policy in the post-election era will be the capacitation of IDBZ to ensure that the bank delivers on its statutory mandate. The strategic bank is currently insolvent for all intents and purposes mainly as a result of legacy-debt inherited from the former Zimbabwe Development Bank made worse by the illegal sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by Britain and its allies. As a result, IDBZ's ability to underwrite business and to borrow on the local and international markets has been very limited. In contrast, successful development banks such as South Africa's DBSA and the IDC whose bank model is similar to IDBZ are comparably well-capitalised and self-financing, thus allowing the institutions to effectively deliver on their strategic mandates. DBSA, for instance, is capitalised to the tune of US\$1,8 billion and is therefore able to play a significant role in the financing of South Africa's infrastructure projects.



Given the lack of fiscal space over the years since the sanctions era in 2001, the ability of Treasury to adequately capitalise the country's development banks has been severely constrained. The situation got worse during the life of the GPA government when Treasury fell under the treacherous hands of a minister of finance whose hostility to the development of Zimbabwe's infrastructure, especially in the sector of agriculture, knew no bounds. However, while Government's cash-pressures are understandable given the background of illegal sanctions coupled with the continuing effects of the hyperinflation days, Zanu PF is clear that the assets realised from the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment programme constitute a credible and viable source of capacitation of the country's national development banks which has not been tapped. This can be achieved through a two-pronged approach:

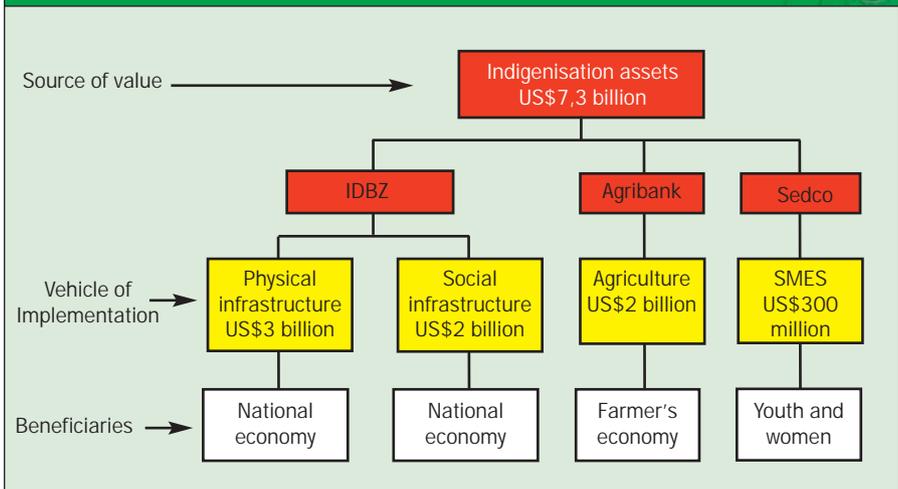
- (i) Capitalisation of IDBZ using shares acquired from indigenised foreign companies.
- (ii) Transferring mineral claims (e.g. diamonds, platinum and coal claims) currently held by one Government to IDBZ as another method for capitalising the bank. The value of the claim can then be reflected on the development Bank's balance sheet. Alternatively, the Bank can use the claims to form joint ventures with foreign companies with the value of the investment being reflected on the Bank's balance sheet.

Over the next five years, Zanu PF will capacitate IDBZ to raise more money from local and international capital markets. With a capital base of at least US\$5 billion, the bank will be able to raise liquid capital from the domestic and international markets of up to 4 times its capital base i.e. US\$20 billion, over a five year period. As shown on Table 19, of the resource envelope of US\$7,3 billion, US\$3 billion



will be invested in economic or physical infrastructure; US\$2 billion in social infrastructure and another US\$2 billion in agriculture through the capacitation of Agribank while US\$300 million will capacitate Sedco.

**Table 19** Unlocking value from indigenisation assets



• **Benefits of Zanu PF's policy intervention**

Investment in economic infrastructure over a five year period (US\$3 billion)

Economic infrastructure refers to investments in roads, railways, airports, power and the ICT sector. Soon after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe earned international recognition for investing in a sound infrastructure network. According to a 2011 World Bank study *Zimbabwe's Infrastructure: A continental Perspective*, notable achievements included a national electricity network with regional interconnections, an extensive and international connected road



network as well as a sound water and sewer infrastructure. Partly reflecting these infrastructure investments, in the early 1990s, Zimbabwe's economic infrastructure was ranked among the best in Sadc in terms of coverage and quality. During the era of illegal economic sanctions over the past decade or so, however, the quality of infrastructure assets has deteriorated progressively due to inadequate levels of public expenditures for maintenance of the infrastructure networks. According to a study published in 2011 by the Africa Development Bank, the decline in Zimbabwe's infrastructure was reflected in the following statistics:

- The share of total road network of almost 90,000km in fair to good condition declined from 73 percent in 1995 to about 60 percent in the past decade or so. A significant portion of the road network now requires complete rehabilitation at a cost of US\$1,1 billion.
- The volume of freight carried by the railways has declined from about 14 million tonnes in the mid-1990s to 2,7 million tonnes in 2009, equivalent to 15 percent of design capacity of the network due to the unavailability of locomotive and rolling stock capacity.
- Per capita electricity consumption has fallen from 738kw in 1995 to about 600kw in 2009.

Against this background, it is not surprising that Zimbabwe did not score well on infrastructure in the Global Competitiveness Report 2012/2013, coming 128<sup>th</sup> out of 144 economies in the international survey. Given that economic infrastructure is a key and indeed decisive economic enabler, Zimbabwe's deteriorated infrastructure is a critical barrier to accelerating economic prosperity



while reducing poverty in the country. Studies have shown that increasing the stock of capital by one percent can add up to one percent to GDP. Increased investments in economic infrastructure will therefore promote shared economic growth and development.

In 2011, the Africa Development Bank (AfDB) estimated Zimbabwe's financial requirement needed to close the infrastructure gap at US\$14,2 billion for the period 2011-2020, which translates to an annual requirement of US\$1,42 billion. Currently, the country is investing about US\$800 million annually through the national budget, state enterprises and local authorities. Zanu PF is convinced that capacitating the IDBZ through indigenisation of assets and government-owned natural resources will go a long way in narrowing the existing infrastructure financing gap.

The five year US\$3 billion economic infrastructure programme being proposed aims to address Zimbabwe's infrastructure challenges through:

- **Power:** rehabilitation of the existing national power grid and addition of new generation capacity;
- **Transport:** rehabilitation of the national road and railway network, rehabilitation and upgrading of the country's airports, upgrading of air traffic communications;
- **Water supply and sanitation:** complete rehabilitation of the existing water supply and sanitation infrastructure;
- **Water storage and transport:** meeting increased water demand from agriculture, industry and households through increased investment in storage and transport of water;
- **ICT:** Development of a national communications grid for ICT based on fibre optic network linked to the submarine cables located along the eastern seaboard of Africa.



## Investment in social infrastructure (US\$2 billion)

Social Infrastructure covers investments in education, health, housing, welfare, security and safety services, water and sanitation. As such, social infrastructure is a key prerequisite for human development and economic prosperity. Economic and social infrastructure are complementary to each other and are necessary for the overall recovery and development of the economy over the next five years.

This is because the state of social infrastructure in Zimbabwe has also mirrored the decline in economic infrastructure. For instance, in 2005, more than 85 percent of the people had access to safe water while by 2008, access to safe water had declined to 74 percent. A key result of this decline was the cholera epidemic which occurred in 2008, affecting more than 100,000 and killing more than 4,000 people.

In the housing sector, Zimbabwe is said to have more lodgers than house-owners, a fact which is reflected in a huge housing backlog.

**Table 20 Projected output of social infrastructure investment**

Sector	Units	Infrastructure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Health	Units	Additional number of clinics in needy districts especially resettlement areas	62	62	62	62	62	310
Education	Numbers	Additional number of schools in needy districts especially resettlement areas	60	60	60	60	60	300
Housing	Units	Rehabilitated public buildings and houses	250	250	250	250	250	1,250
	Units	New Parliament complex	1	1	1	1	1	5
	Units	New shell factories, flea and vendor markets	500	500	500	500	500	2,500
Water & sanitation	Units	New low income houses	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	25,000
	Units	Rehabilitated water and sewage reticulation cities and Growth points	60	60	60	60	60	300
Security & safety	Units	Rehabilitated rural boreholes and water supply systems	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	12,500
	Units	Police Stations	80	80	80	80	80	400



Against this background, the Zanu PF Government will make investments in social infrastructure (US\$2 billion) through the capacitation of the IDBZ which would benefit large numbers of Zimbabwe's indigenous population (see Table 20).

- **Benefits of the infrastructure programme using indigenisation assets**

Zanu PF's well-designed and implementable two-pronged infrastructure programme targeting economic enablers, education, health, welfare, security and safety services will increase demand for both labour and inputs, thus giving a boost to employment creation, for example, in the building and construction industries. The economic sectors that are set to benefit include construction and engineering firms as well as producers of cement, aluminium, steel and related products as shown on Table 21. The multiplier impact of Zanu PF's infrastructure rehabilitation programme will largely depend on whether inputs are procured locally or imported. The lower the import content, the higher the backward linkages in the economy. To ensure a strong domestic supply response, the Zanu PF Government will implement appropriate procurement systems to ensure that domestic businesses and workers benefit from the infrastructure programme.

For example, it will be important to identify key indigenous companies or firms that will be supported to enable them to supply the required inputs to the manifold infrastructure projects that will be undertaken over the next five years.

Apart from producing direct and short term employment effects, the infrastructure investments will have substantial spill-over effects in terms of improving efficiency and stimulating innovation in the production sectors of the economy.



**Table 21 Projected output of physical infrastructure investment**

Sector	Works	Activity	Units	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Energy	Additional electricity generation from rehabilitated Hwange, Kariba, Harare Bulawayo stations		MW	100	120	150	150	100	620
	Additional electricity generation from expanded Hwange and kariba station		MW	100	200	200	200	200	900
	Additional electricity generation from new generation projects including Batoka and small hydro plants		MW	300	300	400	400	350	1,750
Roads	Rehabilitated major trunk and feeder roads		KM	250	250	250	287	300	1,337
	Five major city dual interconnection roads		KM	200	200	200	200	153	953
Railway	Rehabilitated trunk rail network and locomotives		KM	350	350	350	560	650	2,260
Tourism	New game farming, farm guest houses and lodges, religion camp sites operations		Tourist Entities	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	6,000
ICT	ICT network and infrastructure Fiber optic links		ICT network	480	365	580	439	265	2,129

Furthermore, the Zanu PF infrastructure development programme has strong potential for pro-poor growth through:

- Provision of infrastructural assets that give the poor better access to markets and lower their production and transactions costs.
- Maximising the use of labour intensive technologies to implement public investment projects.
- Investing heavily in the construction of social sector assets, such as schools and health clinics, and inaccessible and affordable services to the poor, such as housing, transportation and sanitation.
- Using the rise in government revenue – due to increased economic growth – to help the poor and the vulnerable.



- **Skills development**

In order to ensure that the intended results are delivered on time, efficiently and effectively within the budgets through the identified projects, the Zanu PF Government will address the challenge of technical capacity and human skills at various levels by initiating requisite training schemes and working closely with the relevant national professional associations and with the professional pool of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora.

- **Financing agriculture**

Zimbabwe's agriculture sector has suffered from inadequate financing, poor infrastructure, unaffordable inputs and low levels of capitalisation, among other factors. Under Zanu PF's policy intervention, indigenisation assets will be unlocked to capacitate Agribank with a US\$2 billion endowment to enable it to mobilise resources amounting to US\$8 billion for the agriculture sector. Adequate financing of agriculture will benefit millions of people through higher incomes, food security and the generation of employment.

Agricultural financing will also stimulate economic growth through the sector's strong backward and forward linkages with other critical sectors of the economy including the manufacturing and financial sectors (see Table 22).

**Table 22** Projected output of investment in agriculture

Indicators	Measure	Current	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
Food security	Tons (000)	968	2,180	3,025	4,050	4,600	4,870
Formal employment	Workers	348,000	380,000	400,000	475,000	490,000	600,000
Exports	US\$m	820	889.3	1,304	1,400	1,600	2,000
Livelihoods	People (m)	7,8	8,0	8,5	8,5	8,5	8,5
Contribution to GDP	US\$m	1,635	1,750.2	1,800	2,227	2,500	2,649



- **Recapitalising and capacitating Sedco**

The Zanu PF Government will revamp and capacitate the Small Enterprises Development Corporation (Sedco) to inject new capital from indigenised assets to promote financial inclusion in the informal sector by financing innovative projects that are run by youths and women. The projects will need to demonstrate a capacity to generate income and create employment for and among the youths and women respectively as shown on Table 23. Sedco will spearhead and facilitate funding and implementation of income-generating projects for innovative women and youths with demonstrable cutting edge ideas that bring people together by supporting their livelihoods. Sedco will be capacitated to the tune of US\$300 million over a five year period for onward lending to youths and women at concessionary interest rates.

**Table 23** Projected output of Sedco projects for the youths & women

Category	Measure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Women	Number of Projects	3,450	3,968	4,562	5,247	6,035	23,262
Youth	Number of Projects	3,450	3,968	4,562	5,247	6,035	23,262
<b>Total</b>		<b>6,900</b>	<b>7,936</b>	<b>9,124</b>	<b>10,494</b>	<b>12,070</b>	<b>46,524</b>

The Sedco investment programme will draw US\$300 million from indigenisation of assets to support 30,000 projects over the next five years. The project beneficiaries will be drawn from each of the country's 93 local authorities in the 10 provinces on an equal basis in accordance with the relevant provisions of the New Constitution whose indigenisation and empowerment provisions were spearheaded by Zanu PF.



# #TEAM ZANU PF 2013

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***TAKING BACK THE ECONOMY***

**INDIGENISE, EMPOWER, DEVELOP & CREATE EMPLOYMENT**

# 8

## **BHORA MUGEDHI** **IBHOLA EGEDINI** **UNLOCKING NEW VALUE FROM IDLE ASSETS**

Given what Zimbabwe has experienced over the last 14 years or so dominated by illegal sanctions, illegal regime change agendas and hyperinflation, during which the fight for the goals of the people experienced serious setbacks, Zanu PF is clear that the time has come to rebuild our country against the backdrop of the prevailing peace, unity and stability that President Mugabe has worked tirelessly to bring about over the last four years.

The goals of the people have not changed, what has changed are the circumstances that dictate new strategies for winning the goals. Going forward, there is an urgent and critical need to identify new and viable assets from which to unlock real value to capacitate or create development banks such as IDBZ, Agribank and Sedco to enable them to strategically finance the attainment of the goals of the people over the next five years. Given the peace and tranquillity that Zimbabweans now enjoy against the background of the freedom and democracy that was brought by Zanu PF, and further given that Zimbabwe has now taken back its land, there are two goals of the people that need immediate attention; that is fostering employment creation and economic prosperity.

- **Employment creation**

As Zanu PF resolved at the National People's Conference in 2012 that met in Gweru under the theme "Indigenise, Develop and Create Employment", a major goal of the people to be addressed with immediate effect is employment creation. Table 24 below shows the targeted employment creation impact of Zanu PF's Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme which will create 2,265 million jobs over the next five years.

- **Developing Zimbabwe to ensure economic prosperity for everyone**

Along with creating employment, a critical plank of Zanu PF's historic indigenisation policy captured in the theme of the 2012 National



**Table 24 Empowering the people through employment creation by sector: 2013 - 2018**

Sector	Current	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	YEAR 5
Manufacturing	125,000	140,000	160,000	170,000	200,000	250,000
Finance	66,000	88,000	102,000	120,000	150,000	180,000
Agriculture	348,000	400,000	450,000	475,000	490,000	600,000
Tourism	75,200	150,000	175,000	200,000	275,000	300,000
Health	46,000	55,000	60,000	75,000	80,000	85,000
Education	158,000	160,000	165,000	170,000	175,000	180,000
Transport and communication	29,000	40,000	50,000	65,000	75,000	90,000
Electricity and water	65,000	80,000	90,000	12,000	135,000	140,000
Public services	94,000	100,000	102,000	130,000	145,000	150,000
Construction	36,000	45,000	60,000	75,000	80,000	90,000
Other	139,000	145,000	160,000	170,000	185,000	200,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,181,200</b>	<b>1,403,000</b>	<b>1,574,000</b>	<b>1,662,000</b>	<b>1,990,000</b>	<b>2,265,000</b>

People's Conference in Gweru is to "develop" Zimbabwe for the benefit of the people through employment creation as a source of livelihood. Table 25 shows the specific targets for developing Zimbabwe over the next five years in terms of projected key national economic indicators of development as economic prosperity.

**Table 25 Projected economic prosperity: 2013 - 2018**

Indicators	Measure	Current	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
GDP	US\$ million	10,950	11,700	12,402	13,270	13,394	14,600
GDP Growth targets	%	4,4	6,0	7,3	8,0	9,0	9,0

- **Unlocking new value beyond assets from indigenised foreign companies**

While Zanu PF will implement the policy of indigenising foreign companies to unlock value to capacitate key national development banks, notably IDBZ, Agribank and Sedco, so as to enable them to finance the rehabilitation of key economic enablers and social infrastructure to create employment and economic prosperity for all Zimbabweans, the Party is aware and understands that there is a



limit to the value that will be unlocked from indigenising foreign companies alone.

This is because the foreign companies in question, especially in the mining sector for example, are limited in number and also because the indigenous equity threshold in the companies is 51 percent. As President Mugabe has directed on many occasions, the crux of the policy of Indigenisation and People's Empowerment is not to be found in the indigenisation of foreign companies for the indigenous Zimbabweans to acquire 51 percent equity but in the unlocking of value from hitherto idle or sitting assets from Zimbabwe's unexploited natural and economic resources that should be used for total or 100 percent empowerment of the indigenous population.

Put differently, the mainstay of Zanu PF's Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme is to enable Zimbabweans, especially the youth, women, professionals and entrepreneurs to access empowerment assets from our natural and economic resources from development banks to start or acquire cutting edge business enterprises whose total equity is in the hands of the indigenous population. This is what most Zimbabweans are looking forward to and this is precisely why an overwhelming majority of them are voting Zanu PF in 2013.

While the assets to be derived from 51 percent of the indigenisation of foreign companies are well established, even their true value will still require further refinement to determine its actual quantum. The value to be unlocked from our God-given natural and economic resources has not been previously indicated or clarified yet it represents the greatest opportunities for total or 100 percent empowerment of the indigenous population. There are three sources of assets whose value will be unlocked by the Zanu PF Government over the next five years. The first source of these assets is defined by Zimbabwe's unexploited but 'measured' mineral reserves whose economic or mining viability has been technically determined or indicated. Table 26 shows the potential of these assets which are valued at US\$1,844,223,157,000.



**Table 26 Broadening indigenisation by unlocking US\$1,844,223,157,000 from Idle assets of key mineral reserves**

Mineral	Reserves (000 tons)	Extraction rate (000 tons)	Unallocated (000 tons)	Value US\$ million
Gold	13,000	0.100	12,999	821,269
Platinum	2,800,000	12,000	2,788,000	149,135,802
Chromite	930,000	3,500	926,500	74,400
Nickel	4,500	45	4,455	71,685
Coal	26,000,000	24,000	25,976,000	1,690,000
Diamonds	16,500	5	16,495	1,650,000,000
Iron ore	30,000,000	300	29,999,700	4,080,000
Copper	5,200,000		5,200,000	38,350,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>64,964,000</b>			<b>1,844,223,157</b>

- **Unlocking value from parastatals**

The fact that parastatals are State-owned enterprises means that there is an opportunity to unlock real value from their assets beyond the usual privatisation and commercialisation debates which have not opened new or viable ways of truly indigenising the economy to empower the indigenous community to create employment and sustain livelihoods in a meaningful way. There's therefore a need to find new and innovative ways of creating value from the idle assets held by parastatals to further capacitate or set up strategic banking institutions such as IDBZ, Agribank and Sedco or to create new financial institutions with similar objectives to enable them to finance the realisation of the goals of the people. Table 27 shows the dowry of idle assets that Zanu PF will unlock from parastatals to create new opportunities for Indigenisation and People's Empowerment to win the goals of the people over the next five years.

- **Empowering communities from idle assets of local authorities**

Like parastatals that are fully owned by the State, all local authorities have idle assets, including land, from which real value can be unlocked to capacitate development banks such as IDBZ, Agribank, Sedco or others to enable them to finance the creation



**Table 27** Deepening indigenisation by unlocking US\$7,681,078,582 from idle assets with parastatals

Sector	Number of assets	Value US\$
Agriculture	9	245,670,746
Transport	6	1,613,297,803
Telecommunication	6	450,614,141
Health	4	54,803,967
Environment	4	39,873,908
Information	3	14,765,073
Industry	5	104,612,877
Science and technology	3	29,987,661
Mining	6	166,943,200
Water	1	1,448,837,306
Energy and power	4	2,496,338,799
Finance	11	793,436,073
Others	16	221,897,027
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>7,681,078,582</b>

of employment through the rehabilitation and development of physical and social infrastructure in local communities to promote sustainable livelihoods in the country. An example of the available reservoir of idle assets valued at US\$1,357,010,326 in the hands of local authorities is shown on Table 28.

**Table 28** Empowering communities by unlocking US\$1,357,010,326 from idle assets with local authorities

Province	Number of assets	Value US\$
Bulawayo	1	121,276,800
Harare	4	265,240,150
Masvingo	11	91,451,727
Manicaland	10	85,221,122
Mash central	9	50,647,679
Mas east	11	152,241,283
Midlands	12	203,075,410
Mat north	7	39,906,104
Mat south	12	79,456,435
Mash west	16	268,493,616
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>1,357,010,326</b>



## Food security

- Zanu PF recognises food security as a central pillar of Zimbabwe's sovereignty. After winning the forthcoming elections, Zanu PF will launch a targeted national program to spearhead, coordinate and promote production, processing, marketing and utilisation of adequate nutritious food for both our rural and urban populations in line with our national agriculture and food and nutrition security policies.
- Expertise and resources will be mobilised to support farmers to produce crops and livestock in accordance with the agro-ecological and climate change variations across Zimbabwe.
- Maize and small grains (sorghum, pearl millet, rapoko), legumes (soyabeans, cowpeas, groundnuts) and livestock (cattle, pigs, small ruminants, poultry, fish) will receive particular attention as food sources and raw materials for value addition.

## • Empowering indigenous individuals and 100 percent indigenous companies

In terms of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policy, the beneficiaries from the assets derived from the 51 percent of the indigenised equity and the 100 percent of value unlocked from idle assets from mineral reserves, parastatals and local authorities are without exception communities, employees and staff and the generality of the people of Zimbabwe. The so-called well-connected individuals or political elites are not among the direct beneficiaries of the policy.

- What this means is that individuals, including those who are well-connected or who are political elites can only benefit indirectly. There are two ways for them to benefit indirectly. One obvious one is that individuals indirectly benefit either as members of a community that is benefiting directly or as part of the indigenous population in general. The other opportunity for in-



**Table 29 IndigeNex: An opportunity to empower indigenous individuals and indigenous companies**

Indicator	2013 Target	2014 Target	2015 Target	2016 Target	2017 Target	2018 Target
Beneficiaries of the Indigenisation programme	Launch HSE and distribute shares to at least 500,000 beneficiaries	Distribute shares to an additional 500,000 beneficiaries	Distribute shares to an additional 200,000 beneficiaries	Distribute shares to an additional 100,000 beneficiaries.	Distribute shares to an additional 100,000 beneficiaries.	Distribute shares to an additional 100,000 beneficiaries
Empower previously disadvantaged groups within Indigenous Zimbabweans	At least 50% of the number of beneficiaries should be women, youth and the disabled	At least 50% of the number of beneficiaries should be civil servants and youth	At least 50% of the number of beneficiaries should be youth	At least 50% of the number of beneficiaries should be indigenous Zimbabweans in the diaspora	At least 50% of the number of beneficiaries should be women and youth	At least 50% of the number of beneficiaries should be women and youth
Deepening of Zimbabwe's capital markets	At least US\$1 billion in market capitalization	At least US\$2 billion in market capitalization	At least US\$3 billion in market capitalization	Market capitalization to grow by at least 10% from prior year	Market capitalization to grow by at least 10% from prior year	Market capitalization to grow by at least 10% from prior year
Dividends paid to Indigenous shareholders	Aggregate annual dividends of US\$20 million	Aggregate annual dividends of US\$20 million	Aggregate annual dividends of US\$20 million	Aggregate annual dividends of US\$20 million	Aggregate annual dividends of US\$20 million	Aggregate annual dividends of US\$20 million
Value of collateral in the hands of indigenous Zimbabweans which can be used to access finance for development projects	At least US\$500 million	At least US\$1 billion	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year
Loans at concessionary rates to be accessed by Indigenous Zimbabweans from the banking sector secured by shares listed on HSE	At least US\$500 million	At least US\$500 million	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year
Deepen indigenous Zimbabweans savings culture	At least US\$500 million	At least US\$500 million	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year	Grow by at least 10% from prior year
Contribute to Zimbabwe's Treasury and develop basic needs which improve people's life's like health, education and infrastructure	At least US\$500 million through disposal of shares at a discount to indigenous beneficiaries	At least US\$500 million through disposal of shares at a discount to indigenous beneficiaries	At least US\$20 million through an indigenization development levy to be charged on trading of the shares	At least US\$30 million through an indigenization development levy to be charged on trading of the shares	At least US\$50 million through an indigenization development levy to be charged on trading of the shares	At least US\$30 million through an indigenization development levy to be charged on trading of the shares



indigenous individuals to benefit, either as natural or as juristic persons is by using their own means or resources to participate in a stock exchange platform – **IndigeNex** – to be specifically setup for the exclusive participation of indigenous individuals and 100 percent indigenous companies that will have to prove their indigenous status to be eligible to participate.

- **IndigeNex** will be setup under the Harare Stock Exchange (HSE) which will have a pivotal role to play in the redistribution of Zimbabwe’s natural and economic wealth to previously disadvantaged indigenous Zimbabweans in terms of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act. Most notably, HSE will complement President Mugabe’s vision of economically empowering every indigenous Zimbabwean in a practical and tangible way. More particularly, the Harare Stock Exchange will complement the Indigenisation and People’s Empowerment programme as shown on Table 29.
  - (i) **Providing a channel for broad-based empowerment:** HSE will provide an effective broad based distribution of wealth and assets accumulated through the Indigenisation and People’s Empowerment process. Through the controls embedded in the HSE system, which will include investment limits per individual and the use of national identity numbers and proof of company ownership to register as investors, the reach of HSE will be countrywide and will also benefit indigenous Zimbabweans in the Diaspora.
  - (ii) **Providing a transparent way of distributing economic wealth to indigenous Zimbabweans as individuals or as 100 percent indigenous companies:** HSE will mitigate risks of indigenisation benefits being misunderstood as targeted at or



aimed for a few individuals as has been the experience in other countries that have implemented policies to empower the indigenous population. HSE will also enable indigenous Zimbabweans who do not own shares of indigenised companies to feel the practical or tangible impact of the Indigenisation and People's Empowerment reform programme in the same way they continue to feel the impact of the land reform programme at a personal level.

- (iii) **Demonstration effect:** HSE will send a clear signal to Zimbabweans, the international community and to capital markets that the redistribution of economic wealth to the indigenous people can indeed be done in a bankable and transparent way without favouring well-connected individuals or political elites.
  - (iv) **Banking the unbanked:** HSE will provide an effective catalyst to bank the previously unbanked by requiring and facilitating a bank account of one sort or another to any indigenous person or indigenous company interested in acquiring **IndigeNex** shares.
- **Other key post-election deliverables**
    - (i) Recapitalise and capacitate all sectors of the national economy using value unlocked from idle assets.
    - (ii) Reduce the urban housing backlog by, among other interventions, urgently regularising the tenure of urban dwellers that were allocated housing and commercial stands on peri-urban farms under the Land Reform Programme.
    - (iii) Maintain proficient, technologically competent and well-motivated defence and security capabilities.
    - (iv) Restore sanity and eliminate corruption, particularly in urban councils.
    - (v) Give bankable leasehold security of tenure to all agricultural beneficiaries of the Land Reform Programme.



- (vi) Institute measures to legalise artisanal mining (makorokoza).
- (vii) Create more and vibrant opportunities for the youth by establishing a 25 percent quota as a threshold for their participation across all sectors of the state and the economy.
- (viii) Repatriate Zimbabwe's sanctions-bleed human capital from the diaspora.
- (viii) Improve the salaries and conditions for civil servants.
- (ix) Stimulate growth in the manufacturing sector through value-addition.
- (xi) Engage Britain and its EU, US and White Commonwealth allies to unconditionally lift illegal sanctions, stop their sustained regime-change onslaught and normalise relations with Zimbabwe.

- **#Team Zanu PF has something for everyone**

Zanu PF understands that for the people's goals to be won and defended, everybody must be part of the great team that liberated Zimbabwe and brought freedom and democracy that everyone enjoys today; the team that enabled Zimbabwe to take back its land; the team that has protected and enshrined Zimbabwe's gains of the liberation struggle and defended Zimbabwe's traditional and religious values against such evils as homosexuality in the New Constitution; and the team that is the home of the youths who are taking the baton to defend Zimbabwe's natural resources. That team is #Team Zanu PF 2013.

- **Special presidential initiatives**

As part of the empowerment programme over the next five years after the elections, Zanu PF will widen and deepen the hugely successful Presidential Agricultural Input Scheme and the Presidential Scholarship Programme and launch two related initiatives, namely, the Presidential Youth Initiative and the Presidential Chiefs Support Programme as outlined in Boxes 5, 6, 7 and 8.



### Box 5 Presidential agricultural input support scheme budgetary projections

Budget	Current	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Support (US\$000)	20,000	30,000	40,000	50,000	80,000	100,000	300,000

President Mugabe has been at the forefront of empowering the youths as evidenced by his well-known computer programme that has seen secondary and high schools across the country receiving computers from the Head of State and Government and Commander in Chief of the Defence Forces. The computers given to these schools have been the foundation for the launching of E-Learning Centres across the country. Against this backdrop, the Presidential Youth Initiative Fund will be launched after the elections to further empower the youths in all provinces across the country with employment and survival skills in such areas as ICT, driving, sporting, welding, carpentry, market gardening and poultry rearing.

### Box 6 Presidential scholarship programme

Category	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Provincial enrolments (students)	153	168	185	203	224	9,320
Support level per year/student US\$	2,100	2,100	2,100	2,100	2,100	10,500
Provincial allocations US\$	320,670	352,590	387,870	426,720	469,350	19,572,000

Inspired by President Mugabe's unmatched vision to educate and empower the youths, the Presidential Scholarship Programme has helped to create diversity and depth in Zimbabwe's human capital across disciplines and professions. The beneficiaries of the programme are drawn from all of the country's districts in a transparent manner. The selection is national, non-partisan and it targets and empowers intellectually, socially and economically disadvantaged or vulnerable backgrounds.

### Box 7 Presidential youth initiatives budgetary projections

Province	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Bulawayo	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Harare	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Mash central	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Mash east	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Mash west	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Masvingo	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Midlands	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Mat north	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Mat south	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Manicaland	100,000	107,300	115,884	126,777	140,089	590,050
Total	1,000,000	1,073,000	1,158,840	1,267,771	1,400,887	5,900,498



The beneficiaries of this pioneering and no-partisan scheme whose empowerment success is now widely acknowledged after it was initiated by President Mugabe include vulnerable households among communal farmers, liberation war veterans, liberation war collaborators, ex-detainees, ex-restrictees and young agricultural graduates and other professional and indigenous entrepreneurs who are engaged in meaningful farming.

### Box 8 Presidential chiefs support programme budgetary projections

Province	No of Chiefs	Year 1	Year 2	Year3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Mash west	27	540,000	540,000	540,000	540,000	540,000	2,700,000
Mash central	26	520,000	520,000	520,000	520,000	520,000	2,600,000
Mash east	31	620,000	620,000	620,000	620,000	620,000	3,100,000
Manicaland	33	660,000	660,000	660,000	660,000	660,000	3,300,000
Masvingo	36	720,000	720,000	720,000	720,000	720,000	3,600,000
Mat north	40	800,000	800,000	800,000	800,000	800,000	4,000,000
Mat south	34	680,000	680,000	680,000	680,000	680,000	3,400,000
Midlands	45	900,000	900,000	900,000	900,000	900,000	4,500,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>5,440,000</b>	<b>5,440,000</b>	<b>5,440,000</b>	<b>5,440,000</b>	<b>5,440,000</b>	<b>27,200,000</b>

As the custodian of our culture, tradition and values, the Chiefs play an important role in national development. Furthermore, traditional leaders have been at the forefront of Zimbabwe's liberation especially during the Second Chimurenga and when Zimbabwe indigenised its land during the Third Chimurenga. In recognition of this historical fact, President Mugabe will launch a policy initiative to capacitate and empower all chiefs in the country's eight administrative provinces to implement local development projects that improve community livelihoods. The projects will include maintenance and rehabilitation of local physical and social infrastructure such as roads, clinics, boreholes, milling facilities and schools. Under the policy initiative, each chief will be allocated a Presidential Support fund of US\$20 000 per year over five years to complement development efforts in the chieftainship.

- **The majority of Zimbabweans are voting Zanu PF in 2013**

It is now widely acknowledged that most Zimbabweans are voting for President Robert Mugabe and Zanu PF in 2013 largely because the Party's Indigenisation and People's Empowerment policies are informed by the legacy of the liberation struggle and are therefore so comprehensive and so practical as to have something for everyone. When Zanu PF wins, everyone wins because Zanu PF's goals are the people's goals.



- **Even all their surveys have said it**

The verdict of all opinion surveys by national and international polling organisations published since July 2012 have shown that Zanu PF is winning the 2013 elections because the Party's Indigenisation and Empowerment programme is synonymous with the goals of the people. These surveys which have been done by organisations that have nothing to do with Zanu PF and which have traditional links with the Party's detractors have shown first that President Mugabe and Zanu PF have recovered from the illegal regime change setbacks suffered in 2008 and second that the support for President Mugabe and Zanu PF is among a growing majority of Zimbabweans - especially in the ranks of the youths, women and professionals between the ages of 18 and 40 - is dramatically surging while the support for opposition formations with no policies to offer to uplift the livelihoods of the people is plummeting.

- **Winning the goals of the people**

To ensure that the goals of the people are won, Zanu PF will work with everyone to take back the economy to benefit the majority of Zimbabweans building on the same way the Party worked with the people to win Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Zanu PF's strategy is informed by the experience that the Party has from the way it has worked with the people since the country's heroic independence to win the goals of the liberation struggle such as successfully taking back the land during the Third Chimurenga to create over one million jobs on the newly resettled farms. There's now a need to do more and better to consolidate the goals of the people including sovereignty over our country and its God-given natural and economic resources, unity, peace, economic prosperity through Indigenisation and People's Empowerment, employment creation, equity, freedom and democracy, stability, tolerance, non-violence, achievement, women's advancement, youth empowerment and national development.



Only Zanu PF can achieve these goals while working with the people because only Zanu PF has fought for all and not just some of the goals of the people. When Zanu PF wins at the polls, the people win their goals and benefit in terms of having sustainable livelihoods.

- **The national call to vote as #Team Zanu PF**

- (i) Zanu PF's ideology and policies embody the collective national aspirations and goals of the people of Zimbabwe as their own liberators and masters of their own destiny.
- (ii) The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Programme is the only true, honest, transparent, realistic and homegrown answer to Zimbabwe's collective and national aspirations or goals which we must win together as #Team Zanu PF.
- (iii) It is therefore every Zimbabwean's collective and patriotic duty to join the rest of #Team Zanu PF in our numbers, whether young or old and regardless of our political affiliations, to vote for President Robert Mugabe and Zanu PF parliamentary and council candidates in the forthcoming historic elections.

Pamberi neZanu PF!  
Pamberi neIndigenisation!  
Pamberi neEmpowerment!  
Pamberi nekuhwina maElections!

Phambili leZanu PF!  
Phambili leIndigenisation!  
Phambili leEmpowerment!  
Phambili lokuwina amaElections!

**BHORA MUGEDHI  IBHOLA EGEDINI**

**VOTE ZANU PF**

