



REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PATRIOTIC FRONT (ZAPU)

7TH CONGRESS, 2ND APRIL 1988

We meet here today, 3 years and 5 months since our last congress of 1984. At that congress the outgoing central committee reported extensively on the activities of the party during the years of the struggle for independence, the lessons of the struggle and indeed the successes that had brought about majority rule to our great country Zimbabwe.

The outgoing Central Committee further reviewed the activities of the party after the attainment of independence and highlighted the role PF (ZAPU) had played immediately after the independence elections, a role which unless PF (ZAPU) diligently played would have created a state of affairs that could have landed us exploitable by the negative forces and thus compromised our gains.

Your outgoing central committee saw as the next phase of struggle the need to unite for social and economic development. As was observed then, no economic development, no social transformation of society was possible without national unity, without the active mobilization and the support of the masses of Zimbabwe.

As we meet here today, the far sighted perception as was shown in 1984 has continued to maintain its currency to this day. It was on this basis that your central committee proposed establishment of a United Front of all progressive forces so it could provide a framework upon which the concept could be further developed to enhance prospects for national unity in Zimbabwe.

There was no doubt in the minds then, that the people of Zimbabwe not only desired unity, but that they cherished it. This therefore became a prerequisite for any meaningful movement forward.

In response to the call for a united front, the 6th Congress of 1984 resolved among other things to empower the incoming central committee of PF (ZAPU) to vigorously work toward the establishment of

a United Front of the people of Zimbabwe through the implementation of a programme of action that would ensure maximum success.

THE RESOLUTION

“THE CONGRESS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (ZAPU) NOTING THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND IN PARTICULAR NOTING THE CALL BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR A UNITED FRONT, AND FURTHER NOTING THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE HAVE, THROUGH THE LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM FOUGHT FOR AND EARNED UNITY.

- a) CALLS ON DELEGATES TO CONGRESS, AND THE ENTIRE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, TO SPARE NO EFFORT TO UNITE THE PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER LIFE FREE OF TERROR, TRIBALISM, RACISM, EXPLOITATION AND POVERTY.
- b) MANDATES THE INCOMING CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO TAKE URGENT AND CONCRETE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT A PROGRAMME TO ESTABLISH A UNITED FRONT OF ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN ZIMBABWE”

Your central committee proceeded to implement that resolution and published what was to be known as “THE CASE FOR A UNITED FRONT”

THE CASE FOR A UNITED FRONT

1. “Zimbabwe is now an independent state whose aspirations are first and foremost to embark on a course of Nation building and development, the prerequisite of which is an atmosphere that is conducive to ensuring the successful realization of the objective. This therefore demands that there be peace, tranquility and good Government.”
2. But in embarking upon this course, Zimbabweans need to realize and recognize the stark realization of the situation and conditions that prevail if meaningful progress is to be made. These stark realities may be divided into the following categories:
 - a) Racial composition of the society whose characteristics include cultural and lingual differences.
 - b) Historical background in economic and social spheres.
 - c) Ideological dogmas (socialism and capitalism) whose diametrical opposition to each other constitutes a formidable problem even internationally.
 - d) Tribal differences that continue to bedevil the African Continent and are further being exploited by the enemies of unity both locally and continentally.
 - e) Differences based on personality dislikes, jealousy, fear and suspicion.
3. The list could be much longer. The important thing to note is that the fundamental realities are as old as mankind, which means that there can be no short cuts to their solutions. Beginning from the premise that we all are loyal and patriotic Zimbabweans and have always been even before the advent of independence, why then can we not reconcile the differences that have landed us into problems and may continue to do so. It is on this question that we of PF (ZAPU) believe that whilst there may be not final solution, there certainly are chances of movement toward the desired solution through a UNITED FRONT.
4. The Front should first and foremost recognize the differences and influences, and therefore work to iron them out by identifying the issues that compel them to come closer to each other.

5. For many years ZAPU and ZANU worked together through the Patriotic Front. By discussing and working our common and joint strategies the Patriotic Front prosecuted the armed struggle very effectively and achieved independence. Since independence, new and peculiar problems have arisen which require a broader approach to their solution.
6. It is PF (ZAPU)'s contention that to solve these problems requires not only time but pragmatism. To believe that these inherent problems can be solved by the imposition of a One Party state is being naïve.
7. The solution of these problems can only be achieved effectively and efficiently through a; United Front in which each participant can contribute freely. The theory of human development teaches communities to proceed from the fact that the development of nature and society takes place through the struggle of opposing forces, the struggle between the new and the old, the developing and the dying and that history moves forward through the resolution of contradictions and not through evading them.
8. Comparison of opinions, search for the best alternatives, freedom of discussion and criticism are the only democratic ways of achieving unity. The rejection of those who think differently is counterproductive, but the accumulation of diverse opinion and experience is the firm basis of achieving real unity and progress.
9. The shaping of the political course and the preparation of political decisions is a complicated and multi-sided process and develops on the basis of common objectives and interests which are closely connected with the real situation in any country.
10. In ensuring the democratic approach to solutions of pressing problems of the development of society, much depends on the attitude of a ruling party. It could be disastrous when such a ruling party would simply be insensitive to other points of view.
11. The individualistic approach and the development of a feeling that loyalty and patriotism are synonymous with a political party, make progressive forces see such a posture as being unpatriotic.
12. Past and present social experience shows that the degree of democracy in a given society is determined by whether or not the citizens exert real influence on the solution of society's problems. It is also true that people can be victims of political deception. The answer lies in seeking out the interests of various sectors of society with a view to eliminating contradictions.
13. We believe that there are many Zimbabweans who are concerned at the way things have gone since independence. These Zimbabweans have constructive views to express on these issues. They need a platform; they need assurance that they can get a hearing; they feel disillusioned when they cannot speak openly against obvious mistakes; they get frustrated and resort to clandestine gossip and rumour mongering. All those who want to see Zimbabwe progress and prosper are patriots and therefore progressive in their outlook and must be afforded a right to express themselves on matters that relate to their country and its well-being.
14. What other alternative would there be to grapple with these contradictions than through a united approach by all interested parties. The experience of the past four years proves this beyond any reasonable doubt.
15. In reaffirming our loyalty and patriotism to Zimbabwe and in our rededication to the defense and consolidation of our hard won independency and in the preservation of our sovereignty, we, Zimbabweans, must understand that although there may be political contradictions we all must ensure that all that we do contributes to the betterment of us all. It is for this reason, that we

must preserve the freedoms enshrined in our constitution to enable Zimbabwean citizens to express themselves without hindrance and to associate within the law with whoever they wish.

16. Although public postures have been taken on our proposal, we believe that this was in the course of a necessary debate and that there could never be a more pragmatic formula to a better future for our country. In putting forward this proposal we aim at providing a chance and a platform for the formulation of a strategy whose supreme purpose should be to attempt to regain confidence in order to resolve the multi-faceted problems that beset our young nation in the various spheres.

We believe this is the only realistic way for movement forward, and will be a first step toward greater things. The above quoted document was released on the 25th March 1985 as a first step in the implementation of the 1984 congress resolution. We have no doubt that this not only presented a revolutionary stance, it further proved beyond doubt that our commitment to unity was irrevocable.

This position generated a lot of interest among the people of Zimbabwe of all colours and shades of opinion and thereby generally creating enthusiasm in our society. In pursuance of the resolution, your central committee maintained an open mind and were conscious of the need to engage in any discussion with whosoever expressed an interest in the proposal.

The post 1984 period witnessed many developments including the natural waste. Some of the key persons directly elected into office by the congress fell by the wayside, others tired out and yet others too to corners. Although these developments posed a challenge to the rest of the leadership as indeed to the party in its entirety, they however, so toughened the party that as the going got tougher only the toughened got going. We salute you, the various organs of the party, the stalwarts and the ordinary membership for sustaining the party through all this trying period. The report will not be exhaustive without addressing some of the negative developments in our country.

Less than twelve (12) months after the congress of 1984, Zimbabwe conducted its first post-independence elections whose results exposed a development whose implications were far from reaching not only in terms of racism but also in terms of regional and tribal groupings. Furthermore, PF (ZAPU) was to go through political restriction and arrests. It was the resilience of the general membership that PF (ZAPU) ploughed through and today we continue to make our contribution to the future wellbeing of our great country Zimbabwe. Your central committee wishes to salute you the delegates and those you represent here today.

Concerned that any further delay in arresting the trend and indeed any procrastination would endanger the sovereignty and independence of Zimbabwe, and in pursuance of the desires of the people of Zimbabwe as expressed in Resolution No.6 of the 1984 Congress, your central committee resolved to express its concern over the apparent trends as demonstrated by the results of the 1985 general election to the then State President, Cde Banana whose concern about disunity well known. The initiative taken by your central committee led to a meeting between the leaders of PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF).

The following months saw the establishment of a negotiating committee made up of six people of whom three came from PF (ZAPU) and three from ZANU (PF). The constitution of this committee clearly demonstrated a desire by both PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) to not only arrest the trend, but also to seek a lasting solution that would change the course.

The task of the negotiating team was to produce a formula that concerned with the polarization and fragmentation and disintegration that evidenced itself, the quest for unity further manifested itself on the faces of many Zimbabweans whose concerns propelled your central committee to work tirelessly with a view to arresting the inevitable catastrophe.

It became obvious that there was the danger of the country disintegrating and regrouping into lagers and thereby creating an environment conducive to exploitation by the common enemy., would yield the unity of the two major parties whose merger would provide a basis for broader unity of the people of Zimbabwe in accordance with your resolution No. 6 of the Sixth Congress of 1984.

The other area of concern as evidenced in the post-independence general election of 1985, was racial polarization. This unhealthy situation necessitated the need to examine some of the provisions of our constitution, in particular the entrenched racial clauses. Your central committee was convinced that unless these racial provisions were removed from our constitution, not only would they provide fertile ground for racism in reverse, but would also make the establishment of a United Front a far cry.

It was with this in mind that your central committee resolved to empower those members of Parliament who had been retained on a PF (ZAPU) ticket to support any amendments that sought to rid the constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe of racism. We believed that any delays in instituting amendments was a continued negation of the establishment of a society based on rights and not privileges.

When presenting the proposals for an independence constitution for Zimbabwe, during the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference, the PATRIOTIC FRONT said:

“the Independence Constitution of Zimbabwe will ensure the genuine transfer of effective power to the people, and will provide for all citizens of the country to have security and not privilege under the Rule of Law, equal rights without discrimination, and the right to be governed by a democratically elected government of their choice on the basis of universal adult suffrage.” The removal of white representation was therefore a timely step in the right direction.

Your central committee is further convinced that current retention of whites in the Parliament of Zimbabwe is totally in line with the spirit of your 1984 Congress Resolution as it broadens representation. Your central committee believed that while negotiations progressed, there was a need to continuously improve the environment to ensure the success of what the two parties, that is PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) set out to achieve.

To establish the commonality of the objective, the negotiating teams were to first require that both parties declare their commitment to unity, which commitment was latter qualified as “irrevocable”.

The period between October 1985 and December 1987 will indeed remain an historical period for many years to come. However, your committee views the final outcome as the most important element, as it is a result of that outcome that this congress is convinced.

Your central committee now wishes to place that outcome before you for your consideration, examination, debating and thereafter request your resolution.

AGREEMENT OF UNITY BETWEEN THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (PATRIOTIC FRONT) AND PATRIOTIC FRONT (ZAPU)

P R E A M B L E

Conscious of the historical links between ZANU (PF) and PF (ZAPU) in the struggle for national independence and democracy through the strategy of the Armed Struggle and their alliance under the banner of Patriotic Front;

Cognisant of the fact that the two parties jointly command the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe as evidenced by the general election results of 1980 and 1985 respectively;

Notwithstanding that ZANU (PF) commands a greater percentage of the said overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe;

Desirous to unite our nation, establish peace, law and order and to guarantee social and economic development and political stability;

Determined to eliminate and end the insecurity and violence caused by dissidents in Matabeleland;

Convinced that national unity, political stability, peace, law and order, social and economic development can only be achieved to their fullest under conditions of peace and the unity primarily of ZANU (PF) and PF (ZAPU);

We, the two leaders of ZANU (PF) and PF (ZAPU), that is to say, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) and Comrade Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, President of PF (ZAPU), assisted by a sub-committee of equal members of ZANU (PF) and PF (ZAPU), held ten meetings to discuss the possible unity of our two parties as follows:

1 st Meeting: 2 nd October, 1985	:	Parliament Building
2 nd Meeting: 28 th November, 1985	:	Parliament Building
3 rd Meeting: 4 th April, 1986	:	Parliament Building
4 th Meeting: 22 nd July, 1986	:	Parliament Building
5 th Meeting: 29 th December, 1986	:	Parliament Building
6 th Meeting: 25 th February, 1987	:	Parliament Building
7 th Meeting: 3 rd August, 1987	:	Parliament Building
8 th Meeting: 10 th August, 1987	:	Parliament Building
9 th Meeting: 23 rd October, 1987	:	Parliament Building
10 th Meeting: 10 th December, 1987	:	Parliament Building

Consequent upon these meetings, and paying due regard to all the principal issues raised thereat, we have agreed as follows:

nd development, which were the central purpose of our struggle. Our historic responsibility is the first reason for our realization that unity will enable us to fulfil the task.

Your central committee, is conscious of its responsibility to you the people who tasked us. Our duty today is to submit to you this agreement. To explain it to you, to show why it is a positive move in the interest not only of the members of PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) but of all Zimbabweans. Your task is to ensure that you understand it, and to decide through the democratic process. The strength and lasting quality of an agreement depends upon it being understood and once democratically accepted, it then can claim the whole-hearted commitment and support of the people.

We need not under any circumstances admit to the temptation to explain away the fact that PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) are the two organizations that relentlessly prosecuted the armed struggle until victory against settler colonialism.

The realities of history sometimes find themselves pitted against the strategies of opportunism whose major aim is the distortion of history. These tendencies can hold sway in any nation if and then the custodians of a heroic history develop a laziness of mind, become the consumers of the recent in the absence of a consciousness of history and consequently lose the lessons history has bestowed on their nation.

This unity accord opens up vistas for the economy of the country through the participation of all the people in the developmental programs. While it is true that the drought and the world recession have adversely affected development, our own inability to create conditions for the mobilization of the whole nation to participate in debate, planning and execution of the development programs of the economy was the gravest failure, as the masses were diverted into senseless and divisive squabbles.

Your central committee is convinced that the unity of PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) will create the necessary political climate that will enable us together to address ourselves to the objectives of the national development plans, define our priorities and objectively establish such policies as would guarantee success.

Lack of growth and development in the economy has many implications for the nation. It means joblessness, misery for thousands of our people young and old, urban and rural. It is the firm belief of your central committee that this agreement will meaningfully contribute to the creation of a conducive and healthy investment climate.

We have an obligation as a people to initiate sound policies and strategies that are promotive of sustained economic growth, so that we can ensure the creation of employment opportunities for our people.

We must all advance resolutely toward becoming a united people with a high level of awareness of its role in economic development. Our dreams of yesterday have become today's reality, our dreams if today must become a reality tomorrow.

Your central committee is convinced that the process of nation building demands the united effort of all Zimbabweans. This is a difficult process particularly after the long years of armed struggle and the painful experiences of our nation's post-independence period.

Nation building involves the inculcation of a sense of oneness among all Zimbabweans. Such oneness cannot be achieved by autonomous diffusion or by evolution. It has to be induced through the interplay of a complex of formal organizations. The most important of these organisations are the two major political parties PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF).

It is therefore the firm belief of your central committee that through a united political action, the process of Further, your central committee is convinced that the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from under development is inextricably related to the struggle to democratize national institutions and as a result change all the ensemble of the nation's social relations.

Accordingly, a new frontier is in the making. It is not the frontier of the political straight jacket into which the individual and collective abilities of citizens will be hemmed in and suppressed: rather it is a frontier under which all citizens are enjoined to build their nation, promote and defend democracy.

Your central committee submits that, fundamental to the integrative objective, is the postulate for the building of a nation free from division, a nation with a national idiom under freedom and democracy.

Nation building will result in national integration. Once achieved, national integration shall constitute Zimbabwe's political capital – a resource for action.

We need not belabour the fact that unity agreement seeks, inter alia, the achievement of a wide set of objectives. Firstly, it seeks a process for the inauguration of a democracy which of necessity presupposes the inception of the aggregation of our people's values and their ideological orientations. It seeks a broad national consensus and a collective consciousness that would, with the transiency of time, engender a national perception on both the problems and opportunities in our nation.

The unity agreement seeks a basis for an institution building mechanism that will rationalize the nation's management of the institutions of social business. Your central committee anticipates that political development leading to national integration will culminate in Zimbabwe's attainment of a civic culture. This civic culture, under unity can only survive under a state of a strong sense of patriotism, for patriotism is the most reliable non-economic motive for allegiance.

It is given that national policies have their own contextual verities: the environment, the competence of institutions, the ideological basis and morale of the political system and that of citizens. Among these factors, problems facing a nation are often new opportunities that a nation seizes upon to redirect the course of its development.

Your central committee asserts that the problem of division in Zimbabwe has had adverse effects on both the policy making process and national development, generally. Accordingly, your central committee posits the achievement of unity on the enablement of the following policy related perspectives:

- The nation shall achieve national competence which will enhance the legitimacy and acceptability of national policies and programmes.
- Through national development involving the mass of our people, egalitarian groundings of the policy formulation and implementation process shall be realized; The mobilization potential that

is subsumed in unity will lead to the deepening of social consciousness, mass participation and democracy;

- The broad national consensus, shall be national concision encompassing the multi-dimensional activities of Zimbabweans in all walks of life.

Your central committee accepts that some issues and activities are organized through politics whilst others are organized out of politics. For the nation to achieve and sustain the will and capacity to promote development, unity is essential;

Neither individual events of national history nor events taken collectively can be understood unless due account is taken of the general correlation of forces in the given nation. This applies also to Zimbabwe. Such analysis and evaluation should focus on those forces actively influencing the national situation at the given time. The forces impinging on the state of the peace constitute the linkage of all other factors. Your central committee is convinced that social progress is linked to the state of the peace for its durability is in direct proportion to its equity, to how fully reliable social problems have been solved.

A peace built on denial of the need for transformations in society is a peace without a firm foundation. To achieve a durable peace Zimbabwe must respond to the pressures of social forces. For without a realistic response to these forces political ideas and development policies are stillborn. Consequently, the most urgent national agenda is to establish peaceful conditions in our communities and in the nation as a whole, institutionalize and even more open national dialogue in order to unleash the inherent potentialities of our people and also ensure that a frontier is drawn between the areas of private life and that of public authority in order to develop the democratic process. The achievement of unity should bring about peace, stability and progress.

Your central committee recognizes that problems of providing social services to all Zimbabweans cannot be solved overnight. The instruments and resources available to our nation are limited.

The agenda for social progress is a long one. It includes the issues of land reform, decentralization, housing, education and literacy, health and health delivery systems, the disabled rehabilitation, social security, cultural development, crime prevention, community development, and women's rights. Your central committee is convinced that the unity between PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) provides an opportunity for broad and serious resolution of these national problems.

Your central committee is resolute in its support for the liberation of countries still suffering under the yoke of oppression and racism. In this connection, your central committee views the achievement of unity as providing Zimbabwe with strength to support the armed struggles being waged in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine. The unity between PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) should enable the nation to be firm in its condemnation of imperialism and neo-colonialism in other areas of the world. Further, the achievement of unity could unleash a telling blow to the divisive antics of our detractors in the region and in other areas of the globe. A united Zimbabwe will be able to present a credible and effective posture in the struggle against destabilization.

COM M E N T A R Y

Zimbabwe has enjoyed its political independence for almost eight years now. That independence was won by a long and bitter struggle against the forces of the racist's minority settler regime.

The regime feared to lose their privileges and profits gained for decades at the expense of the majority in Zimbabwe. They exaggerated this fear – arguing that a free Zimbabwe would mean racist retaliation and extermination or at best, destruction of the country's infrastructure and economy by a combination of mismanagement and greed. They assumed the masses of Zimbabwe were dampen prawns in the hands of selfish demagogues hiding behind socialist rhetoric. They saw them as an undistinguishable conglomerate of people who had no identity, had no self-respect, had no vision of the world and no capacity to conceive of and work for the future.

They were wrong. As wrong as they had been to mistake our people's and leaders' patience and search for peaceful solutions, for capitulation to perpetual serfdom. As wrong as they had been to believe we had neither the ability nor the stomach to organize and fight a war.

We do not claim that we in Zimbabwe are perfect, make no mistake, never mislead and never delude ourselves. On the contrary, we know our shortcomings and weaknesses. We have suffered for them. But – and this is the vital quality we must strive to retain and develop – we have a collective vision of what Zimbabwe means in terms of justice, order, democracy and freedom.

It is the vision for which thousands of Zimbabweans – peasant, workers, intellectuals and even businessman died. It is a vision that has been kept alive and developed since 1980. It was struggled for in the election of 1985. If some of our people and our leaders had a distorted view of that vision of Zimbabwe, the collective vision, the Zimbabwe people's vision has remained constant.

It is first and foremost a national vision. It includes the whole country, all its people and all its communities. It is a vision of prosperity, health and happiness for all, without discrimination and thus necessarily, without exploitation. It is a vision of peace, in which the enormous society and the wealth of our land can be enjoyed in good measure by all of our capable talented and good people, without the distortions created by unreasonableness and greed.

It is an exceedingly ambitious vision, save might even say, an unrealistic or miraculous vision. But we believe in it, and there is evidence that other people (including those who are not our friends) suspect that Zimbabwe, its people and its leaders can (and have) and will perform miracles. Indeed, considering the repressive history that enshrouded us until 1980, and the cruel militaristic and aggressive shadow of apartheid which threatens us every day, we must believe in our capacity to do the impossible to go on.

Today the leadership of the Patriotic Front (ZAPU) addresses its members in relation to a major landmark in the process of turning that Zimbabwe vision into reality.

The fact that to achieve our vision we the people of Zimbabwe have still enormous obstacles to overcome. They are as difficult and as complex (if not more so) as those we faced before 1980. Let us consider a few of them.

WAR AND DESTABILISATION

The people of Zimbabwe have as little choice in avoiding the aggression imposed upon our region by the Apartheid South African regime, as they had to avoid the repression of the minority rule under the Rhodesians. History has imposed this burden upon us. We can (as we have) be as cautious as is possible in our relations with the now military powerful but ultimately terminal system of apartheid, but it is systematically unable to avoid external aggression as long as the racist evil persists.

We cannot afford, in this historic situation, to have even one disloyal or unreliable Zimbabwean when dealing with this particular enemy or any of its surrogates.

South Africa will as it has, exploit and expand the smallest crack in our national armour. For this reason, because of this tragic state of undeclared but constantly activated war, national unity is not only vital, it is irreplaceable. The unity of PF (ZAPU) and ZANU (PF) is the most essential link in the claim of unity, but on the basis of this we must all of us, dedicate ourselves to strengthen every other link. No people, no community must be caused to choose disloyalty to Zimbabwe and support of our unity agreement must form the new base for self-defense. (Unity against Apartheid). It must be the basis for the broadest national mobilization to defend Zimbabwe and the Front Line State, and to strengthen our common resolve and our allied ability to bring an end to Apartheid – and thus peace to our people.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The conquest of political independence as we all know was the first and smallest step in the road to real independence and self-reliance. The struggle for economic independence is a worldwide problem. But we must find the best way of achieving it, each and every state, in our own realities.

The doctrines of divide and rule, so essential and central tool in the imperialist politics strategy remains a major danger in the economic field. Investment is needed to develop our agriculture and our industry, and some of this has been and will be foreign investment. Our economy is still in fact dominated by such investors. What we must reduce, and avoid in future, is the tendency which such investments tend to emphasize between the rich and the poor. It is tempting for the fortunate Zimbabwean to join this game, to gain their favours and prerequisites. The pattern of the very wealthy co-existing with a majority of poor and unemployed is not only contrary to the vision for which so many died, it is also contrary to good civic sense.

It is a formula for alienation, for cynicism and for trouble. We must use our new found unity to re-examine our priorities and the way in which we have distributed and are distributing our wealth.

In particular, our unity should provide a strong base to enable us to make difficult but sensible decisions about where and how to invest what we have.

Decision not always pleasing to everyone. We will need the trust and confidence in one another which only the growth of unity can assure us.

Trust and common national interest – of all of us, of all our children in the future will be the necessary guidelines. Unity alone will provide the strong framework for decisions needed.

White Zimbabweans must also identify themselves by whatever positive means they can with this unity. The fact is they are very important element in our national life. Thus they must be active in the mobilized unity that this agreement will lay the foundation for. But it must be an alive, a free democratic unity to be strong enough to deal with challenges that we face.