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Raising Reformers for Nation Building

The Zimbabwe Development Framework

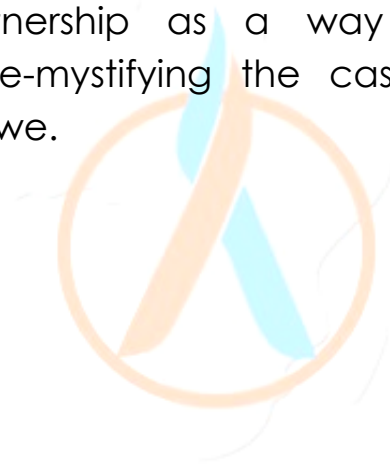
Re-Building a Fractured Nation

A Paper Outlining a New Approach in Addressing Public-Private
Sector Partnership, Community Healing & Reconciliation, Moral
Values, Political Development, Social Services & Infrastructure,
Business & Economy for the Government of National Unity (GNU) in
Zimbabwe"

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Preamble

The institution of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe on the 13th of February 2008, will bring the realities of the need for national recovery and development. The fundamental challenge of the GNU is that, never after Independence have we been faced with a task of such a diverse and in-depth multi-party government. With such challenges comes the protruding task for development and recovery. Hinged on this perspective, this paper outlines some basic yet fundamental need to re-invigorate Public-Private Sector Partnership as a way of depolarization, de-politicization and de-mystifying the case of Development and Recovery for Zimbabwe.



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About the Author

Trevor Maisiri is a holder of a Bachelors degree in Applied Chemistry, a Masters degree in Leadership and Management and currently persuing his PhD Research Proposal for enrolment. He currently works as the Executive Director of the African Reform Institute (ARI), an organisation he helped found which focusses on Political Leadership and Governance Training as well as Political Research, Documentation, Policy Advocacy, Documentation and Publication.

Trevor is a certified practioner in Re-intergration of Ex-combatants, Aternatives-to-Violence (AVP), Transforming Violence & Building Peace (TVBP) and Dialogue for Peaceful Change (DPC). He has a passion for the development and recovery of Zimbabwe. Trevor is also a church Pastor.



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Definitions

“ZANU (PF)”:	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
“MDC”:	Movement for Democratic Change
“UNICEF”	United Nations Children's Educational Fund
“GNU”	Government of National Unity
“GPA”	Global Political Agreement of the 15 of September 2008
“NIPC”	National Incomes and Pricing Commission
“NECF”	National Economic Consultative Forum
“NGO”	Non Governmental Organizations
“MP”	Member of Parliament



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1.0 Introduction

The acceptance by the Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC - T) to join the government of national unity (GNU) brings a new reality to the doorsteps of all Zimbabweans. Laced with the high expectations that Zimbabweans now have for a definite way out of the current socio-economic and political maze, the platform for the GNU has some marked complexities, that can however be contained. Since September 15, 2008 when the Global Political Agreement (GPA) was signed, there has been some rarefied projections and expectations all punctuated by what seemed unknown. Now that a clear way forward has been exhibited, there is now need for all effort in making all transitional mechanisms conform to expectation.

The institution of a GNU is not going to be an easy task and neither will it automatically resolve the issues at hand. It however seems a progressive way that will only be justified by the capacity of the principals and their parties to patriotically expend themselves for the mere good of nation building. Politicking and below-the-belt tactics will only serve to confirm the fears of those whose perception on the GNU is influenced by the experiences of the past. One of the critical factors that need to be considered in creating smooth transitions and an efficient working relationship is the support mechanisms that are created for the GNU. On its own and in isolation, the GNU becomes a vacuumed entity which works against or without consideration of the robust socio-economic and political structures outside of those in the mainstream political ring. The success of the GNU will very much depend on how it is able to harness the energies of other players who may not be in the political fray of the current dispensation. These players need to be both political and apolitical systems, institutions and individuals. The collective responsibility

of the functions of the GNU must not only be concentrated on the political entities constituting it, but rather even those without such confines.

The consideration must also be flexible enough to even look beyond the historical applications that have existed in resolving issues in Zimbabwe. The GNU framework must allow for other creative, innovative and yet aggressive ways of creating a platform for success. This will therefore mean a lot of internal resolve on the parties to accept and adopt new ways, new thinking and new mechanisms for national progress. The ownership of the process must also be shared outside of the concentric circles within which political power is vested, but to the generality of the progressive Zimbabwean fabric. This paper is a basic proposal on some foundational and structural issues that the parties formulating the GNU must consider in order to create a sustainable mechanism for the institution and functioning of the GNU.



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2.0 Philosophical Considerations

One of the main challenges that the GNU will face is the complex philosophical framework of how most Zimbabweans had found themselves defined by the current national challenges. Every Zimbabwean had been thrown into survival mode and living had become a daily consideration of strategies and means. In that manner, there are a lot of fundamental principles and values that Zimbabweans had lost along the way. Instead they had adapted to survival-means, mechanisms and strategies, even if these went against the much enshrined beliefs of humanity, culture and religion. Zimbabweans were found more in the streets than in offices, more in the beer halls than classrooms, more in the prison cells than in the agricultural fields. Life had become too fast, and for some ruthless aggression had become a determinant of survival. Young and old, all became victims of the fast-sweeping wave of de-humanized survival tactics and lifestyles. Traditionally, Zimbabweans were known to be a highly respectable, religious, principled, academic, peace-loving and dignified people. These values and descriptions were eroded by the economic challenges that faced the nation from the mid 1990's to-date. The philosophy of life changed and this discredited the traditional Zimbabwean way of life. In the implementation of development under the GNU, there must be some consideration to this philosophical appendage. Development must not therefore just be physical but must focus on reclaiming the philosophy of life. This proposal is also made taking such factors into account.

In that light, development must be derived from a common value system. In most contemporary development models, there is a lot of disregard for value systems. The omission of the value system from any development model brings about unsustainability. The reason why many nations have

been able to capitulate sustainable development is from an understanding of the need for a value system as the core binder. The countries of Japan, Germany, the United States of America, China have all redeemed their economies and national status from a foundational basis of a core value system. This must be a start point for Zimbabwe. Trying to re-build our nation without a functional basis of a value system will lead us back into the cyclic realm of under development and depletion. In as much as development is physical, its sustainability is very metaphysical and is inwardly motivated by the heart's compulsion towards a value system, which system we lack in Zimbabwe.



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3.0 Multi-party Democracy

One political reality that Zimbabweans have been trying to push against since independence in 1980 has been the institution of a one-party state. This is an old accolade of the communist world, which has however been at variance with modern day democracy. One party state mechanism seems to seek dominance which is sustained by the non-availability of political options. It encloses people into a political thought process that is very aligned and conducive for manipulation. Diversity has become the cornerstone of political systems the world over. The pressures that diversity brings, if well harnessed can result in political leadership competence and active leadership.

As the MDC and ZANU (PF) move into the GNU, one important thing to note is that, this is the beginning of a process that will never be reversed. The advent of multi-party democracy is on our doorsteps and it will never step away. In the early 1980's, just after independence, most Zimbabweans became less politically active and surrendered the political reigns of the country to the one party that was dominant then. If we look at the voter turnout from the 1980's into the 1990's we realize an average of less than 45%. This clearly shows the low political engagement by Zimbabweans on issues of political governance. It is however important to note that with such a low average and activity, politics really is the central core and determinant of all socio-economic and even religious issues. For a population to be inactive in determining who rules them and how they rule is really a negation of national and natural duty. This in essence gave a free reign to politicians in Zimbabwe, of which results we have come to realize. The challenges that the nation faces today is really due to structural causes of the framework of our democracy early in the life of Zimbabwe. Our democracy framework was so poor that it either

excluded the majority of the population from participating in politically relevant landmarks as elections or it promoted the abuse of political authority by single entities. Those structural causes brought about the proximate causes realized in 2008.

Moving forward, I do not see Zimbabweans going back to such negation of duty or to allowing a single political entity to outrightly manipulate and control the political systems. Zimbabweans have become aware and will not again resign their heritage to such misdemeanor. The GNU looks like a transitional mechanism with the holding of elections after a period within two to five years (if my interpretation of the document is right). As MDC and ZANU (PF) enter into the GNU it is wise to best advise them that even that election will not likely see a clean sweep by any of the parties. The likely scenarios are: either the two parties will remain in control with one having a slight edge or there may be new political parties that may also come and dilute them. This dilution will also erode the prospects of outright majority paving way for future governments constituted by more than one political party. What the two parties need to be aware of is that the era of multi-party democracy has set in Zimbabwe. Their biggest advantage is that they are entering the GNU as a taste and show of how Zimbabwean politics will be for a very long time. They therefore need to learn the roles of political co-existence fast enough to allow them to continue in such arrangements even after the next election. It is also wise that the parties focus more on building a workable coalition rather than doing each other down, below-the-belt tactics and causing political extinction of the other. Zimbabwean politics has taken a new shape and it is those who are best able to adapt who will survive. Extinction will be the destiny of those working against the proper functioning of the GNU and the existence of multi-partism and coalition governments thereafter.

4.0 Institutional de-politicization and de-polarization

In the era of the past, when ZANU (PF) had been in power and solely in government, many apolitical institutions had become politicized. The functions of some state organs had been aligned to one party, against the service charter to the nation. The police and the army stand out as some of such institutions. Now that there is a realization that there is need to prepare for the institution of coalition governments to follow (even after the expiry of the current GNU) the most progressive way is to de-politicize such organs. Appointments in the public sector and to some extent even public sector had all at some point been politicized.

The lifetime of the GNU must mark a serious intention to create de-politicized national organs that will serve across political divides. Such noble cause need to be prioritized. Even as the MDC takes over other functions, the party must overcome the temptation to continue with politicization, this time in their own favor. MDC and ZANU (PF) must both endeavor to re-build institutional and de-politicization capacity for the sake of laying a foundation for the future of multi-partism in Zimbabwe.

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5.0 Private-Public Sector Partnerships

One of the most critical areas in national development is the capacity for the private and public sectors to partner in addressing challenges. The private sector provides a very in-depth and independent knowledge base. It also draws from the wide representation from across sectors. One of the major failures of African governments has been the failure to streamline and create efficient public and private sector relationships. Governments have tended to be uncomfortable with the criticism coming from private sector players.

In the past there has been the formation of various commissions in Zimbabwe in order to deal with various sectoral challenges. These commissions were formed by both public and private sector players in order to cement such partnership.

The only shortfall was that, most of these commissions ended up being politicized and polarized. Examples of such commissions are the National Incomes and Pricing Commission (NIPC), the Anti Corruption Commission, the National Economic Consultative Forum (NECF) and many others. Most of the commissions instituted failed to discharge their duties due to the following reasons:

a) *Partisan and Polarization*

Instead of effecting their full discharge of duty, these commissions ended up being extensions of the political machinery. This affected their work so much that their value-addition became minimal; instead they sustained government policy even where it was at odds with common reason and sense. Manipulation of the commissions was done through the appointment of partisan personnel.

b) *Crisis-based*

Most of the commissions were appointed to deal with crises. This degraded them to non-developmental status as they merely focused on containing the crisis. Instead of creating models, advising on policy and implementing dimensions of development, they merely worked as watchdog committees without mandate or interest to innovate for progress. Now that the nation needs to move into development gear, it will be necessary to appoint commissions that are developmental with a mandate to look into the short, medium and long term framework of development for the nation.

c) *Terms of Reference*

Though most of the commissions were enacted through parliament, they lacked some professional authority. Their authority was vested on political patronage and polarization. Some worked with or under certain ministries and merely became extensions. They were not accountable to parliament directly but to ministries and government departments. This brought them into variance with parliamentary preference, and under the manipulation of ministries.

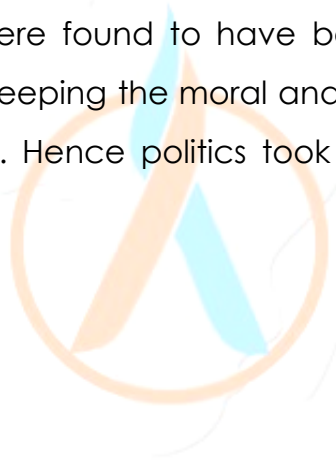
d) *Lack of Global focus*

Whilst the challenges that Zimbabwe faces may be unique, there is however a need to refer and relate to the global trends. Most of the commissions that were appointed were very much inward focused and had no mandate to either engage or relate at global level in their quest to resolve national challenges. This limited their scope as

well as dwarfing their work ethics and professionalism. Commissions should therefore have had the mandate to have global focus and interactions in order to keep abreast with the global village and its related development.

e) *Moral Consideration*

Most of the commissioners were the perpetrators of corruption through their influence. Some of the appointments gave precedence to political inclination at the expense of moral and ethical conduct of the persons. Some of the members of the commissions were found to have been at fault at some point of their life in up keeping the moral and ethical standards of serving in a public office. Hence politics took charge and personhood was delimited.



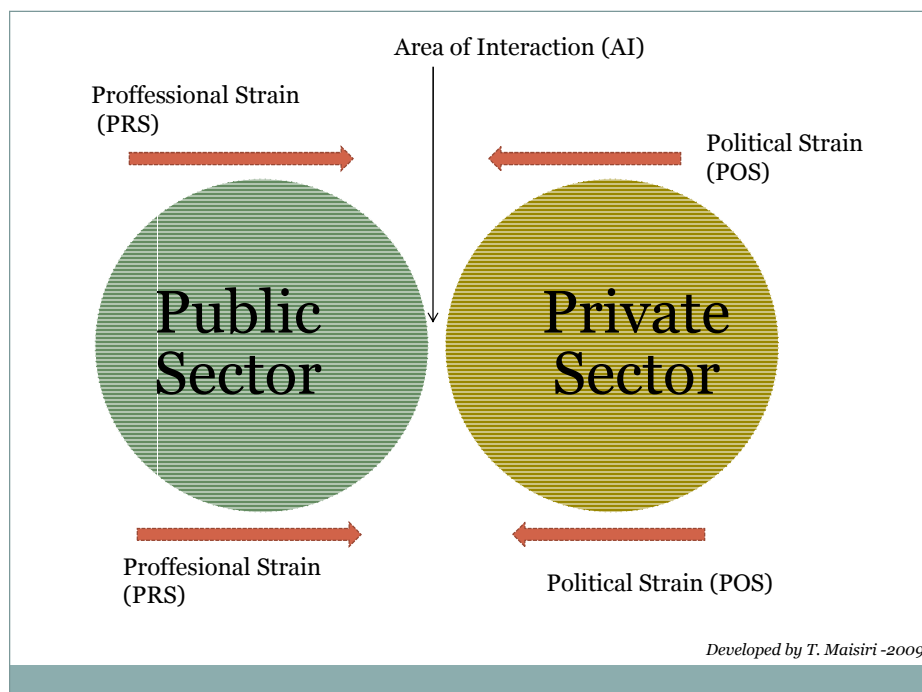
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Creating a Hybrid Private-Public Sector relationship

In order to create a workable relationship between the private and public sectors, there needs to be some wholesome consideration of the model represented below. These models are based on the interaction levels of the public and private sectors.

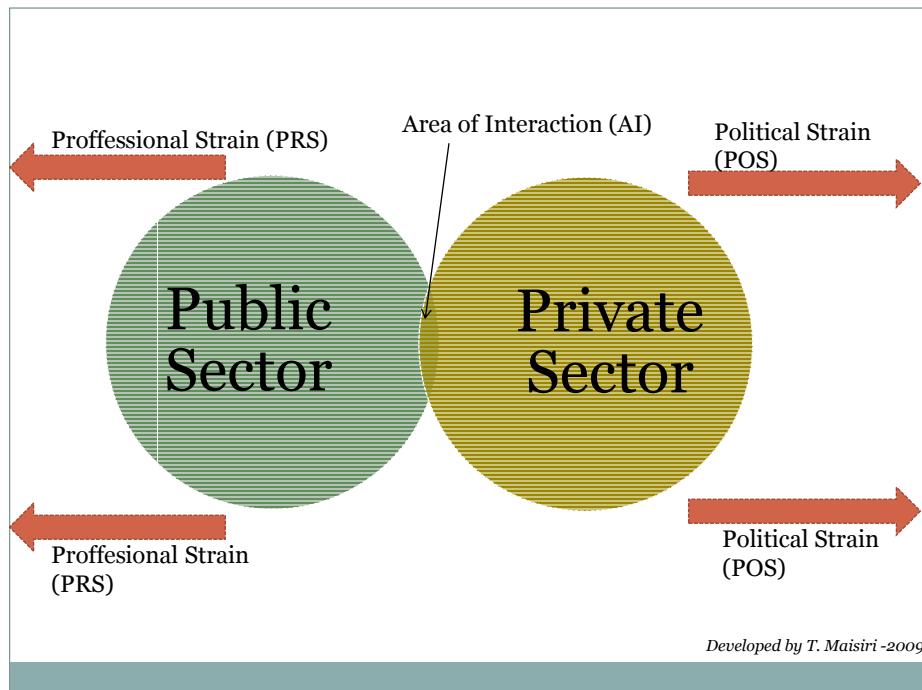
Gap Interaction (GI)



In Gap Interaction (GI), there is so much political strain applied on the private sector that it causes it to confront the public sector. In the same scenario there may be so much professional strain applied to the public sector that it also causes confrontation with the private sector. Where such confrontation is experienced, there is basically no interaction at all between the two sectors. This creates a gap in the Area of Interaction (AI). This situation leads to animosity between the sectors leading to a

total collapse of their working partnership. Its results are normally collapsed states and multi-directional fundamentals.

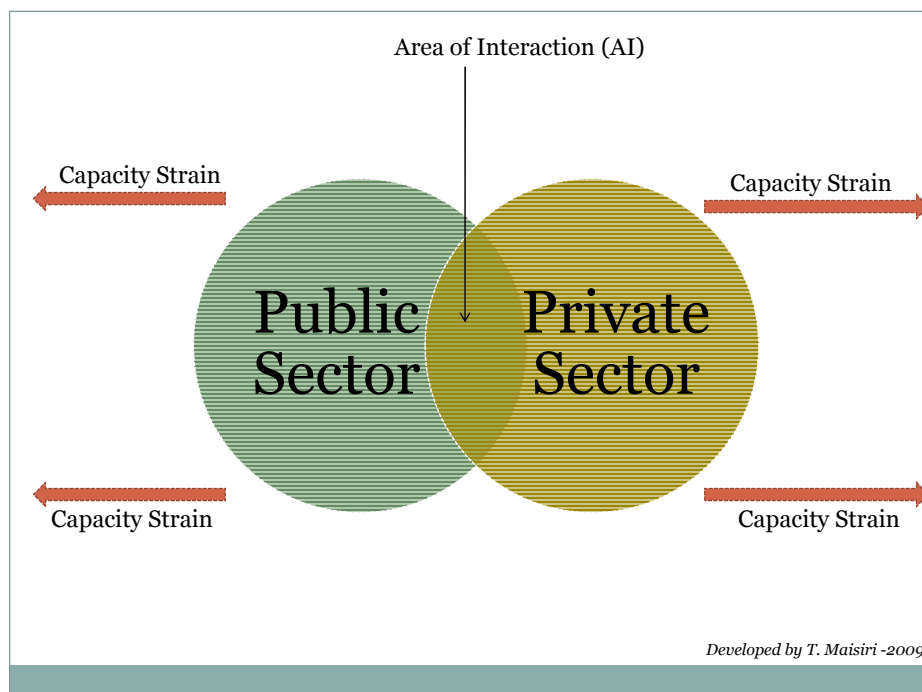
Low-Phase Interactions (LPI)



The Low Phase Interaction (LPI) represents the lowest ebb of interaction between the private sector and the public sector. In this model, there are some very minimal interactions between the two. Political pressure applied to the public sector players normally forces the private sector to slowly withdraw from wholesome interactions with the public sector. In other cases, the professional pressure applied to the public sector can also cause some withdrawal by the government. In both cases this leaves a very small area of interaction (AI), which disqualifies any attempts for an efficient Public-Private sector partnership. Some of the causes of political and professional strain are basically autocratic systems by government, populist ideological framework, political ideology disproportion (e.g.

socialist government fighting capitalists), uncooperative and greed-ridden private sector, strict and uncompromised professional standards, government over-interventions in private sector affairs and many more. The LPI phase does not create a sustainable and development-breeding scenario for national progress.

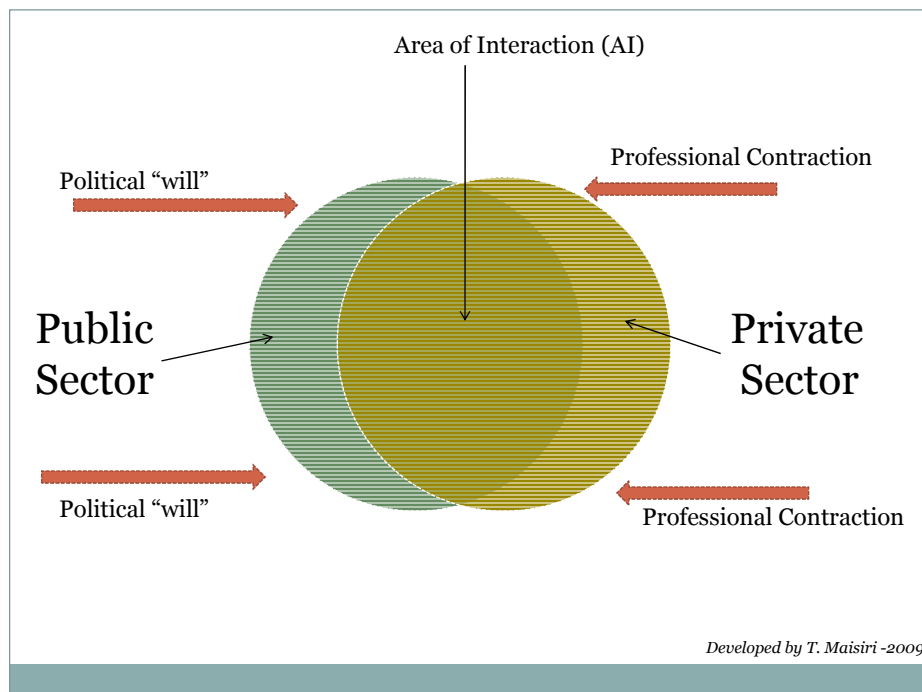
Mid-Phase Interaction (MPI)



In the Mid-Phase Interaction (MPI), there is some significant amount of interaction between the sectors. The constraints for interactions are not merely based on political and professional pressure like in the Low Phase model but rather on capacity constraints. There may be a willingness by both sectors to interact with each other but this is not maximized due to lack of capacity on either side. The lack of capacity can be expressed as either, government's indiscipline in policy implementation, lack of

functional platforms for interaction, lack of legislative support for the Public-Private sector initiative (it can become just a “talk-show”), no prioritization of the inter-sector relationship and many more other reasons. In this case willingness on both sides is expressed and intended, but there is clear lack of capacity for implementation, authority, application and functioning of the Public-Private Sector framework. The GNU is likely to face this Mid-Phase Interaction (MPI) as its greatest challenge. This paper is however meant to propose a mechanism to overcome the Mid-Phase Interaction syndrome.

High Phase Interaction (HPI)



The High-Phase Interaction (HPI) is the most ideal relationship between the Private and Public sectors. It is characterized by a high level of interaction and co-operation between the sectors. This high level interaction is as a result of government’s political will in working with the private sector. This

willingness is based on government's preparedness to include "Technocrats" in its ranks whilst creating platforms where they can input into government policy frame-working regardless of their political inclination or lack of it. Technocracy has become a new and modern ideology of infusing private and public sector efficiencies to create harmonized national development.

In the model above, professional contraction represents the willingness by the private sector to contract from its "aloof" shell and cooperate with government in instituting national development. In this aspect, Private sector normally responds well if they are assured of a voice that will be taken seriously and will have some influence on legislative issues.



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6.0 Creating a New Framework for Development

As Zimbabwe finds itself with a GNU the issues raised in this paper need to be considered critically. In this consideration there needs to be a new framework that harnesses the energies of the country into a development channel, which will result in what we all aspire to see – a developing country. This new framework must primarily focus on harnessing and re-establishing workable relationships with the private sector. There is no rung on the development ladder that we can ever climb to if the current impasse between the private and public sector is sustained. This paper therefore proposes a new working framework as highlighted.

Looking back all the initiatives that government has tried to implement in order to reinvigorate Public-Private sector partnerships, a lot of shortfalls were realized as highlighted earlier in this paper. My proposal is for the immediate dissolution of all commissions that had been appointed, as the basis of their appointments and their terms-of-reference are really derogatory to promoting Public-Private sector partnerships. In their place, government needs to formulate five commissions as follows:

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1. Business and Economic Development Commission (BEDC)

This commission will look at all issues relating to business and the economy. It must derive its motivation from the need to focus on global and local issues and enhance our intention for revamping our nation. This commission must also go beyond the conventional and explore issues of coming up with an industrialization policy for Zimbabwe. It must investigate ways of instituting a Zimbabwean business culture that motivates growth. The Japanese developed quality systems and business philosophies that helped them out of the quagmire at the end of World War 2. Germany under Konrad Adenauer also explored and effected an

economic philosophy called the Social Market Economy. Together with its extensions it helped Germany wake up from the ashes of World War 2 to being one of the strongest economies in Europe today. Zimbabwe must therefore not follow conventionalism, but must rather be interventionistic in its approach in order to come up with a business philosophical framework, driven by the need to be unique yet progressive.

2. Social Services and Infrastructure Development Commission (SSIDC)

Social services and infrastructure is dilapidated. To leave the tall order of revamping this sector to government only would be unfair and non-productive. This commission must therefore be mandated work with government in addressing the revitalization of the social services and infrastructure. Towards the end of 2008, international organizations such as UNICEF (United Nations Children's Educational Fund) had taken over some social services. It is my conviction that with the inclusion of the private sector in such a framework, we will broaden our chances for revitalization.

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3. Moral Values and Human Relations Commission (MVHRC)

As mentioned earlier, one of the critical losses from the Zimbabwean crisis has been the moral fiber of our nation. I shudder to think what type of generations we will have in the future, if nothing is done to correct this ill. Morality and human relations have been ransacked. This commission will therefore focus on re-instituting moral values and principles. Traditionally we have seen the politicization and indoctrination of university, college, high school and even primary school children for political mileage. We must undo these acts and institute a proper and morally enriching curricula and social fabric in our nation. This commission must be

surrendered to religious leaders, whose spiritual leadership and influence will bear positively in transforming our society from moral decay and spoilt human relations. A nation will never develop beyond its respect for morality and love for others.

4. Political Development Commission (PDC)

My earlier conviction of the new tide of multi-party politics in Zimbabwe must be guarded and developed, in order to instill a democratic society. The GNU is seen as paving way for future coalition governments and a democratic society where political diversity is deduced as power and not a threat. This commission must be tasked with creating a democratic society allowing for the expression of political ideas and freedoms. It must lay the ground work for future multi-party politics in Zimbabwe. A lot of damage has been done through the politics of patronage and repression. A lot of people have stayed away from politics because it has been smeared with dirt, killings, torture, maiming, violence, etc. In this regard, a lot of education and restoration of public confidence in the political framework of the nation needs to be undertaken. This commission must therefore work across the political divide and promote a Zimbabwean democratic culture rather than enforce party agendas.

5. Community Re-building, Peace and Healing Commission (CRPHC)

The violence of 2008 and before can never be covered up. We can never talk of development before healing and reconciliation. Today a lot of the communities that were ravaged by the violence are bleeding. They are still torn apart, hurting and in pain. We cannot move a political or developmental agenda before we address the issues of the human heart.

The human heart and mind are complex; they cannot be covered up by anything physical. Neither can they be taken through and satisfied by quick-fix solutions. Sustainable development is only a result of sustainable peace and human relations. This commission must focus on re-building communities physically, emotionally, spiritually and mentally. A lot of people are still in need of physico-social healing and attention, which they never got. Some are still displaced. A lot have lost their economic earning capacity. Some still face the persons who terrorized them and their families, and don't know how to behave or react. Such a society is fragmented and emotionally unstable. It can be tempted to go back into the cyclical route of re-inventing other conflicts. We therefore need a commission that can address and look into these issues. We must remember that development is not just physical; it is emotional, philosophical, spiritual and also based on sustainable human relations. The church in Zimbabwe must play a critical role in this commission.

The government can consider branching out more commissions from the list above, however the essence is that most of the critical issues needing attention are covered in the above list. Government can also re-consider the names and nomenclature of the commissions as it desires, but again the main grain is the areas of focus highlighted.

Proposed Terms of References

Unlike previous commissions whose terms of references were dubious, personalized or abused, there is need to outline a clearer framework. My proposal is that the terms of reference be as outlined below:

a) “Think-Tank” Status

One of the greatest downfalls in Zimbabwe has really been mis-directed wisdom and thinking capacity. Many people have survived by employing their wisdom and brains in the destruction of the national fabric whilst enriching their personal entities. It is time to harness the wisdom of development-seeking Zimbabweans for the good of national progress. Many officers have also been appointed to so many boards and commissions without the willingness or capacity to “think”. The new commissions must be “think-tanks”, with ability, willingness and capacity to think creatively and innovatively in support of national development. Commissions must be “think-tanks” rather than rubber-stamping institutions.

b) Research

The commissions must have full blown research wings, with capacity for global and local research. Research is one way of addressing challenges in a systematic, sustainable and empirical way. Research will also arrest the harp hazard and flip-flop manner in which previous commissions have operated. There is need for substantial information and strategies in implementing development.

c) Policy Development Framework

The commissions must not only be policy enforcers but formulators. They must also have capacity to support government ministries and department in implementing policy. Traditionally, Zimbabwe has seen so many policies on paper but has lacked cut-throat implementation. The commissions must be the backward-integrated capacity that legislators rely upon in building the policy framework for national development. The commissions must enhance the capacity of legislators in instituting a broad and effective policy network which is critical for development. So many shallow, un-thought through and egoistic policies have been constituted due to the lack of strong technical back-up. The commissions should therefore fill this capacity supply gap.

d) *Documentation*

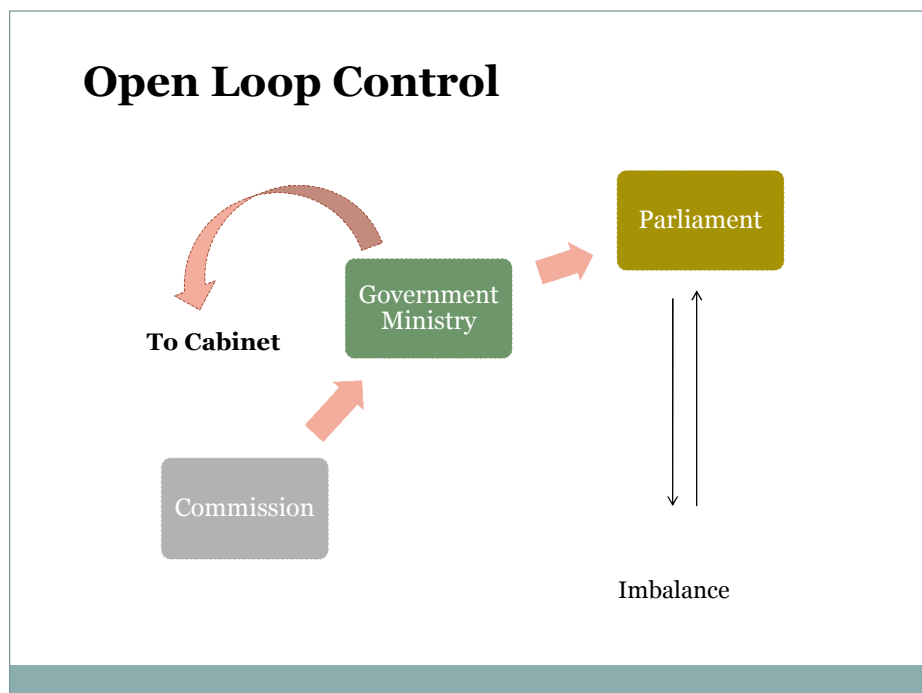
The commissions must also document and archive its work for posterity and reference purposes.

e) *Training and Development*

The commissions must also implement training and development programs. This must be targeted for legislators, civil servants, communities, government ministers and officials, NGO's and development sector and others. The commissions will have capacity to garner so much knowledge base which needs to be infused into the national fabric. Our civil service must have enhanced capacity, our Members of Parliament (MP's) must have enhanced capacity, and our government officials must have enhanced capacities, our universities, our communities and our people. The commissions must therefore be able to build capacity across our nation on issues of development.

Commissions' Authority Structure

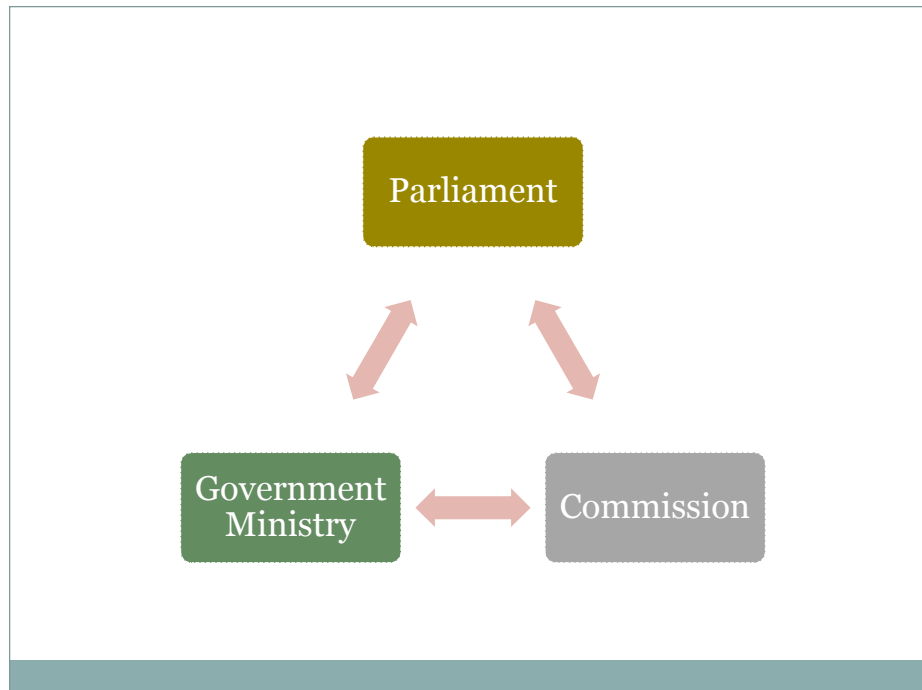
In order to ensure that we are not just re-cycling concepts and commissions, there must be a distinct operational framework from what we have seen in the past. One of the main areas which will bring success to the proposed concepts is the authority structure of the commissions. Previously we have seen commissions that are appointed by the ministers and report directly to ministries. This has brought a lot of inefficiencies into the operations of the appointed commissions. In most cases, ministries themselves have been inept. They have failed to implement policy and to operate within guidelines. They had also been heavily politicized even against development. The commissions conformed and became part of the furniture of failure in the various government ministries from where they had been appointed. Below is a representation of the Open Loop system of operation of most previous commissions:



In the Open Loop system, some of the commissions were appointed by the ministries and fell under the authority of those ministries. The ministries further reported to cabinet as well as to parliament. So there was a two tier reporting structure. Indirectly the commissions reported to cabinet (the executive) through the ministries and also to parliament (the legislature) again through the ministries. The system was open because the parliament (through its Parliamentary Portfolio committees) received reports from the ministries and had no formalized extension of its own technical and on-the-ground team to carry out some work on its behalf. The result was that commissions then came under the manipulation of government ministries. Parliament got its main input from the ministries. So in most cases this open loop system was subject to abuse by government ministries and the work of the commissions was also not legislative as it had to go through ministries. This greatly weakened the commissions.

Closed Loop System

My proposal is that the loop must be closed in order to increase the working framework and efficiency of the commissions as below:



In the Closed Loop System, the commissions are appointed by the Parliamentary Portfolio committees and report thereof directly. The commissions interact with government ministries in areas of policy implementation, capacity building and research. Though independent, this allows the commissions to be able to input into the policy framework by directly interacting with Parliamentarians. This will also ensure that the commissions advocate for issues that are paramount within the Public-Private Sector initiative.

7.0 Conclusion

This development proposal does not form the entirety of the agenda that Zimbabwe needs to move out of the current abysses. It is only additive to the massive concoction that most Zimbabweans are currently working on, in order to move our nation forward. The thoughts and processes presented are the author's and have been derived from observation and study.

It is also the author's conviction that not all material and ideas presented in this paper must be adopted in totality. The author also stands willing to engage any progressive individuals and organizations in pursuing dialogue, discussions, projects and agendas that will ultimately deliver healing, development, democracy, morality, tolerance and recovery to our beautiful nation of Zimbabwe.

By God, I stand guided.



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