

Religion and the Third Chimurenga: An Analysis of Church and State Relations in Zimbabwe 2000 to 2010

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Abstract

The first Chimurenga was characterised by one religious system confronting another. The people of Zimbabwe were slow to convert to Christianity due to what the missionaries referred to as attachment to their “backward” Shona traditions and religions, and the outspoken resistance of the Ndebele. Hence, it was not surprising to settlers and missionaries when the Shona joined the Ndebele in the first Chimurenga of 1896-7 (Baur 2005:309). The first seeds of evangelization had been planted by Father Goncalo da Silveira in 1560, followed by other Portuguese missionaries (1560-1693), the London Missionary Society and by the Jesuits (1879-1889) all these attempts failed to bear any fruit. The failure of evangelization made one thing obvious that evangelization would only be possible by the sword according to Father Prestage (Linden, 1979:10) the only remaining member of the Zambezi Mission. In 1890 several missionary groups such as the Dutch Reformed, British Anglicans, British and American Methodists and Catholics, joined British South African Company in the invasion of Zimbabwe, which subsequently led to the birth of the Christian Church in Zimbabwe. During the second Chimurenga, religion was again used as a rallying point for the liberation struggle and at the same time to legitimize Smith’s Unilateral Declaration of Independence, “We have struck a blow for the preservation of justice, civilization and Christianity (Rundolph, 1984:24). The third Chimurenga was not immune to the interface of religion and politics. The period gave rise to

many religious voices. The study will analyze several documents among them “The Zimbabwe We Want” (2006), the Catholic Bishop’s pastoral letter “God Hears the Cry of the Oppressed” (2007). The religious and political landscape in Zimbabwe has had a tumultuous relationship. Politicians have sought to use religion to legitimize and further their political and commercial interests. Unfortunately, the churches have by and large succumbed to the political thought of the day. However, no one will deny that religion has had a mitigating influence over the political leadership. Does the Church still have a prophetic voice and role in Zimbabwean politics? To what extent has the church been used by political opportunists for their own gains? These are the key questions that this study endeavours to explore.

Introduction

The year 2000 marks the beginning of a dark era in Zimbabwean history, a period of the worst violence to have taken place in post-independent Zimbabwe. The political polarization led to the crumbling of the economy. It also witnessed ambivalent relations between church and state. The Church in Zimbabwe has always enjoyed close ties with the government. In rare moments the church has been able to liberate itself from the claws of politicians and speak on the side of the poor and oppressed. The study will try and analyze the role played by the Church in the Zimbabwean crisis that marked

the third Chimurenga. The church in Zimbabwe played a major role in the third Chimurenga through its humanitarian work, silent diplomacy and prophetic voice.

Overview of the Decade

In order to appreciate the response of the church there is need to understand and appreciate the history of the Zimbabwean crisis in the last decade 2000 to 2010. The worsening economic crisis of the 1990s due to ESAP (Economic Structural Adjustment Programme) 1992, exacerbated by appeasement of the war veterans led to the collapse of the economy in 1996-97 including Zimbabwe involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in 1998. The economic collapse was worsened by the workers' industrial action and mass stay-aways. This eventually led to the closure of industries, and eventual fall of the Zimbabwe dollar. The ZCTU (Zimbabwe Congress Trade Union) emerged stronger leading to the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999.

Repositioning the Humanities: Journal of Contemporary Research

An alliance of civic groups came together to form the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) in 1996 to propose a constitution more in line with people's aspirations.

The rejection of the government driven constitution in 2000 marked the beginning of the Zimbabwean crisis. The rejection was a statement against the government's increasing totalitarianism and economic deterioration (Togarasei, 2013:99). This was the first time government had suffered a 'no vote' since independence in 1980. In an effort seen by many as hitting back on white commercial farmers for supporting the MDC, the ruling party supporters began invading white owned farms as punishment. This period was characterized by violence, racism, rape, torture and human rights abuse. On the political front, the country became extremely polarized, and this was worsened by the media. Operation Murambatsvina became the last nail on the coffin. Zimbabwe went on a downward spiral leading to a crisis of epic proportions.

Response of the Church

In Zimbabwe, the churches have been represented by these umbrella bodies namely, the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference (ZCBC) and Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ). A number of organisations were formed in response to the Zimbabwean crisis for instance, the Churches of Manicaland, Christians Together for Justice and Peace, Churches in Bulawayo, Christian Alliance and Zimbabwe National Pastor's Conference (Togarasei, 2013:100). Prior to Zimbabwe's attainment of political independence in 1980 the Churches were mostly represented by the Catholic Church and members of the Rhodesia Council of Churches representing mostly mainline churches.

Ambivalent role of the Church During the British South African Company Rule

Cecil John Rhodes encouraged close relationships between the British South African Company (BSAC)

and the missionaries during the colonial period. He showed this by giving large tracts of land to missionaries 3000 acres per missionary, at Chishawasha the Jesuits were given 12 000 acres and the American United Methodist were lucky to inherit all the buildings of the British South African Company plus 13 000 acres of land in Mutare (Baur 1998:310). In some cases, Cecil Rhodes even suggested places where missions could be built (Murphree, 1969:7-8). He also like Robert Mugabe had great admiration for Jesuits. Hence from the time of the occupation in 1890 to 1960 missionaries and government enjoyed cordial relationships and good collaboration. “For all their numerous and sometimes bitter internal differences, officials and missionaries believed themselves engaged in the same battle on the same side [Rundolph 1985: 24].” The First Chimurenga revealed close links between the church and the state. The Churches occupied an ambivalent position. Missionaries teamed up to fight on the side of the settlers and at the same time

administered humanitarian aid to the victims of war and the subsequent drought that ensued.

Father Hartmann had accompanied a column into Matabeleland as an interpreter, Father Barthelemy acted as unofficial chaplain on patrols in Mashonaland, and Chishawasha itself had been used as an intelligence centre by the Company. Father Richartz went round after Chishawasha had been relieved pleading for the lives of Shona rebels (Linden, 1979:15).

The first Chimurenga claimed casualties of African Evangelists from South Africa and Mozambique such as Molimeli Moleli at Nengubo of the Methodist Church (Zvobgo, 1996: 43-45), James Anta at Hartley (Zvobgo 1996:42-43) and Bernard Mizeki (Farrant, 1966:220-222) in Chief Mangwende's area (Marondera) from the Anglican Church who were martyred (Zvobgo, 1996: 376) since they were seen as agents of the white men.

Role of the Church During the Second Chimurenga

The strain in relationships between government and the churches began with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), followed by the 1969 constitution which entrenched racial

segregation against the indigenous population. The churches called into question the practical policy of unjust discrimination. As the plight of the Africans was worsened by disposition of land in the Land Tenure Act of 1969, the church could not lie idle. “For the church to be silent was to acquiesce in an unjust situation or to be irrelevant” [Rundolph 1985:24]. In the second Chimurenga, the Churches and African Traditional religion worked hand in glove to fight in the struggle for Zimbabwe. The World Council of Churches gave grants to political parties and together with the Catholic Church began to support the end of the liberation struggle. This was crowned by the blessing of the new Zimbabwe flag by Archbishop Patrick Chakaipa of the Catholic Church. However, this is not to say that all churches supported the liberation struggle, some churches especially in strong white constituencies supported the status quo because of the Smith propaganda that labeled the freedom fighters as communists and terrorists. At a time when the term communist was abominable and

repulsive since it was considered as being anti-religious - Russia and China were regarded as leading examples. The Rhodesia Council of Churches did struggle with its image of being church all up to independence because of the domination of white Christians in leadership and finance who bought into the white minority ideals such as Bishop Burrough.

Role of the Church during the First Decade After Independence

At the attainment of independence, the Catholic Church became very close to the state, due to its pro-liberation stance in the second Chimurenga and also because of Mugabe's catholic background. Many mainline churches partnered with government at Independence in support of government's development projects. According to Gundani (1988) the reasons behind this partnership with the churches were necessitated by the need to create a sound economic base, the government recognized the work carried out by the

churches in education, health and social services. The government needed the churches in its development agenda. However, some members of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches were uncertain as to which position to take because of several reasons; the first was because of a lack of a theology of development they were not sure as how to engage government. Second, the socialist rhetoric pronounced by Prime Minister Mugabe did not help much as it was associated with communist China which restricted freedom of worship. Hence, members of the ZCC found themselves in a quagmire and hence employed a 'wait and see' attitude. The influence of Rev Canaan Banana who was then the state President of Zimbabwe was instrumental in getting the ZCC involved in partnering with government and resolving a possible volatile situation involving matters of national security (Hallencreutz, 1988:265-275). This was posed by the leadership of the ZCC which was closely linked to Bishop Muzorewa's UANC. Bishop Muzorewa had also retained his seat as an

Repositioning the Humanities: Journal of Contemporary Research

executive member of the ZCC after resuming as leader of the United Methodist Church. Members of government could not accept this given that during the Rhodesian era Bishop's Muzorewa's army *Pfumo Revanhu* (Spear of the Nation) or Auxiliary Forces who trained by the infamous Rhodesian Selous Scouts had committed many atrocities. The *Pfumo Revanhu* or *Madzakutsaku* as they were commonly known had teamed up with some disgruntled members of the ZIPRA forces and some Rhodesians to commit acts of sabotage in order to destabilize the new government of Robert Mugabe (Hallencreutz, 1988:270). These issues put the Zimbabwe Council of Churches on the spotlight as the General Secretary Mr C.D. Watyoka had been instrumental in the ZCC's decision to give the Internal Settlement a try, (a stance rejected by the nationalists) and was close to Bishop Muzorewa. As if it was not enough Percy M'kundu of the Anglican Church actively supported Revd. N. Sithole's ZANU, another politician who had fallen out of favour with ZANU-PF government. In the

Repositioning the Humanities: Journal of Contemporary Research

light of security concerns the ZCC was forced to dissolve its executive and appoint a new a Secretary General Revd M. Kuchera to avoid further confrontation with government. From 1982 the invitation to partner with government in its development effort offered challenging opportunities as ZCC reviewed its structures, working routines, and theology under a newly restructured council.

The ambiguity of Zimbabwe's Council of Churches' past continued to haunt it as it was afraid of being identified as an enemy of the State as seen in President Banana's statement in the Herald of 10 November 1981. He affirmed that Zimbabwe could not tolerate any single group which stood in the way of progress. If the Christian Council or any organization can be used to subvert the Independence of our people which was hard won, then it is a criminal act against the masses.

Banana implied in the above statement that the issue over ZCC implied an element of national

security (Hallencrutz, 1988: 268). The genesis of this position emanated from its ambivalent position toward the Liberation struggle and support for the Rhodesian government through the likes of Bishop Burrough of the Anglican Church. That is probably why the ZCC remained numb over the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands region for fear of antagonizing government. It did not critique the Catholic Church's claims, when the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) was criticized for releasing their report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, the ZCC did not bother to validate or deny the question of the human rights abuse in Matabeleland and Midlands regions, even at their ZCC's Annual General Meeting of October 1983. [Hallencrutz 1988:292]. The ZCC's fear to exercise its prophetic ministry might have been because of its tainted past history. ZCC feared government would ask "Why speak now? And would ask where you were during the liberation struggle? Why did you not speak against the atrocities of the Smith

regime? Or Whether ZCC was once again being used to destabilise the government?

In the advent of the worsening economic and political situation the government faced criticism from religious bodies over issues of violence and human rights in 2000. The ZCC was able to reclaim its lost voice; it became instrumental in the founding of the National Constitutional Assembly (Dorman, 2002). Only to disassociate itself from National Constitutional Assembly when danger lurked.

The government began to infiltrate churches in order to gain support from Church leaders for its legitimization, such as Archbishop Norbert Kunonga of the Anglican Church, and Apostle Andrew Wutawunashe of the Family Of God, who was appointed Constitutional Commissioner. These two religious leaders became important religious functionaries at state functions and in government. The bad relations between ZANU-PF and the

mainline churches opened the way for some Zimbabwean Pentecostal churches to come closer to playing public roles (Togarasei, 2013:101). And soon this would extend to Zimbabwe's African Independent Churches. These churches started featuring at ZANU-PF and other national gatherings in huge numbers (Togarasei, 2013:101). The wearing of *Mapostori* (an African Initiated Church) attire by the state president and vice president was symbolic of a change in religious allegiance, a show of support and identity with those who rallied behind ZANU-PF government. Politicians have manipulated these African Initiated Churches for their political expediency (Sibanda & Maphosa 2013:126), including the established churches.

Role of the Church during the Third Chimurenga

The third Chimurenga witnessed the production of three important documents in response to the Zimbabwean crisis; *The Zimbabwe We Want* (2006), *The Truth Will Make You Free: A Compendium of Christian Social Teaching* (2006) and *God Hears the*

Cry of the Oppressed (2007). Different churches engaged in the mediation processes between the political parties, between war veterans and the white farmers, for example, Father Fidelis Mukonori a Jesuit, spent hours in mediations in 2000 and 2001 and is credited for preventing further murders of commercial farmers (Scholz, 2004) and the Zimbabwe NGO Bill 2004 as well as the Education Amendment Bill 2005. Many other religious leaders worked tirelessly in the background to avoid what would have been a catastrophic situation.

Many efforts were made by the Churches to respond to the Zimbabwe crisis precipitated by the third Chimurenga. The Churches spoke with one voice in *The Zimbabwe We Want* (2006), *The Truth Will Make You Free: A Compendium of Christian Social Teaching* (2006), “*God Hears the Cry of the Oppressed*” (2007). Many other documents were posted in newspapers by individual churches and groups addressing the Zimbabwean crisis. A lot of

work was put in mediation process and quite diplomacy to avert the escalation of hostilities.

The three documents mentioned above especially was a show of force by the Churches, it was the first time that the churches bodies, ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ came together to map a national vision. Unfortunately, the document did not receive the necessary attention, partly because of the flawed process, which left people wondering whose vision it represented. Worse still, the process was hijacked by government with the final document losing its sting as some parts were removed, making it a compromise document between government and the churches. Many people felt it had not been able to address some important national issues like the Gurakurahundi, freedom of the press, etc. However, the document should not be totally discarded as it addressed issues of national concern, such as reconciliation, good governance, justice and peace. The document also highlighted the role of the church in speaking out for the

marginalized and the voiceless. The Churches recommended for binding policies that would govern the social, political and economic sectors.

The prophetic voice of the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference was proclaimed in “*God Hears the Cry of the Oppressed* (ZCBC, 2007). The pastoral letter was poignant and tactful in addressing the Zimbabwean crisis; it addressed the issues of bad governance and corruption (ZCBC, 2007:3). Following a radical land reform programme seven years ago, many people are today going to bed hungry and wake up to a day without work. Hundreds of companies were forced to close. Over 80 per cent of the people of Zimbabwe are without employment. Scores risk their lives week after week in search of work in neighbouring countries. [ZCBC 2007:5]

The letter, according to Chitando (2013) contends that Zimbabwe is facing a moral crisis where young people see their leaders, “habitually engaging in

acts and words which are hateful, disrespectful, racist, corrupt, lawless, unjust, greedy, dishonest and violent in order to cling to the privileges of power and wealth (ZCBC, 2007:6). Besides listing the ills the pastoral letter suggested that there could be a better tomorrow (Chitando, 2013:93). Mugabe lashed back saying “It is criticism-after-criticism and I ask why, why, why. Ukatarisa mapastoral letters avo (if you look at their pastoral letters), most of them are ill-informed... (Robert G Mugabe in the Herald, 10 June 2011:2).

Role of Pentecostal Churches

The Pentecostal churches had been characterised by their ambivalence (Togarasei, 2013:106) and lack of a unified voice in national politics. Many Pentecostals remained in their closets (Togarasei, 2013:105) and a few responded to the Zimbabwean crisis by introducing humanitarian programmes (Togarasei 2013:103). The Pentecostal churches sought to maintain a neutral position according to Zhangazha (2007). The Churches believed they

could influence power without being political, with this hope in mind many like Andrew Wutawunashe (Family of God), Bishop Trevor Manhanga (Pentecostal Assemblies of God), Prophet Uebert Angel (Spirit Embassy Church) who declared his allegiance to Zanu-PF, and Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa (United Family of God International), affirmed his support for the ZANU-PF government when he officiated at the launch of the ZANU-PF anti-sanctions campaign on 1 March 2011. A gesture for which he was criticized by the public (*Newsday*, of 24 February 2014) Tom Deuschle (Celebration Church International) and Obadiah Msindo (Destiny of Africa Ministries) went to the extent of donating a lot of money to the ZANU-PF political campaigns. Msindo even went on to campaign for ZANU-PF at a rally organized by the ruling party's member Bright Matonga in Mondoro-Ngezi (*Newsday*, of 27 February 2008).

On another front Andrew Wutaunashe (Family of God) established a Faith for the Nation Campaign

Desk, a platform for addressing political issues affecting the country (Togarasei, 2006:75-88). Many Pentecostals responded to the Zimbabwean crisis through humanitarian work and quiet diplomacy. The Celebration Church for example had doctors at their church offering free medical service to the poor. Many churches donated money and foodstuffs to the victims of Operation Murambastvina. Tom Deuschle also mentioned that his church was working with other churches to facilitate dialogue between ZANU-PF and MDC in *The Zimbabwe Independent*, 3 June 2005. The bad relationship between ZANU-PF and the mainline churches opened doors for some Pentecostal Churches in Zimbabwe as the party sought legitimacy and support for its policies (Togarasei, 2013:102).

Unlike the Catholic Church with its centralised government and international stature, many Pentecostal Churches in Zimbabwe feel vulnerable to political pressure and feel inadequate to speak

on political issues except within bodies like the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe. This is due to a number of reasons, many of the churches are run as family businesses, with a founder or leader who is not accountable to the congregation, and is authoritarian claiming to speak under inspiration [Togarasei, 2013:105]. Unfortunately, in such cases the man of the cloth is not different from the politician he seeks to condemn. This is worsened by an inherent Pentecostal theology that seeks to spiritualise all social and political problems. Spirituality is concerned with heavenly realities and not secular matters. These churches have potential to transform and inspire the nation, but also a lot to lose since most are family owned churches. This is why some have remained apolitical like Prophet Ezekiel Guti's Zimbabwe Assemblies of God in Africa (ZAOGA).

The ZANU-PF government has been able to use these religious leaders for their political survival, even birthday parties have become occasions on

which to pledge allegiance to President Robert Mugabe. For example, Prophet Uerbert Angel declared publicly his allegiance to ZANU-PF at President Mugabe's 90th birthday at Rudhaka Stadium. The question that still lingers in people's mind is: How can a religious leader be so callous when he should represent a wider audience, a congregation with members from different political parties?. Religious leaders have benefitted from this relationship through farms, political support as in the case of Archbishop Norbert Kunonga. Unfortunately, the Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe have not been able to stand outside of the *status quo* for fear of being victimized or losing their comforts. It is important for Pentecostal churches to realize that one can never be neutral, apolitical or indifferent to the plight of the marginalized. This thought is best summarised in the words of Edmund Burke who says: The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.

African Initiated Churches

Historically, African Initiated Churches resisted the white men's religion and sought African expressions of Christianity. These churches in their struggle for African rights are older than the nationalist aspirations. They were the early African form of resistance to white hegemony. This is testified in Zimbabwe by the experience of founding fathers of these churches such as Johane Marange, Johane Masowe, Samuel Mutendi, Paul Mwazha and Mai Chaza of Guta raJehova. They refused to be tainted by the white men's ways, they sought to indigenize their religion and empower their flock. Some of the African initiated churches have been key to empowerment and indigenization long before it became the proverbial route. A good example is the magnificent edifice, the Cathedral of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) on the outskirts of Masvingo. Johane Masowe and Johane Marange, illustrious church founders encouraged their followers to learn a trade so that they would not work for the white men and hence assert their

independence. Ezekiel Guti an iconic church founder encouraged his members to be self-sufficient and not to rely on donor funding. Prophet Guti has built a church independent of external funding, which includes schools, a hospital and a university. The Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (ZAOGA) a home grown Zimbabwean church has one of the best strategies for fundraising in Zimbabwe. These churches have extended their tentacles beyond the Zimbabwean borders.

The African Initiated Churches have been roped in by government to provide legitimacy and political survival. According to Sibanda F and Maphosa R S some AICs were manipulated by politicians for selfish political ends like pawns in a game of chess, some politicians joined or invaded these churches for political expediency notwithstanding genuine converts [Sibanda F and Maphosa R S, 2013:139]. Hence, we see African Initiated Churches at national events at the Heroes Acre, Independence Celebrations and other National events. The

government has been able to infiltrate them because they are not a unified entity and need government support for economic and social survival.

Theological Reflection on Nation Building

The Zimbabwean churches have gone a long way in speaking for the voiceless and oppressed. They have assisted government in many initiatives in building the nation, through humanitarian and development work. It is important that the church continues to maintain this principled stand and remain the conscience of the nation. A reading of Prophets and prophecy in Israel will often remind us that they were prophets who perpetuated the *status quo*, who like the pied piper played to the tune of the leaders of their time. Unfortunately, their memory in history is only a shadow of history. They were those that opposed the leaders of their time remaining principled and non-partisan as the conscience of the people even in the face of death.

Repositioning the Humanities: Journal of Contemporary Research

The churches have a moral obligation to defend and spearhead the rights of the marginalised and to be a voice to those who cannot speak for themselves. Political leaders will come and go as the rain. However, the teaching ministry of the Church will remain to the end of time. The Churches in Zimbabwe needs to unite as they did in trying to come with a national vision in 2006 and lay the foundations for a prosperous nation based on respect for human rights, good governance, justice and peace. The Churches have been dormant in the past few years. They have not spoken with one voice over sanctions, new constitution, 2013 elections, and corruption including salary gate scandals. The church still has a lot to offer and say in order to uphold human rights and gospel values.

Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its

liberation from every oppressive situation (Synod of Bishops 1972:34). The church cannot afford to be partisan as there are Christians who stand on both sides of the divide, they will be those that belong to the ruling party, to the opposition and those who are non-partisan and others who are apolitical. The churches inspired by the words of Christ "*I have come so that you may have life and have it abundantly*" (John 10:10) needs to safeguard the rights of all regardless of their political affiliation, religion, race, tribe and language and promote the values of social justice and peace. Religious leaders need to 'walk the talk' and be involved, not to be used like pawns in a game of chess, for political survival by politicians so that churches can continue to be the pillars of hope, good governance and democracy in Zimbabwe and the conscience of the people.

Unfortunately, many politicians and partisan religious leaders have reminded us that leaders are appointed by God quoting from 1 Timothy 2:1-2.

However, they fall short of telling us that the bible tells us that a leader is one who is just and takes care of the most vulnerable members of his community as seen in the following scriptures (Psalm 82:1-8) and (Amos 2:1-24). A leader stands in the place of god or rather as his representative; he or she has to be after the interest of God and the values that God embodies of charity, honesty and justice. The church on pilgrimage has a special mandate to uphold these values, and to be the conscience of the nation. The Church's sphere of function cannot be limited to the spiritual; neither can the church function as a tool for government. The church and the state are equal partners with each having a specific mandate, but are both concerned with human development and well-being of the country. President Robert Mugabe has reiterated on many occasions about the need for government to work closely with the church. In some instances we have seen the unwillingness of the church for fear of being identified with government or being a political gambit. In order for

this partnership to be achieved there is need for an honest and equal dialogue on issues of national interest.

Conclusion

Father Daignault the superior of the Zambezi mission in 1895 summarized the interface between the church and state, in a way that has characterized all past and perhaps future relations, referring to Cecil Rhodes; “He wants to utilize us and as long as we are useful he will be friendly (Linden, 1979:9)”. Religion and politics have been instrumental in defining Zimbabwe’s public space. In order to fully appreciate the interface between church and state we need to take cognizance of the ever changing context which brings new challenges. It is only in this regard that we can evaluate the specific role played by the religious leader and politician. Politicians have from time immemorial been able to “harness religious ideologies and concepts to serve their own interests (Chitando 2013).” The Church has often succumbed to the

political ploy of manipulation, coercion and dirty tricks. And because of fear or losing various benefits from politicians the church has often become numb, losing its prophetic voice. The church has a morale duty to go beyond party politics and defend the rights of the weakest member of our society regardless of colour, race, nationality or gender. The Church in Zimbabwe has played such a role and more could be done if the church worried less about its quest for survival and belonging in the political dispensation, than about its relevance to the masses of Zimbabwe.

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