UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

RESEARCH TOPIC FOR PHD STUDIES

TITLE

NDEBELE AND SHONA ETHNIC COHESION: A DIALOGUE WITH PAUL'S ETHICS OF RECONCILIATION

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I dedicate this dissertation to an amazing man, my great grandfather, Barnabas Gusha, who at the age of eighty years accompanied to me secure grade one place at Dhlodhlo primary school in Gamwa Shurugwi. Though I was too young to appreciate the effort, it remained in my subconscious till I was old enough to recall the whole episode. It humbled me when I recalled that the old man walked almost seven kilometres at that age to secure a place for me when my father was in Bulawayo serving his notice with the Zimbabwe Prison Service before joining seminary for priesthood training. Those memories helped me to value education in life and to him; I say, Rest in Eternal Peace my great educator.

Abstract

The tension between the Ndebele and Shona people dates back to the precolonial era and this has been one of the major threats to Zimbabwe's peace. Ethnic tensions have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives since the country's independence, especially during the Entumbane clashes and Gukurahundi massacres. The government has in several ways, tried to bring social cohesion between the two with limited success. Four examples are: the initiatives done through the 1980 reconciliation pronouncement by Prime Minster Robert Mugabe, 1987 Unity Accord between PF ZAPU and ZANU PF, the Government of National Unity, and the Commission on National Healing and Reconciliation of 2008. The failure may be attributed to amnesia and the unwillingness to repent from past evils by the perpetrators. Seemingly, the major problem may be attributed to the fact that interested parties often played the mediatory role; and one cannot objectively be both player and referee. In addition, over the years, the church through her ecumenical bodies has tried to build bridges between the two but the efforts were also fruitless due to the unwillingness by the government to take recommendations from the church and civic organisations.

The thesis proposes Pauline ethics regarding reconciliation in the Corinthian correspondence as inspiration for social cohesion between the Ndebele and Shona tribes. As hermeneutical tools, Paul's key symbols such as Christ, the Cross of Christ, Ambassador, New Creation, and Baptism shall be deployed as epistemological lenses in promoting identity tags that go beyond ethnicity. I propose that, for these symbols to be effective, the following recommendations should be taken seriously; setting up of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), refraining from using ethnic offensive language, introduction of Ndebele and Shona languages in primary and secondary schools in the provinces dominated by these two ethnic groups, substituting ethnic provincial names with neutral ones, substituting ethnic registration system of people with a neutral one, and the devolution of power.

List of Abbreviations

Acc	Accusative
Adj	Adjective
ANE	Ancient Near East
Aor	Aorist
ATR(s)	African Traditional Religion(s)
AU	African Union
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CA	Christian Alliance
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe
CCT	Critical Correlation Theory
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPSA	The Church of the Province of Southern Africa.
Dat	Dative
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
Fem	Feminine
Gen	Genitive
GPA	Global Political Agreement.
Ind	Indicative
Inf	Infinitive
Masc	Masculine
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
Neut	Neuter
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
Nom	Nominative
OAU	Organization of African Union
ONHRI	Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation Initiatives
Pass	Passive
Perf	Perfect
PF ZAPU	Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union
Pl	Plural
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SIC	Social Identity Complexity
Sing	Singular
SIT	Social Identity Theory
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UMR	United Mthwakazi Republic
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
UZ	University of Zimbabwe

Voc	Vocative
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZCBC	Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
Zimstat	Zimbabwe Statistical Office
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction, Definition of terms, and Background to the Study

1.0 Introduction

Religion plays a significant role in shaping the lives of people throughout the world and this is especially true in third world countries where religion commands greater authority (Aldashev & Platleau 2014:588). In different religions for example, the sacred writings are taken as manuals for daily living. This means that religion influences decision-making processes of those people whether politically, economically or socially. Christianity is one of such religion where the bible as a sacred writing, is taken as a manual for life. In this regard, the Bible influences some ethical guides concerning life situations.

It is within this context that this study explores Pauline ethics regarding reconciliation in the Corinthian correspondence (I Cor 1: 10–17; II Cor 5: 16–21) as the inspiration for ethnic cohesion between the Ndebele and Shona people of Zimbabwe. These two texts have been chosen for the following reasons; first, in I Corinthians 1: 10–17, Paul is addressing the problem of factionalism. In the text, Paul is reconciling conflicting parties though he does not use the term 'reconciliation' in the discourse. Such a text serves as an inspiration in dealing with societies with fractured relationships like that of the Ndebele and Shona people. Second, in II Corinthians 5:16–21, Paul uses the word reconciliation several times. The word 'reconciliation' (*καταλλάσσω*) in it's different forms is used five times in four verses (II Cor 5:18–21) making it one of Paul's favourite words. Third, the word is unique to Paul in the New Testament making it a distinct Pauline concept (Kim 1997: 362). Murray J. Harris confirms this; "the word group that relates to 'reconciliation' is exclusively Pauline within the New Testament: *καταλλάσσω* occurs six times, *ἀποκαταλλάσσω* three times and *καταλλαγή* four times" (Harris 2005: 435). This does not mean that there are no teachings on reconciliation in other New Testament writings, but the word itself seems to be a Pauline coinage. In other genuine Pauline letters for example, Romans 5:9–11, the word is recorded three times.

Contemporary Zimbabwe needs reconciliation after centuries of division along ethnic and tribal lines. The problem of ethnicity seems to be a common phenomenon throughout the world and it has been established that one of the causes of many wars and conflicts in the world is ethnicity (Brown &Stewart 2015:6; Mohammadzadeh 2016:162); a term that shall be defined in detail later. The Zimbabwean nation is not spared from this phenomenon. The subject of the relationship between the Ndebele and Shona people in the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Zimbabwe is a hotly contested one. There are contesting views between missionaries, historians, critics, analysts, and lay people on this subject and detailed discussion regarding this is given in chapter two. Even the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert G. Mugabe used ethnic politics during the armed struggle as attested in Joshua Nkomo's biography; *The Story of My Life*. (Nkomo 1984:113). Chapter two will also explore Zimbabwe African People's Union-Patriotic Front (hereinafter referred to as PF ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African National Union (hereinafter referred to as ZANU) relations during the armed struggle and in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

In the early years of the Zimbabwean independence (1980-1987), tension between the Ndebele and the Shona people reached its climax with the *Gukurahundi* atrocities in Midlands and Matabeleland provinces. Sabelo J Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines the *Gukurahundi* atrocities as "brutal and indiscriminate state-sanctioned violence unleashed on the Ndebele speaking communities of Matabeleland and the Midlands regions justified on the grounds of eliminating dissident elements operating in these areas" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 167). What started as a war between the two liberation army wings (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army-ZANLA and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army- ZIPRA) ended up being a tribal war. One then questions how a political war ended up being ethnic? Ndlovu-Gatsheni provides a plausible answer saying, "ZIPRA is a military wing for ZAPU. ZAPU relates to dissidents and ZAPU is Ndebele, therefore, the Ndebele people are dissidents" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 35). Chapter three discusses this argument in detail and the nature and gravity of these conflicts will be discussed in depth later in this research. Dialogical efforts were carried out by different church organizations such as Zimbabwe Council of Churches (hereinafter referred to as ZCC), Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (hereinafter referred to as EFZ), and the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (hereinafter referred to as ZCBC) but to no fruition and the study explores other avenues for dealing with this

social ill. Detailed discussion of the role of the three ecumenical church bodies mentioned above is discussed while exploring their contributions towards addressing Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic issues. The starting point, however, is to define key terms to be used in this study.

1.1 Setting the Stage: Background of the nation of Zimbabwe

The Republic of Zimbabwe is in the southern hemisphere; a landlocked country with no coastline. The country shares borders with South Africa to the south, Zambia to the north, Botswana to the west and Mozambique in the east. The capital city of Zimbabwe is Harare and she attained her independence in 1980 after a protracted armed struggle. The Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) recognizes sixteen official languages with english, shona and ndebele being the major ones. The Shona language has five dialects –Zezuru, Korekore, Ndau, Karanga, and Manyika, while Ndebele is a Nguni dialect. Peter Garlake claims that the name Zimbabwe is derived from '*dzimba-hwe*', which means venerated houses in the Zezuru dialect of Shona and is usually applied to chief's houses or graves meaning great houses of stone or stone buildings" (Garlake 1973: 13). Innocent Pikirayi asserts that "*madzimbabwe* or *zimbabwe*, literally means houses of stone… were capitals of local and regional political dynasties that dominated history of the Zimbabwe plateau until the end of the 19th century" (Pikirayi 2013: 26).

The Great Zimbabwe ruins near the present-day town of Masvingo symbolizes the name of the country. Busi Dube, Pedzisai Mashiri, and Sinfree B, Makoni sums up the whole issue in the following words;

> The name Zimbabwe has a number of variants: *dzimbabwe; dzimbahwe*. *Dzimbahwe* is a generic term for stone dwellings (pl. *madzimbabwe*). The etymology and the origins of the term are, however, open to dispute. One conventional view involves interpreting the term as a contracted form as illustrated in the following phrases: *dzimba* (large house) *mabwe* (stones) or *dzimba woye* (venerated house). At times *dzimbahwe* is also translated as either a walled grave or a royal court. (Dube, Mashiri, & Makoni 2006:378)

This means that the Great Zimbabwe Ruins played a pivotal role in the naming of the country. This geographical space was colonised by the Pioneer Column which was composed of British settlers under the leadership of Cecil John Rhodes in 1890. According to Henry Francis Hoste,

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"the Pioneer Column consisted of an estimate of Pioneer Corps of two hundred men recruited from many trades and professionals who were escorted by a police force of five hundred men" (Hoste 1965: 9). This body (Pioneer Column) was formed by the British South Africa Company (herein after referred to as BSAC). The task of the pioneer column was to explore minerals and settle in the highveld plateau between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers. The pioneer column police were under the leadership of an Irishman Lieutenant Colonel Edward Pennefather and on 12 September 1890, they arrived at Salisbury (now Harare). To honour him (Cecil John Rhodes), the country was named Southern Rhodesia in 1923 and Zambia was named Northern Rhodesia. However, the name Rhodesia is traceable to 1898 when the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council was granted at the court at Balmoral on 20 October 1898.

In 1965, the country was renamed Rhodesia, it was in that year when the then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Douglas Smith made a unilateral declaration of independence from British colonial rule. Consequently, Rhodesia was put under economic sanctions. In 1979 the country was named Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and this was under the leadership of Bishop Abel Muzorewa –a form of independence not accepted by the other liberation fighters. This intensified the armed struggle which eventually ended up in the Lancaster House talks and eventually the ceasefire agreement. In 1980, democratic elections were held and the leader of ZANU PF; Mugabe, was declared the winner and became the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe. However, Nkomo; the leader of PF ZAPU, claimed that the elections were rigged (Nkomo 1984: 211). It was from that time onwards, that the name Zimbabwe was used about the whole nation. The question then is; who coined the name Zimbabwe?

"The first recorded use of Zimbabwe as a term of national reference was in 1960 when it was coined by the black nationalist Michael Mawema whose Zimbabwe National Party became the first to officially use the name in 1961" (Fontein 2006: 119-120). In 1960, the nationalists met to decide on the alternative name for the country. Then the names 'Machobana' and 'Monomutapa' were suggested but 'Zimbabwe' was adopted. The nationalists in Matabeleland had proposed Matopos, taking from Matopo hills (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009: 113-114). Zimbabwe is a small country compared to neighbours South Africa, Zambia and Botswana. However, Ezra Chitando argues that "its overall significance to post-colonial Africa and the global political configuration is quite sizeable" (Chitando 2013: IV). According to the 2012 national census, the population of

Zimbabwe is about 13 182 908 and the statistics indicate that in the demography of ethnic groups, the Shona ethnic group constitute 82%, while the constitute Ndebele 14%, other 2% mixed, Asian 1%, and less than 1% is white. Being the majority, the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups under research influence the Zimbabwean political landscape. There are ten administrative provinces in Zimbabwe comprising of Bulawayo with about 655 675 people, Manicaland 1 755 000, Mashonaland Central 1 139 940, Mashonaland East 1 337 059, Mashonaland West 1 449 938, Matabeleland North 743 871, Matabeleland South 685 046, Midlands 1 622 476, Masvingo 1 486 604, and Harare 2 098 199 giving a total of 12 098 199.

In terms of religion, Christianity has a following of about 10 200 000 (85%) people, African Traditional Religion(s) 320 000 (3%), Islam and other minor religions 80 000 (less than 1%), and non-religious people 1 400 000 (12%). The statistics are based on the last 2012 Zimbabwe Statistical Office findings (hereinafter referred to as, Zimstat); the official source of statistics in Zimbabwe. It is difficult to give an accurate percentage of people who follow ATR(s) because the religion is syncretistic in nature. In an African setting therefore, one can belong to both Christianity and ATR(s). This implies that the use of a christian voice in addressing the country's social ills makes much impact. Zimbabwe is predominantly christian and hence, this is the reason the research employs Pauline ethics as an inspiration in dealing with the problem of ethnicity.

1.2 Definition of terms.

The following is a brief discussion of major terms used throughout the study.

1.2.1 Ethics

`Historically, the subject of ethics has been studied under moral philosophy suggesting that the two are related. According to Paul Barry Clarke, "ethics and morality are often used as interchangeable terms, although ethics is strictly the reflection upon morality" (Clarke 1996: 207). The field of ethics though not limited to the Greek world, is traceable to early Greek philosophers who had to systematically discuss it in their writings. All societies had some ethical issues, but

they were just preserved at oral level with limited documentation and hence, giving the Greeks a monopoly to the field in the academic studies. According to Christopher Rowe, "Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle are the most influential representatives of Greek ethics" (Rowe 1993: 122). This section gives a brief definition and history of the subject.

Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns remark that "in Plato's *Republic* we see one of the earliest attempts at the systematic theory of ethics" (Hamilton & Cairns 1961: 575). In the *Republic*, particularly in *Book 1*, Plato wrestles with the subject of justice and goes at length in trying to find a good definition of justice (Hamilton & Cairns 1961: 575). The subject of justice, therefore, becomes Plato's springboard for a discussion on ethics[1]. Plato's works influenced Aristotle who went a further step in discussing the subject of ethics. There are four ethical works that are attributed to Aristotle and these are; *Eudemian Ethics, Nicomachean Ethics, Magna Moralia*, and *On Virtues and Vices*. Michael Woods argues that "many scholars reject the authenticity of the *Magna Moralia* while *On Virtues and Vices* is now universally condemned as spurious" (Aristotle 1982: XI). Therefore, his two major works; *Eudemian Ethics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* are the main sources for his ethics. In Book 1 of the *Eudemian Ethics,* Aristotle argues that the best thing of all in life is happiness (Aristotle 1982: 1)[2]. The follow-up questions then are; what is happiness? How does someone attain happiness? For Aristotle, happiness resides in three things that are; wisdom, virtue, and pleasure. (Aristotle 1982: 2). This happiness for Aristotle is found in human beings and other superior beings but not in animals. Happiness, Aristotle claims, is not found in health or wealth but in a good soul. He, therefore, defines happiness as, "an activity of a good soul, complete life and in accordance with complete virtue" (Aristotle 1982: 14).

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[1] Here I am reading Plato's Republic from translation of Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. The two translated several of Plato's works and put them together in book entitled; The Collected Dialogues of Plato Including Letters. Book 1 of the Republics therefore, is contained in pages 575-605. In dealing with the subject of 'justice' Plato concluded that, "justice is twofold: Justice for the state which is achieved when all basic needs are met and these basic needs to be met three classes of people are needed; artisans to produce goods, soldiers to defend the state, and rulers to organize everything. Then there is justice for the soul and for it to happen three parts of the soul should be taken care of. These are; reason, appetite, and honour" (576- 605)

[2] Michael Woods translated Aristotle's *Eudemian Ethics* and in the introductory remarks he writes that, "the *Nicomachean Ethics* is in ten books and the *Eudemian* in eight books. The fourth, fifth, and sixth books of *Eudemian Ethics* are identical with the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the *Nicomachean Ethics* "(XI). Close reading of the two works reveals that they cover the same ground.

According to James F Childress and John Macquarrie, "ethics is a transliteration of the Greek word for customs or character, this term refers to characteristic values, beliefs, and practices of a social group or a culture" (Childress & Macquarrie 1986: 208). The Greek term ἐθος is defined by Takamitsu Muraoka as, "ancestral customs" (Muraoka 2009: 190). Keywords to both definitions are values, beliefs, practices, social group, and culture. The same term ἐθος is defined by David E Cooper as, "character" (Cooper 1998: 1). There is an aspect of a social group in both definitions. This means that ethical conducts are different from one social group to another. For example, what is considered ethical in South Africa can sometimes be considered unethical in Zimbabwe and what is considered ethical in one religion can be considered unethical in another religion. For Aristotle, the term 'ethos' is a synonym of the term 'character'. Aristotle defines 'ethos' as, "that which is developed from a habit" (Aristotle 1982: 17). He relates character to the soul and it is that part of the soul. Therefore, Cooper and Aristotle are in agreement on their definition of ethics.

The research pays special attention to Pauline ethics on the presupposition that even in the bible, there were different ethical dimensions; for example; christological ethics, love ethics, ethics of responsibility, and concrete ethics such as: individual morality, man and wife/marriage and divorce, work, property, slavery, and Christians and the state. Ethical codes are products of the community; meaning that the community is responsible for coming with what is considered ethical and what is not. This sentiment has foundations in Greek mythology particularly from Hobbes who sees the origins of ethics as a "social contract" (Midgley 1993: 3). The assumption is that there was a pre-ethical stage when people lived in solitude and they were no need of ethical issues. However, as people began to meet and form communities, conflict became inevitable. The basis for this understanding is that whenever people meet, conflict cannot be eliminated and because of lack of agreed ethical codes, it was battle after battle. To manage conflict, people had to come up with a social contract that would promote harmony and peace. This is how ethics originated but the myth lacks historical base for a pre-ethical community characterised by solitude. Christians have their own version of how ethics originated. Their myth of the origins of ethics has its roots in the fall of humanity as narrated by the book of Genesis chapter three. The origins of morality were, "an attempt to bring our imperfect nature in line with the will of God" (Midgley 1993: 4). Therefore, there is no general concurrence on the origins of ethics.

David E. Cooper categorises ethics into three main categories which are; applied, meta-ethics, and fundamental ethics (Cooper 1998: 2). Applied ethics deal with practical issues such as euthanasia, abortion, and homosexuality but with the intention of moralising these issues but not solving them. Meta-ethics deal with abstract concepts such as goodness, badness, and happiness. The main agenda of such ethics is to establish meanings of such concepts. Fundamental ethics are mainly found in the writings of classical philosophers such as Aristotle, Epicurus, Kant, and Aquinas. They deal with issues to do with the origins, nature, and scope of ethics. The subject of the relationship of ethics and morality is also covered under this category. However, these divisions should not be treated as fixed and watertight because overlaps cannot be ruled out completely.

1.2.2 Pauline Ethics

Pauline ethics falls under the tag of Christian ethics and according to Donald Preston, "Christian ethics can most simply be differentiated as the way of life appropriate to those who accepted the Christian faith" (Preston 1993: 91). There are different names for these set of ethics; Christian, biblical, and religious. This section narrows down to the ethical teachings of St Paul as recorded in his epistles. Rosner (1998: 1) asserts that the subject of Paul's ethics is of vital importance to understanding Paul and the message of his letters. The reason for Rosner's argument is that Paul's teachings were full of ethical exhortations. Paul was a man of practical ethics as he usually responded to practical issues affecting the church of his day. The major thrust of his letters was to transform the behaviour of his congregants, not just their thinking and there is no agreement among scholars concerning what shaped Pauline ethics. Rosner (1998:1) suggests that the Old Testament, particularly the Mosaic Law had no influence on Paul's ethical teachings and that argument is centred on the premise that there are no Old Testament citations in Paul's ethical teachings. He concludes that "the gospel and the spirit, form the true basis for Paul's ethics" (Rosner 1998: 6). This argument contradicts Martin Scott Enslin's position that Paul's ethics were shaped by his Jewish and Graeco-Roman context (Enslin 1957: 77). It is not a solid argument to conclude Paul's non-usage of the Old Testament basing on direct citations. Paul may not have cited the Old Testament directly, but his ethical thinking is along the lines of the Jewish and Graeco-Roman world. For example, Paul uses imagery language of the Old Testament, the body as the temple of

God. However, other scholars such as Enslin (1957), Preston (1993) and Rosner (1998), agree that Paul's ethics were practical.

Pauline ethics may be regarded as applied ethics, not as universal. Enslin (1957: 76) argues that Paul was not formally educated in such ethical system. Two things are to be deduced from Enslin's argument; first, Paul's ethics were particular to a specific situation and context. Therefore, it could be erroneous to universalize his ethical teachings although they had a universal flavour since some of the said local problems were also experienced in other contexts. This explains why even today; his ethical teachings are used to solve some of the contemporary problems in the church and society at large. Second, Paul's letters should not be taken as a literal manual for Christian conduct since Paul was a man of his time and some of the issues he addressed are no longer relevant in the contemporary society. Love is central to Pauline ethics as Martin argues that, "love and forbearance were the great social virtues" (Enslin 1957: 74). Community relations were to be centred on love especially his principle of the weaker brother and Enslin (1957: 75) quotes Paul's ethic that "those who were strong must never misuse their freedom, they were to bear the burdens of the weaker, lest the weaker brother perish". So, for Paul, love was the greatest virtue and was often appended to forbearance with service as the prime duty. Paul was against self-centred ethics and in his teachings, there was no room for divisions. Religion and ethics were intertwined for Paul and he never dissociated the two.

1.2.3 Reconciliation

The meaning of reconciliation is polysemic just like the real act. The act of reconciliation is not an easy one as attested in the words of the former Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church Province of Southern Africa when he wrote that;

> Forgiving and being reconciled to our enemies or our loved ones are not about pretending that things are other than they are. It is not about patting one another on the back and turning a blind eye on the wrong. True reconciliation exposes the awfulness, the abuse, the hurt, the truth. It could even sometimes make things worse. It is a risky undertaking but in the end, it is worthwhile because, in the end, only an honest confrontation with reality can bring real healing. Superficial reconciliation can bring only superficial healing (Tutu 2004: 55)

Reconciliation has different meanings to different societies depending on culture and religion and that makes the subject complicated. This follows that different people have defined reconciliation differently and this research will cite these definitions and critique them. Bloomfield (2003: 12) defines reconciliation as "a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future". This follows that where there is conflict, a society is divided and there is no longer a shared vision or goal and the process of repairing the division varies with the nature of the conflict. Where there is division, the future of the society is uncertain and Bloomfield (2003:12) argues that; for that process to be achieved, the community should be involved. Many reconciliation initiatives fail because of lack of community participation.

Asmal K, Asmal L, and Roberts (1997: 46) define reconciliation as "facing of unwelcome truth in order to harmonise incommensurable worldviews so that inevitable and continuing conflict and differences stand at least within a single universe of comprehensibility". The definition brings the subject of confession for reconciliation into effectiveness. Sometimes during confession, shocking truth is said, and this is what is referred to as "unwelcome truth". Such truth points to a truly penitent heart and brings some healing effects on the victims. Such confessions may also be interpreted as true sign of humility and acceptance of responsibility by the confessor. There are cases where reparation is no longer possible, but an apology and acknowledgement of wrongdoing which can heal the emotions and feelings of the victims.

Cees Van der Kooi defines reconciliation as, "simply the cessation of a situation of conflict and disrupted relations between individuals or groups" (Kooi 2002: 104). In a more sophisticated way, Kooi (2002:104) defines reconciliation as, "involving justice to different groups politically, socially, and economically and giving them adequate access to the good life, education, and development". This definition makes reconciliation more complex and difficult to achieve. These issues of justice are achievable at the individual level but are difficult to achieve at the communal level and there is no common understanding of justice in different religious traditions and communities. However, Kooi (2002:104) gives his third definition of reconciliation from a Christian perspective where reconciliation is defined as, "the restoration and healing of relation

between God and humankind". Kooi considers this as real reconciliation and it immediately addresses all issues at social, political, religious, and economic levels.

Lastly, Brian Castle defines reconciliation as, "the desire to repair fractured relationships to move forward" (Castle 2008: 3). He is however, quick to admit that reconciliation defies definition and most people recognise it when they experience it (Castle 2008:3). This is a simplified and broad definition that will be adopted as a working definition for this research. Castle identified the following six areas of reconciliation; political, social, personal, intrapersonal, ecological, and theological (Castle 2008: 4).

Cees Van der Kooi proposed three models of reconciliation as, dramatic, objective or judicial, and subjective (Kooi 2002: 107). These three models are framed after the Christian perspective of reconciliation. In the Dramatic model, which has an aspect of liberation, reconciliation comes through the victory of Christ over the devil at the cross. In the Objective or Judicial model, reconciliation comes through the remission of sins because of Christ's death on the cross. By dying on the cross, Christ removes the guilt of humanity towards God and this model has a component of atonement. The subjective model is centred on humanity's sincere contrition over sin. These therefore, are purely Christian models of reconciliation which might differ with other scholars. For example, Simon Zivanai Mawondo comes up with two models of reconciliation which are; reconciliation with justice and reconciliation without justice (Mawondo 2008: 10). Different from the theological perspective of Cees Van der Kooi, Mawondo's understanding of reconciliation comes from a social perspective. Of the two models, Mawondo prefers the former one to the later one which is accused of maintaining structures of injustice and the roots of conflict (Mawondo 2008: 10). Importantly, the search for reconciliation is fundamental to humanity and the subject of reconciliation among the shona and ndebele people is not optional. Lastly, Brian Castle elucidates that "the four features related when working for reconciliation are; memory, victimhood, forgiveness, and the other" (Castle 2008: 3). These four features will be analysed in depth later in the other chapters, but it is important to point out that these features are of great significance in the analysis of the Shona-Ndebele relations.

1.2.4 Ethnic cohesion

Ethnic cohesion is critical for the success of the nation and there is need for defining the two terms separately before synthesising them. Narroll defines the term ethnic group as a population which;

- Is largely biologically self-perpetuating;
- Share fundamental cultural values realised in overt unity in cultural forms;
- Makes up a field of communication and interaction and
- Has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the other. (Narrol 1964: 296)

According to Muraoka, the term "ethnic" is derived from the Greek word ήθος, meaning, "a body of people associated together sharing cultural, religious, and linguistic features" (Muraoka 2009: 190). Malesevic (2004: 1) argues that "it was commonly used to describe pagans, that is, non-Hellenic and later non-Jewish or non-Christian, second class peoples". Multiple meanings were attached to the term in its history of usage, but it was within the modern era that it was popularised in academics. David Riesman allegedly popularised its usage in sociology in 1953 and then gained wide acceptance in the 1960s and 1970s (Malesevic 2004: 1).

Daniel G Braun argues that they are three common meanings of the term cohesion which are;

(a) Attraction to the group, including resistance to leaving it.
(b) Morale, or the level of the members to attack their tasks with zeal.
(c) Coordination of the efforts of members. (Braun 1983:13)

It is from these three common meanings that a definition that embraces all of them is then formulated by Braun. He (Braun) defines cohesion as, "the resultant of all forces acting on the members to remain in the group, including driving forces toward the group and restraining forces against leaving the group." (Braun 1983:13.) Ethnic cohesion concerns ways in which different ethnic groups can be united. Lasksiri Fernando argues that ethnic cohesion is, "another name for ethnic harmony in a more positive and constructive manner" (Fernardo 2012: 1.) Key words and phrases for the cohesion of the Shona and Ndebele people are: attraction to a group, resisting to leave it, coordination, and morale. How can the Shona and

Ndebele people work in harmony? How can they be attracted to one another? How can they coordinate their efforts with zeal? How can they resist separation? These are the questions that this thesis seeks to respond in the light of Paul's ethics of reconciliation.

1.2.5 The Ndebele people

The origin of the name 'Ndebele' is unknown. Dube, Mashiri, and Makoni argue that "it is possible that the name Ndebele has its origins from the Sotho word *kiMatebele* that was used to refer to all raiding Nguni groups and not specifically the Ndebele. *kiMatebele* meant 'warriors with long shields" (Dube, Mashiri & Makoni 2006: 389). However, it is not a simple task to define an identity of any ethnic group since these groups are usually complex. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "the Ndebele of Zimbabwe are presently labelled by some as a tribe, a clan and an ethnic group" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 175). He further argues that "the Ndebele understood themselves as a nation rather than a tribe and are very proud of their language and culture" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 175). This description of them as a nation probably was not debatable in the pre-colonial period, but in contemporary Zimbabwe, that description cannot be sustained unless Zimbabwe becomes a federal state. Ndlovu-Gatsheni gives five situations in which someone can be identified as Ndebele;

1. For someone to be Ndebele, he/she must have royal blood, that is one must be linked directly to the Khumalo clan constituted itself as the ruling elite under Mzilikazi and Lobengula and this is the clannish definition of being Ndebele.
2. For someone to be Ndebele, he/she must speak the Ndebele language as a mother tongue and this is the linguistic definition of being Ndebele.
3. For someone to be Ndebele, he/she must reside in Matabeleland and the Midlands regions. This is called the regional-geographic definition of being Ndebele.
4. Being Ndebele means a conglomeration of all those people whose ancestors were assimilated into Ndebele state, be they Nguni, Sotho, Shona or Lozwi extraction. This is called the historical-pluralistic definition of being Ndebele.
5. Lastly, being Ndebele means having been being loyal to PF ZAPU and Joshua Nkomo and having to be brutalised by the fifth brigade as a dissident community. This called the post-colonial re-tribalization and provincialization of Ndebele identity that was initiated by the state in the period 1980-1987. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 175)

The Ndebele people migrated from Transvaal during the regime of Tshaka, the King of the Zululand who was a brave warrior. This view is supported by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S Mlambo who postulated that;

> The Ndebele who settled in the South-West of the Zimbabwe plateau after 1840 in what began as the movement of a small Khumalo clan from the Zulu kingdom because of the nineteenth century Mfecane in South Africa, developed into a more heterogeneous nation composed of Rozvi, Kalanga, Birwa, Tonga, Venda, and Sotho (Mlambo 2009: XIX).

The Ndebele tribe is the second biggest tribe in Zimbabwe after the Shona and most of them occupy four provinces in Zimbabwe and these are; Bulawayo, Matabeleland North and South, and Midlands. However, in those provinces, they are other minor tribes such as; Tonga, Kalanga, Venda, Nambya, and Shangwe. The Ndebele ethnic identity was affected by three different political periods which are; pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. Because of the aggression and threat of the Shona tribe[3], Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that "the Ndebele language and Ndebele culture is forced to take a defensive posture to remain alive in Zimbabwe" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 180).

1.2.6 The Shona people

The Shona tribe is the largest in Zimbabwe and the coming of the Shona people to Zimbabwe is traced back to as early as AD 850. Mazarire (2009: 4) argues that proto-Shona speaking groups emerged in the middle Limpopo valley as early as the ninth century and these groups later moved on to the Zimbabwean highlands; a view supported by Beach (1980: 21). Beach asserts that "the settlement of the Shona people on the plateau dates from ca 900 in the south and ca 1100 in the north and might have included many people from early iron age ancestors" (Beach 1980: 21). This means that they came to the region much earlier than the Ndebele. Raftopoulos remarks saying, "this group of immigrants, variously linked to the movement of the Bantu people replaced or transformed an already existing cluster of autochthons in the Limpopo region" (Raftopoulos 2009:

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[3] Here Sabelo sees the domination of the Shona in many facets of Zimbabwean life as a threat to the existence of the Ndebele language. He refers to this domination as, "Shona triumphalism and Shona hegemony that is manifest even in such small things as the use of ethnic names for basic commodities like milk-chimombe; relish-usavi, chicken pieces-machikichori. Such domination makes the Ndebele panic over their language" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 180)

4). Their civilisations reached the peak between the 13th and 15th centuries, as witnessed by the construction of the Great Zimbabwe. Powerful kingdoms were established during this period, for example, the Mutapa Kingdom (1450-1760) and later, the Rozvi Kingdom. According to Mazarire (2009), "by 1838, the Rozvi Empire along with the other petty Shona states were conquered by the Ndebele and reduced to vassaldom" (Mazarire 2009: 4).

However, the use of the term Shona is a later development and the term was not in use until the nineteenth century. The tribes that are clustered as Shona people today did not understand themselves by that name until the name was given to them by outsiders (Mazarire 2009:2). There are different opinions as to the meaning of this word. The first explanation is that this name was given to the locals of Zimbabwe by the leader of the Nguni army by the name *Nyamazana*. These people were known for disappearing on hill tops such that the Nguni people would say *batshonile*-meaning they have disappeared. Their name then became *amashona*-the people who always disappear.

Another possible explanation of the name 'Shona' comes from one of the earliest missionary by the name George Wyndham Hamilton Knight-Bruce who became the first Anglican Church Bishop in the established colonial state of Rhodesia. He argues that "the people we call "*Mashona*" did not know themselves by that name. It seems to be a nickname given by the Matabele and means "tripe-cleaners" an allusion apparently, to their eating the inside of animals" (Knight-Bruce 1970: 16). Beach concurs with Bishop Knight-Bruce on the first part of his argument that the name "shona" was first used by the ndebele people about the people who occupied the southern plateau of the current Zimbabwe state (Beach 1980: 21). The above views are synthesized by Dube, Mashiri, and Makoni in the following way;

> The origins of the term 'Shona' remain unclear because, although it is widely attributed to the Ndebele, Andrew Smith had recorded the name Shona in 1835, 'three years before the Ndebele settled in the country'. There were a number of alternative terms that were used to describe the Shona. The British used the term *chiSwina* to refer to the shona (Variants: . . . *svina* pl., *amaswina,* or *maswina*). The term *chiSwina* remained the name used to refer to Shona speakers until 1940. *chiSwina* was pejorative because it literally meant 'dirty people', but it also carries with it a connotation of being highly unskilled and incapable of learning any new and productive skills. *ChiSwina*, from the noun *tsvina* (dirt) (Dube, Mashiri & Makoni 2006: 385).

Thus, the name Shona was popularised less than 200 years ago. What was in use during that time were tribal names such as; Manyika, Korekore, Karanga, Zezuru, and Ndau[4]. These five related dialects constitute what is known today as the Shona tribe. Brian Raftopoulos echoes the same sentiments when he underscores that the term Shona, "signifies linguistic, cultural, and political characteristics of a people" (Raftopoulos 2009: XIX). The major features that characterise someone as Shona are language, home origins, totem, and culture. However, it must be noted that this characterization is not water-tight. Most the Shona tribes occupy the following provinces; Harare, Manicaland, Mashonaland West, East, and Central, Masvingo, and parts of Midlands. Just like the Ndebele tribe, the Shona tribe is a complex one.

1.3 Problem statement

This is a statement about the problem of ethnicity in Zimbabwe. In this statement the researcher is demonstrating the nature of ethnicity in Zimbabwe. This is to further demonstrate that this is an area worth of investigation. The researcher is investigating a real problem that is threatening the country's peace. Donald L. Harowitz argues that understanding ethnic conflict and reduction is an ambitious task since ethnic conflict is experienced worldwide (Harowitz 1985: XIII) and Zimbabwe is not spared from such. The problem of ethnicity in Zimbabwe, especially among the Ndebele and Shona people, has a long history since the pre-colonial era. He further argues that "in divided societies, ethnic conflict is at the centre of politics" (Harowitz 1985: 12). Zimbabwe as a nation has been stratified along ethnic lines since independence such that on the road to the formulation of the new constitution (2010-2013) in Zimbabwe, one of the issues that were heavily

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[4] Just like any other African identities, the Ndau identity is so complex to the extent that it deserves some special attention. There are multiple views on the history of the origins of the Ndau and after reading these views I realized that there is a common ground between all of them. Nelly Muzondi argues that, the history of the Ndau speaking people is traced to Zululand in South Africa. (Muzondi 2014: 12). While Marshall Maposa argues that, the Ndau people are a sub-ethnic group of the Shona people and their culture was influenced by the Nguni people who conquered them under Soshangane (Maposa 2012: 148). Marta Patricio then gives an insight that seems to synthesize the arguments of the two above. Her argument is that, "Ndau origins and history are related with the fragmetation of Monomotapa Empire and Mbire Kingdom and to the expansion cycles of the Rozvi Karanga linage group that succesively occupied the central stripe between the Buzi and Save Rivers, dominating the Tonga populations that previuosly lived there" (Patricio 2011: 5). She goes on to argue that, "Ndau was the name that invaders from the South; the Nguni gave to the people living in the region between Buzi and Save when they invaded them during the second half of the nineteenth century. The word Ndau is related to the way they greeted a chief or important foreigner; they kneel, clap their hands and repeatedly and rhythmically scream (ndau-ui-ui, nadu-ui-ui)" (Patricio 2011: 5). Three arguments above therefore agree that the Ndau are a fusion of the Nguni from Zululalnd and Rozvi Karanga lineage.

discussed was that of the devolution of power. Ethnic tensions among the Ndebele and Shona people can be categorized into various categories such as political, social, economic, linguistic, and religious and these categories will be explored in detail.

1.3.1. Political reasons for social tension

Politics has been one area where some of these ethnic tensions manifested. For example, in the build-up to the formation of the new Zimbabwean constitution from 2010-2013, one the issues that was seriously debated was the subject of the devolution of power. Those who were pushing for this agenda were mainly from Matabeleland arguing that no meaningful development is being done in Matabeleland provinces. The Welshman Ncube-led Movement for Democratic Change (hereinafter referred to as MDC-N) had its manifesto stating that "Devolution is our Revolution" in the 2013 harmonised elections. The main opposition political party in Zimbabwe, the Movement for Democratic Change under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai underwent some serious challenges which ended up with it being split into parties. The popular discourse in the media was that the MDC split was because of the disagreements in participating in the 2006 senatorial elections. Morgan Tsvangirai, the party president was leading a team advocating for the boycotting of the senate elections (anti-senate faction) while Welshman Ncube the party general secretary together with Gibson Sibanda, the party vice president, were leading the team that was in favour of participating in the senate elections (pro-senate faction).

However, Raftopoulos argues that "the senate issue; that provided the pretext for the party divide, was not in itself the fundamental cause of the problems in the MDC. It was merely the site on which the different factions fought out long-standing problems of organisation, parallel structures, accountability, and strategy" (Raftopoulos 2007: 140). The one that was led by Morgan Tsvangirai was named; Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T), the other faction hired Author Mutambara from South Africa to be the party president. Then it was named; Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara (MDC-M) and later on Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube (MDC-N) when Welshman Ncube assumed leadership of the party. On the forefront of the split were Welshman Ncube and Gibson Sibanda; who are of Ndebele identity. So, one can see

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ethnic politics at stake here, but surprisingly, Arthur Mutambara of Shona identity was appointed though without prior history with the organization. Raftopoulos further argues that,

> For the pro-senate group, the challenge would be the lack of a credible Shona leader would constitute a huge limitation in their efforts to develop a national profile. In the light of the split with Tsvangirai, and given the ethnic dynamics of Zimbabwean politics, the pro-senate faction was forced to look for an electable Shona leader to oppose both Tsvangirai and Mugabe. Given the lack of a suitable candidate within the existing ranks of the pro-senate faction, they later looked for a candidate outside of the existing leadership structure and elected Arthur Mutambara (Raftopoulos 2007: 141-143).

It is difficult to win elections in Zimbabwe without the support of the Shona population since they are the majority. This has been the case with Nkomo who at independence, commanded seats mainly from Matabeleland and Midlands provinces and Mugabe won the Shona provinces' support. The results led to the formation of a unity government which was short-lived after conspiracy theories led to the dismissal of Nkomo from cabinet in 1982 and an eruption of state-sanctioned massacres in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces.

The Unity Accord between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU in 1987 did not bring the desired results though it played a significant role in stopping the *Gukurahundi* massacres. The general feeling among the ordinary ndebele people is that the top hierarchy sold out their sovereignty to ZANU PF. The Ndebele people are still reportedly bitter and want things like *Gukurahundi* to be addressed. *Gukurahundi* was a state sanctioned military operation that was carried in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces in the pretext of eliminating dissident activities, but the result was the slaughter of some reported 20 000 ordinary citizens. It was an ethnic cleansing activity as the name itself suggest. *Gukurahundi* is known among the Karanga people in the Midlands and Masvingo provinces as the first rain that cleanses every dirty in the land. The MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai had used bitterness among the Ndebele people as a tool for his political mileage. This explains why for many years; ZANU PF has failed to impress the electorate in the Matabeleland provinces and part of the Midlands. These political challenges have caused polarisation within the nation and a threat to peace and unity. As the subject of succession for the president is being debated within ZANU PF, the subject of ethnicity is again taking centre stage. Collen Sabao and Marianna Visser argue that;

The last decade (2002-2014) has however witnessed serious factional fights within the party. Fanned largely by succession wars, the factional rifts have emerged because of contestations over who would replace the incumbent president Robert Mugabe whose political career is just approaching its end. These factions within the shona speaking ZANU PF members are largely on ethnic grounds (Sabao & Visser 2016: 89-90).

The tension has deepened even among the Shona people, especially within the five Shona dialects. The tension has resulted in the dismissal of Joyce Mujuru from the office of Vice President on allegations of plotting the assassination of the incumbent president Mugabe. Mujuru was replaced by Emmerson Mnangagwa who is from the Karanga people. However, not all scholars agree that the current factionalism in ZANU PF is tribal. Some scholars, for example, Daniel Compagnon believes that Mugabe is not a tribal chauvinist. Compagnon argues that "at various points, in time he relied on politicians from Matabeleland to reign in the ambitions of the fellow Shona. He has always keen on using Karanga people like Muzenda and Mnangagwa, Manyika like Mutasa and Muchinguri"[5] (Daniel 2011: 19). For Compagnon, Mugabe's interest is political survival not building of the Zezuru ethnic power, he wants people who are loyal and prepared to defend his power regardless of their ethnic or racial identity.

However, Compagnon admits that Mugabe promoted several Zezuru people to prominent offices such as, Charles Utete (former secretary in the president's office), Augustine Chihuri (Commissioner General for Zimbabwe Republic Police), Constantine Guvheya Chiwenga (Army General), Perence Shiri (Airforce Commander), and the late Godfrey Chidyausiku (Chief Justice). Compagnon sees the factionalism in ZANU PF as ideological rather than tribal. It is a fight between the younger generation known as G40 (Generation 40) and the hardliners those who are old guards represented by Mnangagwa.

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[5] The term Manyika is here used in the provincial sense not in its proper ethnic sense. This is how the term is used in perpetuating factionalism within ZANU PF. Many people today refer to all people from Manicaland as Manyika, but this is an incorrect rendering of the ethnic identities of these people. For example, Rusape is in the Manicaland province but many people from that area are Maungwe. Chipinge is again in Manicaland province but many people from that area are Ndau. This is true of some of the provinces like Matabeleland and Masvingo. There are few Ndebele people in Matabeleland North province. Many people in that area are Tonga and Nambya.

1.3.2 Economic reasons for social tension.

The economy of Zimbabwe has been on a downward trend and that has seen many companies closing shops. The companies operating outside Harare are closing and relocating to Harare, the capital city with Bulawayo being one of the seriously affected. The economy of Zimbabwe is slowly being centralized in Harare. This does not mean that companies in Harare are not closing as well, but things are better off in Harare compared to other cities like Bulawayo. The argument being that resources that are being extracted in Matabeleland for example, coal at Hwange Colliery Mine, tourism at Victoria Falls and Hwange National Park, cattle ranching is being channelled to Harare where industries are still functional though at a slower pace and head offices are situated in Harare as well.

One can question the logic of building Coal House in Harare when the coal company is in Hwange which is over 800 km from Harare. Another pointer to the monopoly of the economy by Harare is witnessed in the airline sector; Harare is the only reliable international destination for airlines. In Bulawayo, there are only two to three airlines connecting Bulawayo with the international community, while the rest use Harare. Infrastructural development is faster in Harare compared to Bulawayo. Modern buildings are being built in Harare while Bulawayo has mostly old, dilapidated buildings. It was within this context when MDC-N targeted devolution of power as their election manifesto. Welshman Ncube the leader of MDC-N argues that "devolution gave all of Zimbabwe a chance to share the national cake" (Zhou 2012: 161). Same sentiments were shared by the then speaker of parliament Mr. Lovemore Moyo who argued that "devolution of power is the answer and solution to problems currently bedevilling the Matabeleland region which include the deindustrialization of the city of Bulawayo and the marginalisation of the region" (Moyo, 2013/09/12). Moyo however, pointed out that this is not only about Matabeleland region but all marginalized regions in the country. For example, all the extreme areas in almost all the provinces like Muzarabani, Mutoko, and Chirundu are still less developed. This was one of the subjects that were debated at length during the community consultations for the writing of the country's new constitution.

1.3.3 Linguistic reasons for social tension.

Language is an important component of personal identity and this is further reflected in Gatsheni-Ndlovu's definition of being Ndebele. One of the identity markers of a being Ndebele is speaking Ndebele as a mother tongue and he calls it, "linguistic definition of being Ndebele" (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2008: 175). The Ndebele people just like any other tribe, are proud of their language and it is for this reason why they defend it. Gatsheni-Ndlovu, in Bahru Zewde asserts that:

> "Shona triumphalism and Shona hegemony that is manifest even in such small things as the use of ethnic names for some basic commodities like milk-*chimombe*, relish-*usavi*, chicken pieces-*machikichori,* make the Ndebele panic over their language. The Ndebele language and Ndebele culture are forced to take a defensive posture to remain alive in Zimbabwe" (Ndlovu 2008: 180).

These italicised names are Shona names that are used as equivalent indigenous names for these commodities. The government had tried to address this challenge of language in different ways, for example, in the media particularly with Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (hereinafter referred to as ZBC) local news are read in both languages. However, someone can ask, why Shona news come first and then Ndebele news last. Currently, there is controversy in the Anglican Church Diocese of Matabeleland over the singing of Shona hymns and choruses in the service. Chucks (a pseudo name for his personal security) a youth and choir director at an Anglican parish in Bulawayo in an interview claimed that the bishop of the diocese Cleopas Lunga prohibited the singing of Shona songs in church services. His argument was that this is Matabeleland and not Mashonaland and there is no singing of Ndebele songs in Harare.

1.3.4 Religious reasons for social tension

The nationalisation of Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi as the national spirit mediums is a cause for concern in the Ndebele worldview. The two mentioned above were spirit mediums in Mashonaland province who were hanged by the settlers in 1896 for spearheading the resistance movement against colonialism. The two were tribal spirit mediums but today, politics has nationalised them and this represents a further imposition of the Shona worldview on the Ndebele people. The two mediums (Nehanda and Kaguvi) are not in any way related to the Ndebele worldview and this is a manifestation of cultural imposition. The same sentiments are shared by

Mhlanga (2013: 283) when he argues that, "the institutionalisation of Nehanda and Kaguvi among the Shona as national figures, maybe regarded as strategy by the Shona to maintain their peoplehood and myths of origins for survival".

At the enthronement of the Anglican Bishop of Matabeleland Cleopas Lunga, his opening remark on his charge was, "Diocese of Matabeleland for the Ndebeles"[6] What this means is that the Anglican Church in Matabeleland is for the Ndebele people. This shows how ethnic tensions are also permeating the religious sphere. The Bishop is on record for his efforts to remove anything in worshipping services that is aligned to Shona language and culture, for example, Shona hymns and choruses and playing of drums. In return, the Shona congregants are threatening to withdraw their financial support for the church. Some are even threatening to start what are called "flying parishes". These are congregations that are established in a certain diocesan space but paying allegiance to a bishop in another diocesan space. The unity, security, and future of contemporary Zimbabwe is under threat because of ethnic tensions. Since all avenues have failed to address adequately the subject of ethnicity, this research turns to biblical ethics especially of Paul in Corinthian correspondence as an inspiration to enhance ethnic cohesion. Zimbabwe is predominantly Christian, and Christianity can be a common denominator between the two ethnic groups.

1.4 Justification

The subject of ethnicity in Zimbabwe is a threat to national unity and it is worth investigating. A sustainable solution is needed on this matter and failing to deal with it effectively can have disastrous consequences. The problem of ethnicity in Zimbabwe has caused untold suffering among people of different ethnic backgrounds and graves related to ethnic wars are scattered throughout the country particularly in the provinces of Midlands and Matabeleland. Zimbabwe witnessed atrocities such as *Gukurahundi* and *Entumbane* where thousands of people lost their lives with ethnicity being suspected as the major culprit. The *Entumbane* war which broke out in

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[6] This information was shared by the priests from the Diocese of Matabeleland and they refused their identities to be disclosed for fear of victimization. Efforts to get the copy of that charge were also fruitless. The researcher could therefore, not ascertain whether this statement was part of the written charge or not, but there is multiple oral attestation to this statement from the Matabeleland clergy who attended the bishop's enthronement.

1981, was a war between the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Hereinafter referred to as ZIPRA) forces and government forces and in turn thousands of civilians lost their lives. The war, at last, took a tribal route in the sense that government forces killed anyone they met on the way if the person could not speak Shona while the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army forces killed anyone who was not a Ndebele speaker. Language was then used as an instrument of identity. These sentiments are echoed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni when he opined that, "the *Gukurahundi* atrocities refer to the brutal and indiscriminate state-sanctioned violence unleashed on the Ndebele-speaking communities of Matabeleland and the Midlands regions, justified on the grounds of eliminating dissident elements operating in these areas during the early days of independent Zimbabwe" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 168). As a result, many people within these affected regions are bitter and seeking the opportunity for revenge and there is a need to deal with these emotions before they are translated into action.

This research attempts to use Christianity as a common denominator in unifying these two ethnic groups. Politics and other dialogical efforts have failed to give a lasting solution to this problem. Efforts have been made to solve this problem by other Christian organisations such as the Christian Alliance (CA), Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), and Zimbabwe Catholic Bishop's Conference (ZCBC) but the problem persists. This research seeks to utilise the ethics of Paul as a basis for social cohesion in Zimbabwe, an avenue that has not been explored by the above-mentioned bodies. The use of the bible in trying to solve this social ill is important given the status of the Bible in the African context and in the Zimbabwean context. More importantly, the Bible is revered for its sacredness and authority I Zimbabwe.

Regis Gunda argues that:

> In essence, the bible is seen as the final authority in all matters of Christian faith and conduct, as well as the last court of appeal for many Zimbabwean Christians when faced with some difficult issues. The bible, therefore, has been precisely understood in Zimbabwe as the divine answer book to all human questions and all one has to do is approach the bible to get the necessary answer for any circumstance facing them (Gunda 2010: 68-69).

It is on the premises raised by Gunda that the bible become a relevant book to use in trying to address the problem of ethnicity in Zimbabwe; particularly between the Ndebele and Shona people. The bible is no longer a foreign book to the Zimbabweans, it has now become an integral part of Zimbabwean spiritual and social life. Zimbabweans have domesticated the bible to the extent that it stands ready in any occasion for example; at funerals, weddings, birthday parties, graduation parties, farewell parties, bachelor's parties, bridal showers, traditional courts, political rallies, judicial gatherings and marriage ceremonies. Therefore, the use of bible in dealing with ethnic issues in Zimbabwe is a potentially sustainable avenue since it is considered the final authority in all matters pertaining to human life in Zimbabwe.

1.5 Context of the study

The context of study can be stratified into two; Zimbabwean social and New Testament Pauline ethical contexts. Social group in this research, is used to refer to ethnic groups and how they are related to each other and there are many social groups in Zimbabwe varying from academics, business, politics, sport, religion, and culture. This research focuses on the two major ethnic groups as social groups which are the Ndebele and Shona tribes. This context, therefore, encompasses areas such as social anthropology, cultural, ethnic, political, and historical studies. This means that knowledge of sociological, psychological, anthropological, political, cultural and dialogical theories is a requirement. There have been some tensions between the Shona and Ndebele people for a period spanning multiple centuries and these tensions usually manifest in sport, religion, politics, and the economy.

While there is no physical war between the Ndebele and the Shona, the ethnic tensions have the potential to generate into a physical war. In order to ensure sustainable peace, there should be efforts to eliminate ethnic tensions between the two tribes. The study also focuses on New Testament; particularly the field of ethics and this study narrows the context to Pauline ethics. In dealing with Pauline ethics, the area of investigation is limited to authentic Pauline letters and the two genuine Pauline letters will be visited and these are I and II Corinthians. The two contexts that are Paul's and the Zimbabwean context are different hence the need for proper exegetical and correlation tools to link them.

1.6 Aim and Objectives of the study

The main aim of this enquiry is to explain dynamics of ethnicity in the socio-political environment of Zimbabwe and how the Pauline ethics may be used as reference towards ethnic cohesion.

The study has the following objectives:

(a) To investigate the problematic nature of the relations between Shona and Ndebele people in the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial Zimbabwe;
(b) To evaluate Paul's ethics regarding reconciliation and social cohesion in the Corinthian correspondence;
(c) A critical correlation of the past (Pauline) and present (Zimbabwe) experiences;
(d) To suggest recommendations on the way forward in the reconciliation process in Zimbabwe.

1.7 Research outline

Chapter 1: Introduction, Definitions, and Background to the Study

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Chapter 3: An Investigation of the problematic nature of the relations between the Shona and

Ndebele people in the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Zimbabwe

Chapter 4: A Survey of past reconciliation efforts in Zimbabwe

Chapter 5: An evaluation of Paul's ethics regarding reconciliation and social cohesion in the

Corinthian Correspondence

Chapter 6: A Critical Correlation of past (Pauline) and present (Zimbabwe) experiences

Chapter 7: Evaluations, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

2.0 Introduction

The problem of ethnicity in Zimbabwe is complex and there are many lenses that can be employed to analyze it. This is an interdisciplinary area where lenses from history, social sciences, biblical, and theology are to be used in analysing the nature and dynamics of ethnicity in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the following methods and theories are to be employed: Critical Correlation Theory to correlate past Pauline experiences and the Zimbabwean context of ethnicity, Social Complexity Theory to analyze the identity dynamics between the Shona and Ndebele people and other complementary theories including Theories of Ethnicity, Social Identity Theory, and Intersectionality are used in this research. These are complementary theories broadening the discussion of Ndebele and Shona relations. The CDA will be used to analyze the nature of ethnic discourse in the Zimbabwean environment.

2.1 The Critical Correlation Theory (CCT)

While theories of ethnicity, identity, multiple identity and intersectionality would be at the background of this research, its investigation is primarily informed by Critical Correlation Theory (Herein after referred to as CCT) of Paul Tillich and David Tracy. In this section, it is important to understand what the theory is through defining it, explaining how it functions, and how it will help to juxtapose Paul and Zimbabwe.

2.1.2 Defining the Theory

John P Clayton postulates that "the concept of correlation has to do principally with the relationship between cultural situation and the christian message as expressed in symbols and traditions of Christianity" (Clayton 1980: 113). The argument forwarded by Tillich is that with human existence, there are some philosophical questions that need theological answers. At the heart of the method, is the correlation of the present situation (culture) and the christian message (religion) and for Tillich, culture is contained within the church and the two are not parallel (Tillich 1959: 51). Tillich on many occasions in his works, used the words, 'church', 'theology', and 'religion' interchangeably. Theology is not divorced from the church and neither is the church

detached from culture. Such a theoretical framework led Tillich to conclude that culture is in essence, a form of religion (Tillich 1959: 47). In line with such a theoretical framework, Tillich further argues that "the church has the function of answering the question implied in man's very existence, the question of the meaning of this existence" (Tillich 1959: 49). The method of correlation therefore, provides for the mediation between the religious content and the cultural form and it is for this reason that Tillich's theology is often referred to as the theology of mediation.

Paul Tillich pioneered the Method of Correlation, but David Tracy improved it later when he developed his theological method. Tracy came up with five basic models in contemporary theology of which the Critical Correlation which he named the Revisionist Model was one of them (Tracy 1979: 22-32). Tracy (1979: 34) defines CCT as the "philosophical reflection upon the meanings present in common human experience and the meanings present in the Christian tradition". Tracy argues that the reason for the improvement of Tillich's CCT was because of its supposed lack of the 'critical' component. Tracy (1974: 18) further asserts that" for if the "situation" is to be taken with full seriousness, then its answers to its own questions must also be investigated critically. Yet Tillich's method cannot really allow this". Though Tracy acknowledges that he is heavily indebted to Tillich, he is credited for adding the 'critical' component in the method.

However, there are many significant agreements and minor disagreements in their approaches. In principle, both Tillich and Tracy agree on the following three things: first, that the task of the contemporary theologian is to provide answers to human experiences; second, that this task can be achieved through an investigation of both human situations and the christian message; and third, that there is need for some method of correlation between the situation and the message.

They however disagree on how the method functions. Tracy argues that;

> Tillich's method of correlation does not call for a critical correlation of the results of one's investigations of the "situation" and the "message." Rather, his method affirms the need for a correlation of the "questions" expressed in the "situation" with the "answers" provided by the Christian "'message." Such a correlation, in fact, is one between "questions" from one source and "answers" from the other. (Tracy 1974: 17-18)

Tracy dismissed such an approach as unacceptable because it is simply a juxtapositioning of the human questions and christian answers. The key assumption of the CCT is that the

two principal sources for theology are the common human experince and the christian fact. What Tracy terms christian fact is the same with what Tillich calls the 'message.' Tracy however, argues that the term christian fact is neutral unlike Tillich's term 'message' which presupposes that the theologian should be a christian believer. Then what Tillich calls 'cultural situation' is the same with what Tracy calls 'common human experience' and these terms are sometimes used interchangeably in this thesis.

2.1.3 The Application of CCT

Tillich is not very useful when it comes to the issue of how the theory functions. The argument is that "nowhere does he sketches his model in full detail" (Clayton 1980: 179). Therefore, there is nowhere in Tillich's writings where one can find the clearly laid out tenets of the method. What one gets are isolated discussions of the method in different writings. This inquiry therefore, turns to the tenets of the method and rely more on Tracy. Tracy came up with five theses that helps to illustrate how the CCT functions.

The first one is that "the two principal sources for theology are christian texts and common human experience and language" (Sanks 1993: 703). The term 'christian texts' here is inclusive of the whole christian tradition which includes symbols, rituals, events, and witnesses. This is what Tillich calls the 'christian message.' For this thesis, the christian texts in focus are I Corinthians 1:10–17 and II Corinthians 5: 16–21. There is the need to investigate these two christian texts and this thorough investigation is done in chapter five. Significantly, are the five symbols in these texts; christ, cross of christ, baptism, new creation, and ambassador. Scriptures are fundamental to Christianity since it is the religion of the book and hence, they are the basis for christian theology.

The christian texts in question are used in relation to the common human experience being experienced in contemporary Zimbabwe and this is what Tillich calls the 'cultural situation.' Tracy argues that the "common human experience should not be confined to sense-experience alone but should include that immediate experience of the self-as-self which can be reflectively mediated through such disciplines as art, history, cultural analysis, human scientifc analysis, and philosophical analysis" (Tracy 1979: 69). In this case, the common human experience under investigation are the ethnic relations between the Ndebele and Shona people. Philosophical

questions under enquiry are: what constitutes ethnicity? Are relationships worth pursuing? In what sense do the concepts 'Ndebele' and 'Shona' define people? Are the identity categories 'Ndebele' and 'Shona' social or ontological ones? Are ethnic boundaries metaphysical or epistemological? These theological questions help in the investigation of the common human experience. A thorough investigation of the common human experience is done in chapters three and four.

The second thesis of CCT is "a critical correlation of the results of the investigation of the two sources of theology discussed above" (Sanks 1993:704). Tillich advocates for the correlation between 'cultural situation' and 'christian message' but however, Tracy argues for the critical correlation of the results of the investigations of christian texts and common human experience. In order to accurately intepret the outcomes of the correlation, it is critical to analyze how Paul managed to deal with common human situation of the Corinthians in the texts in question. It is those results such as his use of symbols, christ, cross of christ, baptism, new creation, and ambassador that are of interest in correlating the two experiences. This also involves drawing some parallels between the Corinthian and Zimbabwean common human experience and such parallels help in making Paul relevant to the Zimbabwean cultural situation. A thorough correlation of the past Pauline and Zimbabwean experiences is done in chapter six.

The next two theses have to do with the principal methods that are used to investigate the two sources of theology (common human experience and christian fact). Tracy cites the phenomenology of the religious dimension and the historical and hermeneutical investigation of classical christian texts as key principal methods for a successful CCT task. The methods are not the only ones but others can be used.

The fifth thesis of CCT is to "determine the truth-status of the results of one's investigations into the meaning of both common human experience and christian texts." (Sanks 1993: 705) This is an area of where the theologian is in transcendental or metaphysical mode. The reason for engaging in the transcendental and metaphysical mode is to determine the significant similarities and differences of the truth value of the correlated results of the two sources of theology. The conclusion of chapter six employs this fifth thesis as a way of examining the correlated results.

2.1.4 The CCT of Paul's Corinthians correspondence and ethnicity in Zimbabwe

The two contexts (Corinth and Zimbabwe) are different in terms of the dispensation, geography, culture and common human experience. It is therefore, critical to analyze how Paul speaks in the current circumstances. However, of important to note is that both contexts are characterized by fractured relationships, hence the need for reconciliation. In that case, the two contexts have a shared common human experience. In addition to that, christian texts play a significant role in both contexts. This follows that the texts in question can effectively speak to the two contexts regardless of the audience being different. Moreover, symbols contained in the two texts are acceptable in both contexts regardless of time and geographical differences in as much as they play a significant role in Tillich's method of correlation.

Christ therefore, becomes the central symbol of the christian faith. Other important symbols for this correlation task are the cross of christ, new creation, baptism and ambassador. Religious symbols for Tillich are double-edged, meaning that "they are directed toward the infinite which they symbolize and toward the finite through which they symbolize it" (Tillich 1951: 240). This CCT is the best method that one can use to read Paul in the Zimbabwean context. This is the method that successfully brings past Pauline and present Zimbabwean context into dialogue.

2.2 The Social Identity Complexity

The Social Identity Complexity (SIC) is another important theory in complementing the SIT's weaknesses. It is an identity theory, but it explains how an individual can have multiple identities and how to deal with them. According to Sonia Rocas and Marilynn B. Brewer, "it is a theoretical construct that refers to an individual's subjective representation of the interrelationships among his or her multiple group identities. It refers the degree of overlap perceived to exist among groups of which a person is simultaneously a member". (Brewer 2002: 88). This means that for someone to have multiple identities, certain qualities must be developed such as openness to change, universal values, and tolerance for diversity. Four types of social groups have been identified by Rocas and Brewer as, intimacy, task, social categories, and loose associations. (Brewer 2002: 89).

The perspective helps to address some of the identity complexes one encounters when analysing the ethnic identities. The theory avoids essentializing identities, a weakness that affects the SIT theory in general. However, the perspective does not address issues of intergroup conflict. The perspective does not take seriously the issue of social boundaries which is a reality one needs to confront when dealing with ethnic relations. The perspective does not go to the roots of ethnic identities because multi-identities are broad categories that come later in the development of an individual.

2.3 Theories of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is one perspective that can be used to interpret the dynamics in Zimbabwe. Merlin Schaeffer defines ethnicity as, "a type of social identity that might be associated with dense networks among co-members and shared ethnocultural habits and practices" (Schaeffer 2012: 24). Schaeffer further argues that "theories of ethnicity attempt to answer the following fundamental questions; what is the nature of ethnicity? Is ethnicity something that is inherited or something that is constructed? What determines ethnic affiliation or identification? In other words, what is the basis of ethnicity?" (Schaeffer 2012: 41). In an attempt at responding to these fundamental questions, several theories have emerged over the years which can be grouped into three schools which are the; primordialism, constructionism, and instrumentalism.

The primordial school has three major tenets; first, "ethnicity is an ascribed identity or assigned status, something inherited from one's ancestors" (Schaeffer 2012: 42). This means if one's ancestors are Ndebele; therefore, it follows that one becomes of Ndebele ethnic group. Second, "as an important corollary of ascribed identity, ethnic boundaries, which demarcate who is a member of an ethnic group and who is not, are fixed and immutable" (Schaeffer 2012: 42). It means that once one is born within a certain ethnic group one cannot change to another group. Therefore, membership to a certain ethnic group is static. Third, "common ancestry determines ethnicity. In other words, people belong to an ethnic group because members of that group all share common biological and cultural origins" (Schaeffer 2012: 42). The constructionism school is built on three premises. First, "ethnicity is a socially constructed identity, something that is created" (Schaeffer 2012: 44). Second, "ethnic boundaries are flexible or changeable" (Schaeffer

2012: 44). Third, "ethnic affiliation or identification is determined or constructed by society" (Schaeffer 2012: 44). The third school is instrumentalism. According to Schaeffer, "the school views ethnicity as an instrument or strategic tool for gaining resources" (Schaeffer 2012: 46). Resources are key in ethnic identity. Therefore, it means its boundaries are not static as well and relatively stable but undergo changes from time to time" (Schaeffer 2012: 47).

Ethnicity as a perspective is employed to understand the nature of boundaries that constitute ethnic groups. As an example, an inquiry into what makes one Ndebele or Shona and whether it is natural through birth or through shared culture and why we have different layers of identities within an ethnic group. The perspective helps the researcher to respond to these questions. In defining any entity, boundaries of what it is, and it is not, must be set. It is also of interest as to what makes someone a Shona and whether it is distinct from a Ndebele. However, this does not mean that the perspective is without limitations. One such limitation is argued by Sinisa Malesevic who opines that;

> Although social actors still, for the most part, tend to see their ethnic groups as given and static and their cultural boundaries as clearly demarcated, this only tells us something about actors and their beliefs and very little about ethnicity as such. The concept of ethnicity, in all its popular forms and contents, is commonly reified and made eternal precisely because it does not have those features. (Malesevic 2004: 71)

The perspective assumes that people are consciously aware of the boundaries that separate them form other people of different ethnic background, but that is not always the case. The perspective cannot adquately account for multiple identites especially in the pluralistic societies. It is not always the case that one should belong to certain ethnic group at a given time. Sometimes, members of ethnic groups cross ethnic boundaries back and forth through migration and the perspective seems to overlook that.

2.4 The Social Identity Theory

Michael A Hogg defines the Social Identity Theory (SIT) as "a social psychological analysis of the role of self-conception in group processes, and intergroup relations" (Hogg 2006: 111). The theory therefore, looks at how the group defines itself and how it relates to other groups? Hogg

further articulates that "it embraces several interrelated concepts and sub-theories that focus on social-cognitive, motivational, social-interactive and macro-social facets of group life" (Hogg 2006: 111). The SIT investigates what characterizes certain ethnic groups and the traits that are peculiar to a certain ethnic group that distinguishes it from the rest. The two ethnic groups Ndebele and Shona are social groups; hence it is important to investigate how they view themselves and at the same time how they relate to each other. Hogg had, to sum up, the theory by stating that;

> The Social Identity Theory addresses phenomena such as prejudice, discrimination, ethnocentrism, stereotyping, intergroup conflict, conformity, normative behaviour, group polarisation, crowd behaviour, organisational behaviour, leadership, deviance, and group cohesiveness. (Hogg 2006: 111)

It is important to highlight the contribution of this theory to this study. The perspectives of the SIT highlights issues that contribute to prejudice, discrimination, group polarisation, leadership, intergroup conflict, stereotypes, group cohesion and collective behaviour. In as much the theory has done well in articulating the subject of identity in a society, it has ignored some of the dynamics that are encountered in the politics of identity. The theory has the weakness of giving a picture of ethnic boundaries that are fixed and permanent while those boundaries are sometimes fluid and not solid. It's not always the case that Ndebele and Shona people are always at loggerheads. Those boundaries are crossed for various reasons ranging from religion, profession, marriage, and business. It is because of such weaknesses that other perspectives are required to complement it.

2.5 Intersectionality

The term Intersectionality was coined by Kimberley Crenshaw in 1989 (Phoenix 2006: 187). The method originated within the area of gender studies and it is for this reason that Leslie McCall postulates that "Intersectionality is the most important theoretical contribution that women's studies in conjunction with related fields have made so far" (MacCall 2005: 1). MacCall defines the theory as the, "studying of relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations" (MacCall 2005: 1). The aim of the perspective is, "to make visible, the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it" (Phoenix 2006: 187). It means that people have multiple identities and sometimes they cross whatever boundaries the society might create. In a society, they may be some tribal or

ethnic boundaries but sometimes, relationships transcend those boundaries. Teachers as professionals, might relate well because of their profession and disregard their ethnic or racial boundaries.

This is an important aspect to consider in this research as the perspective compliments the SIT and other related theories that are accused of fragmenting or essentializing issues. The limitation of the perspective is that it reduces identities to power relations. Although power is a formidable force in understanding ethnic relations, there are other significant factors that have to be considered and such one factor is language.

2.6 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This is another important perspective in this research as it differs a lot with other perspectives. Stuart Hall defines discourse as, "passages of connected writing or speech" (Hall 1997: 44). In different circles, the terms Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (hereinafter referred to as CDA) are used interchangeably, but today the more preferred term is CDA. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer agree with Teun A van Dijk on this subject. As a methodology CDA operates on three assumptions;

1. The relation between language and social reality is not direct but occurs through discursive practices
2. Language is not just a way of saying things, but it is also a way of doing things particularly the exercising of power
3. The relation between language and social structure is dialectical, primarily because what participants say is shaped by and in turn shapes social structures, either reproducing them or transforming them (Fairclough 1992: 71-72)

Fairclough is supported by Dijk who echoes the same sentiments that, "the methodology primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Dijk 1992: 352). Dijk analyses how power can be a control tool in social relations. He interrogates these two major questions:

1. How do more powerful groups control public discourse?
2. How does such discourse control mind and action of less powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such as social inequality. (Dijk 1992: 352)

What words are used by Ndebeles when talking about the Shonas and vice versa? Thomas Ndaluka argues that "words are not neutral, there is always a political agenda underlying their use" (Ndaluka 2012: 47). Language is a very important feature in the analysis of ethnicity and yet so complex. Therefore, "language is one of the media through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture" (Hall 1997: 1). Then, the method of discourse practices examines the processes of the production of texts, consumption and distribution. Fairclough argues that "when participants produce and consume text or talk, they draw in member's resources" (Fairclough 1989: 163).

The perspective helps in understanding the role of media and language in intergroup relations and conflicts. For example, the Shona people use words such as; *madzviti*, lazy, cruel, tribalists and uneducated when referring to the Ndebeles while on the other side the Ndebeles use words such as *masvina*, tribalists, proud, and cheaters when referring to the Shona. Thomas Ndaluka argues that "discourse practice is a necessary step, as it bridges the gap between linguistic and social practice. It tries to illuminate the process in which the text was produced and how it was distributed/received, as well as its interpretation" (Ndaluka 2012: 49).

Having highlighted some of the tenets of the perspective, there is a need to clarify some of its limitations. The method as alluded before is neither qualitative nor quantitative but a matter of interpretation which is subjective. The same sentiments are shared by Bernd as he writes that, "there is no hard data provided through discourse analysis, the reliability and the validity of one's research depends on the force and logic of one's arguments" (Bernd 1992: 385). What is important with the method is the quality of rhetoric one produces.

Chapter Three: Ndebele-Shona relations in Pre-Colonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

3.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to identify the roots of the problematic nature of the relations between the Shona and Ndebele people in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. Following Tracy's CCT approach, this chapter is a further investigation of the Common Human Experience in Zimbabwe. Four philosophical questions form the base for this investigation and these are; 1) Is the relationship between the two tribes worth pursuing, 2) in what sense do concepts 'Ndebele' and 'Shona' define people, 3) Are the identity categories 'Ndebele' and 'Shona' social or ontological, and 4) are ethnic boundaries metaphysical or epistemological? The assumption is that the problem has a long history, but however, this assumption will be tested by CCT and other identity theories to be used in this thesis.

The chapter will also analyse the social setting *(sitz-im-leben)* of the two ethnic groups in the period under review, meaning that the research investigates the settlement of the two ethnic groups in the land which is now called Zimbabwe. In this chapter, the name Zimbabwe will be used in reference to the space that is between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers though those boundaries were not like that in the pre-colonial era. Contemporary boundaries for the nation of Zimbabwe are traced back to the colonial era. Therefore, the researcher is consciously anachronistically using the term Zimbabwe for the pre-colonial period. Beach calls the current Zimbabwean space before the colonial era, "The Plateau" (Beach 1980: 21). Therefore, the term "Plateau" will be used synonymously with the name Zimbabwe.

3.1 The History of Ndebele-Shona relations in pre-colonial Zimbabwe

The earliest sources of information on the period under review were from explorers, travellers, and traders; particularly Arab and Portuguese travellers and western historians. This raises questions of qualitative information; there is a lot of prejudiced information, particularly from travellers and missionaries. However, some of the western historians though being western; for

example, Beach and Cobbing were objective in their treatment of available data. The other set of historians are the Africans who write from an informed point of view, but some are however, reactionary and emotional and their accounts should be treated with caution as well. It is difficult to come up with a history that is neutral since any historiography is an interpretation.

3.1.1 The Shona people in the Pre-10th Century Zimbabwe

To establish the relations between the Shona and the Ndebele people in the pre-colonial Zimbabwe, it is important to first investigate the life setting of these ethnic groups. Questions that should form the core of this inquiry include, how did the Shona people arrive in Zimbabwe? What was their form of living? How were the Shona tribes[7] structured? And lastly, how did they relate to the Ndebele people? These are some of the questions to be addressed in this section.

There is less documented information on the arrival of the Shona people in Zimbabwe and what is available is the history of the Shona tribes in the sixteenth century. There is, however, reconstructed information about the arrival of the Shona people in Zimbabwe from archaeological findings and is subject to thorough interpretation. Michael Bourdillon argues that;

> The archaeological examination of the early settlements shows that during the couple of centuries following the year 1000 a new group of people moved into the plateau, and the early Iron Age peoples were absorbed into a culture cluster which is continuous with the cluster of cultures of the nineteenth century shona peoples (Bourdillon 2004: 7).

The evidence of archaeologists as recorded by Bourdillon is based on probability and they are not so sure if these people who migrated to the plateau between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers were Shona people, but they are some similarities in terms of their cultural traits. However, many scholars place the immigration of the Shona people in Zimbabwe to about AD 900. One such scholar and prominent historian is Beach who places the arrival of the Shona in the Plateau between AD 900 and AD 1100. He argues that "the Shona people came from both the north and south; from

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[7] The plural (tribes) is used to refer to the Shona since one cannot talk of a unified Shona tribe given the five dialects that are under the generic name, 'Shona'. The word, 'Shona' then is a family name of related dialects and this subject will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

the original Bantu homeland, north of the great basin of the Congo and its tributaries and from a local area of dispersion, south of the Limpopo" (Beach 1980: 21).

The term 'Shona' is problematic as alluded to earlier on in this research because it is unlikely that these people were known by this collective name. The same sentiments are shared by Raftopoulos and Mlambo who argue that the use of the name Shona presents several challenges for the modern historian (Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009: 4). Among the challenges raised by Mlambo and Raftopoulos is the fact that the term's modern use is anachronistic, meaning that these people were at some point in time, not known by this collective name.

Earlier on, theories on the possible naming of these people have been discussed and the other possible name of these people is *Karanga*. The possible origins of the name *Karanga* is not clear but again, there are several speculations pertaining to the etymology of the name. Raftopoulos and Mlambo believe the name might mean the "the people of the sun or the sons of the junior wife" (Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009: 4). The Shona people therefore, are a tribal confederacy, meaning that they were a tribal league and not one unified tribe. To have a collective identity of these people creates another identity crisis that further complicates the matter. The major factor why Shona people are referred to as the Shona is that they have a common language. Language has been used as the foundation of clustering these people as one and it plays a significant role in their identification. From a SIT perspective, language is one of the important identity markers. There is no evidence of huge, established Shona kingdoms before the 12th century AD.

3.1.2 The Shona people from the 12th AD century to the colonial period

The period between AD 1100 and AD 1900 had written accounts particularly from Portuguese and Arab traders who made some inroads in the interior of Zimbabwe. Beach argues that "although the Portuguese influenced chiefs in the north during the seventeenth century, they did not destroy the basic Shona economic, social, and political structure of the country" (Beach 1974: 633). This explains why many historians on the history of Zimbabwe do not talk of Portuguese colonization but the British one. The borders of the vast empires of that time stretched to as far as the Indian ocean covering modern Mozambique. According to Raftopoulos and Mlambo, "the pre-colonial history of Zimbabwe is usually explained in terms of the rise and fall of empires-the Great

Zimbabwe, the Mutapa, the Rozvi and the Ndebele" (Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2009: XIX). One can argue that these great dynasties represent different epochs of the history of Zimbabwe. To understand the history of the Shona people in the pre-colonial Zimbabwe, a brief survey of the above-mentioned kingdoms is needed.

3.1.2.1 The Great Zimbabwe Kingdom

The Great Zimbabwe kingdom represents the earliest Shona establishments in Zimbabwe. They were an epitome of civilized kingdoms of the time as testified by the presence of the Great Zimbabwe monument near Masvingo. The rise and decline of the Great Zimbabwe kingdom according to Peter Garlake in William G. L Randles, "took place at the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth century by which time all construction work would have ceased." (Randles 1981: 9). The same sentiments are shared by Joao de Barros in Randles who believed that "by the time of the Arab visits in Southern Africa, Great Zimbabwe had already been abandoned and was no longer a capital city" (Randles 1981: 9). Carl Mauch, one of the nineteenth-century explorers and researchers has written extensively on the history of Great Zimbabwe and it is not the intention of this thesis to do an in-depth analysis of the history of this kingdom. Important to this study is that the people who composed the Great Zimbabwe kingdom were said to be the *Karanga*, one of the five dialects of the Shona tribes.

The rise of the Great Zimbabwe is largely attributed to many factors such as; good economic conditions, good harvests resulting in surplus grain, animal husbandry, mining and trade. (Mukufa 2017) Whenever there is economic growth and stability, the population tends to grow and in such a situation, certain people become powerful and assume kingship leading to the centralization of power. In the Great Zimbabwe kingdom, the prosperity of the empire was anchored on three pillars; farming, mining and trade. What might have led to the fall of such a huge empire that led to the abandonment of such a magnificent kingdom is not very clear. Information on the fall of this kingdom is scant and mainly from oral tradition. It is speculated that Nyatsimba Mutota, one of the last Great Zimbabwe rulers left for the far north (Dande) valley in search of salt and he eventually established himself permanently in the valley. The other speculation is that the scarcity of land for crop farming and animal husbandry caused by population growth forced the

abandonment of the kingdom. The land could no longer accommodate the increasing population of livestock and the need for fields. Important to this study is the fact that the fall of the Great Zimbabwe Kingdom eventually led Nyatsimba Mutota to conquer the *Korekore* people of the Dande and Chidema valleys. This led us to the establishment of the Mutapa State.

3.1.2.2 The Mutapa State

The Mutapa State is believed to have been established by Nyatsimba Mutota who migrated northwards from Great Zimbabwe to the Dande valley where he conquered the *Korekore* and *Tavara* people. This is another problematic area again because even today, there is tension between the *Korekore* and the *Karanga* people. The Korekore today view the *Karanga* with negation as oppressors and hence nicknamed them *"Mavhitori"* meaning people from Fort Victoria (Masvingo). The *Karanga* (*Mavhitori*) in turn refer to *Korekore* people as people from Mozambique. The history of the Mutapa state is mainly recorded in the Portuguese accounts of traders and missionaries. It is a complex history that is characterised by factual errors and corruption of local names, of places and people. It also involves many other tribes such as, *Barwe*, *Manica* and *Quitave*. Moreover, it is characterized by wars between the indigenous people and the Portuguese explorers. The term pre-colonial Zimbabwe is used selectively since at one time, the Portuguese conquered these people when the Mutapa state became a vassal state of the Portuguese crown.

The name '*Mutapa*' has so many versions such as; *Monomutapa, Mwenemutapa* and *Munhumutapa*. According to Randles, "the term, '*Mwenemutapa*' is a compound name derived from two names, '*mwana*' meaning child, '*mutapwa*' meaning a person captured in a war (slave)" (Randles 1981: 11). The name can also mean the owner of the conquered lands. And it was a moniker that was given to Mutota for his conquering spree. It subsequently became the title of the successive kings. The Mutapa state was so vast that its boundaries stretched from Zimbabwe to the Indian Ocean covering the current nation of Mozambique. It became one of the most powerful states that dominated the entire region and her trade and influence spread to as far as India and the Far East. With the establishment of the Mutapa state, we see the conglomeration of the *karanga, zezuru, korekore, manyika, ndau, rozvi,* and *torwa* peoples, which makes shona tribe more and

more complex. What is evident from this set-up is the concoction of the five dialects into one huge shona family. The family became so huge that conflicts and palace skirmishes dominated the empire, and this led to its subsequent fall and the rise of the *torwa* and *rozvi* empires. The shona peoples were a complex family and their history has been characterized by struggles related to ethnicity as well.

3.1.2.3 The Rozvi State

The *Rozvi* was the last strong and influential empire before the coming of the *Ndebele* kingdom. Much of the history of the *Rozvi* Kingdom is captured by Portuguese explorers and early travellers. According to Innocent Pikirayi, "the *Rozvi* first appear in history in the Portuguese relations of Changamire's conquest of Guruuswa, the territory of the Torwa State, late in the seventeenth century" (Pikirayi 2002: 28). The name "*Changamire*" was the name of one of the first great kings of the *Rozvi* State and later it became the title of the *Rozvi* kings who succeeded *Changamire.* This is attested by William G.L Randles who wrote that, "after the death of *Changamire* in 1696, his name became the dynastic title of all his successors" (Randles 1981: 39). The kingdom became so powerful that they controlled the activities of the whole plateau in the 18th century. The Portuguese respected him so much because in the 17th century, he had defeated them and conquered other kingdoms such as the *Maungwe*, *Manyika*, and *Mutapa*.

According to Pikirayi (2002: 28), the Portuguese labelled *Changamire* as a "dreaded enemy". The *Rozvi* State emerged from the conquest of parts of a weakened *Mutapa* state. *Changamire* managed to revolt from *Mutapa* state and moved southwards to the region that is currently referred to as the Matabeleland province. At one moment, the two kingdoms that are; the *Mutapa* and *Rozvi* co-existed. The *Mutapa* in the north and the *Rozvi* in the south, but later the *Mutapa* state finally declined and the *Rozv*i became the strongest state in the plateau. In terms of governance and social life, they were modelled after the other earlier Shona kingdoms, with trade and farming being their major source of living.

However, political instability south of the Limpopo resulted in the migration of several tribes among them the *Nguni,* under Zvangendaba who moved further north. As they were passing through the southern part of the plateau, they raided the *Rozvi* and destroyed their homes. Other

sporadic raids followed by other undocumented tribes that passed through the southern part of the plateau and this weakened the *Rozvi* Kingdom. Beach argues that;

> Droughts, wars with the *Karanga* advancing from north-east, *Tswana* raids, strife between the royal dynasty and the mwari cult and civil wars within the dynasty had seriously affected the strength of a state that had earlier been one of the foremost military powers of Southern Africa (Beach 1974: 634).

For example, during the raids by the *Ngoni* people under Zvangendaba, the reigning *Changamire* decided to commit suicide rather than being captured alive. He jumped from the top of the rock and fell at the feet of the *Ngoni* warriors. So, by the time of the coming of the Ndebele people to the southern part of the plateau, the *Rozvi* Empire was already weakened. According to Ivan Marowa, "the *Rozvi* state was at its weakest point in history and could not match the fighting skills of the warriors from the south" (Marowa interview). The environment was so conducive for the Ndebele occupation since the southern part of the plateau was occupied by a very weak *Rozvi* State while the north was occupied by the dilapidated *Mutapa* state which was now a vassal to the *Rozvi Changamire*.

3.1.2.4 The socio-economic setting of the Shona kingdoms

It is evident from this research that the term 'shona' was a later invention and the said 'shona' tribes were known by different names such as *karanga, manyika, zezuru, korekore*, and *ndau*. However, these tribes were similar to each other to the extent that earlier historians bunched them together. Therefore, the label Shona will be used in reference to the union of these five tribes. Therefore, the Shona identity is a complex one that demands further investigation in the historical discourses. The most important observation is that these tribes were so related and their mode of operation from a socio-economic perspective was similar. Therefore, this section summarises their socio-economic setting.

Within the Shona people, wives and children were treasured. This is supported by a shona saying which says, *"musha mukadzi"* (a home is a home because of the wife). Wives give dignity to their husbands in the society even though the shona tribes were labelled as patriarchal societies. This means that an unmarried man in the shona society is of less value and sometimes is not involved

in important decision-making processes. An unmarried man is sometimes asked to go and roast meat at the fireplace while men discuss issues at the court (dare). Traditional courts are for the mature not in terms of age, but a combination of age and marriage. The younger brother can be regarded as an adult by the virtue of being married while the unmarried elder brother may not be regarded as an adult. The married couple status is further perfected by child bearing; a childless couple is stigmatised in the Shona cultural setting. Before the advent of Christianity, if the elder brother was infertile, the younger brother with the arrangements of some relatives privately impregnates the elder brother's wife *(kupindira)*. If the wife was barren, then the husband would marry another wife since polygamy was acceptable.

Women were also instrumental in farming and domestic work. In religious affairs, women also contributed a lot as spirit mediums, healers, and shrine attendants. So, one could not imagine a shona society without women and children and it was one of the prime duties of men to defend their families. Farming was also important for the shona people as it ensured food security. They had developed iron tools like hoes and axes which were used for both farming and hunting. They practised shifting cultivation; meaning that they moved from area to another in search of good farming land. Sometimes, farming was done in the wetlands *(matoro)* and in such cases, movement from one place to another was minimal. Farming was mainly for food consumption and surplus food was then traded with neighbours or other tribes. Some of the crops grown were maize, sorghum, millet, rice, rapoko, and groundnuts. These grains were stored in the granary (*hosi*/*dura*) that was built in a protected area and was located closer to the women's houses. So, women oversaw granaries since they were the ones responsible for cooking. This explains why the senior wife was referred to as *vahosi* (the one in charge of the granary). This means that junior wives were not in charge of the granary which was usually one even if there are ten wives. The senior wife was then responsible for distributing grain to the houses of other junior wives. Clay pots were also used for the storage of grain. This is the reason why pottery was an important artefact for archaeological discoveries. One missionary writer remarked that they were more pots than people in Mashonaland (Knight-Bruce 1970).

Farming was not limited to crops and the Shona were also cattle headers with cattle primarily kept as a symbol of wealth. Cattle were kept as a source of meat but were not to be slaughtered regularly

except on important occasions such as funerals, weddings, the coronation of a king and religious rituals. On other days, people will rely on game meat, goats, sheep, chicken, fish and birds for relish. Cattle were also used as bride price and in the contemporary Shona setting, they are still part of the bridal price. Pit structures in the Nyanga area testify to the importance of cattle in the shona communities. A big pit was dug and walled with stones and an entrance was made of stones and a lintel put at the end of the corridor. Houses were then built on the ridge of the big pit surrounding it. So, cattle were kept at the centre of the homestead and people, while in their huts will be facing down at their cattle. A rich man was defined by the number of cattle he owns, and this made grazing land a central resource for pastoral activities.

Commerce was also important for the daily life of the Shona people. They were also involved in both internal and external trade and salt became one of the most important commodities for local trade. One of the reasons cited for the decline of the Great Zimbabwe and the rise of the Mutapa state was the discovery of salt deposits in the Dande valley. Salt deposits were also discovered in Gokwe along the Mafungabusi plateau, the middle Save valley and the sea coast of the Indian Ocean. In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, the salt industry thrived, and it became the main activity for trade. Iron smelting was also discovered such that farming, hunting and fighting tools were now made from iron. The Shona people also traded internationally with the Arabs, Portuguese and other people from as far as India. They traded in beads, ivory, gold, copper, pottery, and slaves under the regulation of the king or chief. The subject of the slave trade in the southern part of Africa is much debatable though it thrived in the western part of Africa. This is how early civilisation took place among the Shona people and magnificent kingdoms such as Great Zimbabwe, Khami, and Mapungubwe were constructed. Such civilisation could not be accepted by western researchers such as Mauch who believed that Great Zimbabwe was not constructed by Africans but probably by Arabs. However, his theory was thrown to the dust bins since it was premised on wrong observations based on mistaken identification of the type of timber that was used as lintel at Great Zimbabwe.

3.1.3 The Ndebele Kingdom

Scholars unanimously agree that the Ndebele people migrated from South Africa into Zimbabwe in the late 1820s. There are no precise dates as to the actual arrival of the Ndebele people in the Zimbabwean plateau, but dates range from 1827 to 1837. Randles reports that "from 1827, both the Highveld and coastal areas were to be lashed by the irresistible wave of invading Nguni people called Values by the Portuguese" (Randles 1981: 42). These were numerous groups from the south who were breaking away from the Zulu Kingdom. It is difficult to establish with certainty the identity of these groups since they had similar traits. Marowa argues that "it was difficult to distinguish different groups since their army (warrior) regalia was the same" (Interview). This means that what were sometimes termed Ndebele invasions were not Ndebele but invasions by other tribes such as the Nguni. As to who raided the shona at that time, one is not sure since they were many groups who migrated to the northern and eastern part of Zimbabwe and some went to as far as Zambia. Randles reduced these groups to three hostile groups led by Soshangane, Zwangendaba and Nxaba. The Ndebele tribe is mentioned by Randles (1981:42) as a later development under Mzilikazi in the 1840s.

There is no common position on the justification for massive migrations from South Africa during that period. Several suggestions have been put forward and Randles postulates that "Mzilikazi had been driven by the Boers from his capital Mosega in the Transvaal" (Randles 1981: 43). What is clear is that they left South Africa under a conflict situation as Gilbert Pwiti proffers that; "it was an enforced migration that took place within a conflicting background" (Pwiti 2014). These political disturbances in South Africa were known as Mfecane disturbances. Cobbing (1974: 607) asserts that the Ndebele tribe left South Africa particularly the Drakensberg Mountains, in about 1822 and settled in Matabeleland between 1837 and 1841. The Zimbabwean setting was relatively peaceful as compared to the southern part of the continent and this sentiment is strongly shared by Marowa. To settle in Matabeleland, they had to defeat the Rozvi people who eventually fled to the other parts of the country. They did not occupy vacuum space as proffered by Munesi Ruzivo and the existence of some places with Shona names in Matabeleland province until today is a clear testimony that the area at one time belonged to the Shona people. He had to cite names such as Matopo and Matonjeni as not being Ndebele but kalanga which he believes is a Shona dialect.

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The first Ndebele king in Zimbabwe was Mzilikazi who had led the Ndebele people from South Africa. On their journey to Zimbabwe, they did not travel through vacuum space or open highways, but they passed through numerous kingdoms that resisted their entry and had to fight wars to clear their way. According to Pwiti, "they incorporated other people on the way who joined them on their journey to Zimbabwe" (Pwiti). In any war situation, no matter how strong one is; there is bound to be a loss of life. Therefore, as Mzilikazi moved northwards, he lost some of his people due to wars and there was that need to assimilate other people through forceful means. When immigrants from the south crossed into Zimbabwe, they were nicknamed *madzviti*, which is a derogatory name whose meaning is uncertain.

The *madzviti* myth seems to be common throughout Zimbabwe to as far as the furthest north to places such as Mana Pools. It then becomes questionable whether Mzilikazi or his warriors had to travel or raid to as far as such places. In the Midlands province, someone who does something that is considered a taboo, they say *unoshura madzviti* whose literal meaning is that, 'you are prophesying the coming of the raiders' *(madzviti).* This term seems to have been applied to any invaders from the south and it later became a pseudonym for the Ndebele people as raiders. The question then is why were people, particularly the Shona raided and how did Mzilikazi chose his victims? Some voluntarily joined the Ndebele but some were forced to join them, especially the defeated tribes. Therefore, this buttresses Pwiti's assertion that they had a strong and efficient military system as reflected by their ability to coerce other tribes into submission.

3.1.3.1 The political setting of the Ndebele kingdom

The Ndebele people established their capital in Bulawayo under the leadership of King Mzilikazi. Today the old capital city is some thirty kilometres outside the modern-day city of Bulawayo and is known as the Old Bulawayo city. The place is however, poorly maintained and at one point, it was burnt down by veld fires. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Mzilikazi employed such strategies as raiding, conquests, assimilation, and incorporation of individuals, groups and communities" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 38). The conquered Shona people and other locals were incorporated into the state and become part of the Ndebele nation, though they were socially inferior. All these invasions had negative consequences on the political and demographic structure of the Shona

people. The challenge with most of the available historical sources is that they portrayed Mzilikazi as a man who was violent and when he arrived, his first project was to invade the locals, but that was not the case as articulated by Beach. He argued that;

> The Ndebele invasions differed from those of the Nguni in several ways. Firstly, Mzilikazi's people made no attempt to attack the central part of the Changamire's state but settled in the western province of Ndumba, west of the Bembesi River. Secondly, they consolidated their power by exploiting the splits between the Rozvi and by entering into an economic relationship with them (Beach 1974: 636-637).

Two possible interpretations can be established from Beach's argument; firstly, that Mzilikazi had respect for the local establishment and was prepared to co-exist with the local kings. Secondly, that it was probably a strategy to first understudy the strength of the local kings before attempting to invade them. Since his population has decreased during the migration, he wanted to repopulate his kingdom before engaging in further wars as testified by his further trade in young people. What is evident from the above argument is that, when Mzilikazi arrived in Matabeleland, he was not as vicious as the other western historians would want the readers to believe. Beach further captures one of the oral testimonies from the kalanga king who pointed out that "Although they killed a lot of people …. none of my family was killed. We did not regard the ndebele as bad. The only thing they fought over was grain... There was no trouble when the Ndebele came" (Beach 1974: 637).

However, this peaceful environment did not last long, and several factors might have led to the friction between Mzilikazi and the locals and the results were several wars that led to the subjugation of the Rozvi people. The reigning Changamire was driven out by Mzilikazi and relocated to faraway places; and Randles (1981: 43) argues that he went to live at Vijanja. The map of Zimbabwe as developed from the colonial era does not have the name *Vijanja* and one cannot locate the place bearing that name today. The Portuguese writers corrupted some of the local names because of the language barrier and it is therefore, assumed that the name Vijanja can be a corruption of the name *Vanjanja*. In modern Zimbabwe, the *Vanjanja* clan are in Chivhu and it is probably the case that Changamire fled to Chivhu or Buhera districts. According to Bourdillon, "the adopted shona people learnt to speak zulu and even their shona clan names were translated into zulu" (Bourdillon 2004: 14). Ngwabi Bhebe as captured by Ndlovu-Gatsheni concurs with Bourdillon when he argues that "many of Shona origin who were assimilated into the Ndebele

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state tended to Ndebele-lise their Shona surnames, for example; *shiri* became *tshili*, *mhofu* became *mpofu, zhou* became *Ndlovu and hungwe* became *nyoni*" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 33). Such breaking of boundaries in consistent with the SIC, where boundaries are not static but fluid. In such circumstances, categories 'Ndebele and Shona' become social ones not ontological. This was a survival strategy for the assimilated tribes as one common saying says that, "if you cannot beat them join them". The Ndebele language and culture remained free of Shona influences. Bourdillon further argue that "the Ndebele also adopted the principal religious cult of the local Shona namely, the cult of the high god *mwari* which was fitted into the ndebele spirit world" (Bourdillon 2004: 14).

The Ndebele kingdom had a well-organized military system and generally they were characterised as warlike people. They were depicted as vicious and ruthless people who always raid the Shona people and destroy their homes. Randles had to argue that, "throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, until the occupation by the British, Mzilikazi subjected the Karanga peoples to terror with his constant raids and the imposition of heavy tribute" (Randles 1981: 43). The same sentiments were shared by Mauch who described the decline of the Karanga peoples as a tragic under the lash of the ndebele. Responding to the above sentiments Pwiti argued that, "the characterization of the ndebele as a warlike people was a misconception by the white settlers especially the British South Africa Company (hereinafter referred to as BSAC) to justify their quest to subjugate them in defence of the other weaker tribes" (Interview). Having a strong and well-organized military system did not mean that they were a military state, a proposition that is perpetuated by the western travellers.

Cobbing (1974: 630) concludes that "the assumptions that Ndebele settlements were purely militarily orientated, and that they were composed of a hierarchy of regiments and divisions or provinces were false". They were an organised state with good governance firstly under Mzilikazi and lastly under Lobengula. The king was an important figure and the source of all authority and was the 'chief executive officer' of the state and was in control of all spheres of the life of the state, being political, social, religious and economic. It is on the premise that Cobbing concludes that, "the chief was a political, judicial, and even spiritual leader, rather than a military officer" (Cobbing 1974: 629).

3.1.3.2 The Socio-Economic setting of the Ndebele kingdom

The identity of the Ndebele people was complex due to the people who had been assimilated into the system. In recent years, many Ndebele identity versions have been raised by different people. Ndlovu-Gatsheni proffers that, "in the colonial period, the Ndebele nation was a form of a rainbow nation" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 34). A rainbow is known to have many colours that are orderly arranged, and this suggestion implies that the Ndebele identity and social structure was a combination of multiple ethnic groups which were orderly arranged. Of the Ndebele identities we have today, Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that "they were a product of a complex constructivist process that spans pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial epochs" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 37). It is therefore, probable that social identities of many contemporary societies are because of social construction. Ndlovu-Gatsheni concludes that "the best way to understand Ndebele ethnic identity is a socially constructed phenomenon, not as a fixed primordial identity" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 38).

The structure of the Ndebele nation was pyramidal with the *zansi* at the helm, followed by the *ehla*, and lastly the *holi/hole* (Lozwi). The *zansi* were the original Ndebele who migrated from South Africa while the *ehla* were those who were assimilated on the way to the north and the *holi* were the conquered locals; particularly the Rozvi. Such a pyramidal setting has been described by some western scholars, particularly Bourdillon as the caste system. In a caste system, people belong to certain hierarchical structures that are fixed, and one cannot cross to the other structures within the system. In such a setting, communication or any form of relationship must respect the caste boundaries. The question then is; was this a Ndebele social setting? In response to the above question Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that;

> The discourse of castes just like that of *izibongo* (totems) ignores historical factors and social fluidities with the Ndebele state. The term *zansi* literally means the south in a geographical sense. *Ehla* literally means the north direction. *Holi* (Lozwi) means a form of the ethnic identity of a branch of Shona people who belonged to the Rozvi state of the Zimbabwean plateau prior to the arrival of the Ndebele. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 34)

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008:34), this pyramidal setting has no similarities with the caste system and one should understand it in its historical setting. Relationships in the Ndebele social

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setting, for example marriage, were not governed by the rules of the caste system. Language (isiNdebele) was the most unifying factor between these people from different social settings. This explains why the assimilated ethnic groups were supposed to learn isiNdebele and change their surnames to Ndebele versions. What this means is that the Ndebele social setting was porous and not as rigid as what is portrayed by the early historical accounts.

In terms of settlement patterns, Cobbing argues that;

> Most ndebele settlements in the pre-colonial era were small-scale, probably averaging from about fifty to two hundred people. Villages were collected together into clusters and the outlying political unit of the state was not a regimental town, but the partially decentralised chieftaincy, which contained several villages. The ndebele youth was brought up to be cattle-herder and soldier. (Cobbing 1974: 608)

Land in that context was communally owned and was not commercialised with the king as the chief custodian of all land and cattle in trust of his people. This means that, he was responsible for distributing land and settle land disputes which arose from time to time. This land was acquired through dispossession of weaker tribes particularly the Rozvi people. Cattle were an important symbol of wealth and well-being. The king owned thousands of herds of cattle which were looked after by the youth, slaves and junior soldiers. These cattle were acquired through raids and as tribute payments. According to Pwiti;

> They were portrayed as raiders of the weaker shona people and they even destroyed the entire villages. They were also portrayed as pastoralists who will raid the Nguni people occasionally. Livestock was part of their economy, in fact, the key to the economy. This was evidenced by the setting of the homesteads surrounding cattle kraal. This was a sign of the importance of cattle not just for protection like that of the pit structures of Nyanga areas. (Interview)

Incidentally, the region of Matabeleland was good for cattle breeding and one wonders whether that was coincidental, or they have pre-meditated on it. They were not good crop farmers and hence, had to acquire much of their grain from raids, tribute and trade. The economy of the Ndebele people was not only anchored on raids as portrayed by other historical accounts.

Beach argues that;

> The Ngoni invasions had resulted in the loss of a great number of the prized Rozvi cattle so that there was a considerable shortage. The Ndebele, on the other hand, had plenty of cattle but desperately needed more people. The result was that an exchange took place, in which Mzilikazi distributed cattle to the Rozvi and in return for young people who were incorporated into Ndebele state and society. (Beach 1974: 637-638)

This means that trade was also essential for the growth of the Ndebele economy. The region had poor rainfall patterns that were not conducive to crop production and this weather pattern remains until today in the Matabeleland region. Women were also taken to Matabeleland during raids and they became the wives of the warriors. Tradition has it that they took away only beautiful women and this is the myth that is being put forward to explain why Ndebele women are supposedly more beautiful. However, a critical look at root origins of the Ndebele people (South Africa) is self-explanatory. South African women are also beautiful, and this explains why Ndebele women are also beautiful.   In terms of religious beliefs, the Ndebele adopted the Shona spiritual cosmos and continue to recognise the Shona religious practitioners, for example, the spirit mediums. This explains why the *mwari* cult remained active even after the subjugation of the shona people in Matabeleland. The *Njelele* shrine and the Matopos remained alive even during the Ndebele occupation. As we conclude on the Ndebele state, one needs to note that by the late 1880s the Ndebele control of most of the Shona states was minimal. Some shona chiefs were independent of ndebele raids having acquired guns through trade and could repel Ndebele raids. Tradition says even Lobengula was afraid of raiding some of the Shona chiefs, particularly in the Chivi districts.

Having discussed the political, social, economic, and religious setting of both the Shona and Ndebele people in the pre-colonial Zimbabwe, it is now necessary to establish their relations. The reason for discussing the background of these ethnic groups in this chapter is to identify the possible genesis of the tensions between the two ethnic groups. In CDA, one of the approaches is to discuss how texts are enacted and reproduced. During the colonial era, there was reproduction of some of the pre-colonial stories. For example, Peter S Mahlangu reproduced some of the missionaries' stories about the raids. He writes that;

As Moffatt was travelling from Transvaal to the Zimbabwean plateau, he witnessed the horrible marks of Ndebele raids. *Endleni umtshede wahamba ebona izinto ezinengi ezimbi ezihlasimulisa umzimba…wafica abantwana bekhali, bekhaliswa yindlala ngoba ukudla kwabo kuthunjiwe njalo bekhalela onina abathunjiweyo abanye babo befile. Wafica ubafazi bekhala bekhalela abantwababo abathunjiweyo, bekhalela amadoda abo athunjiweyo, ladliwe ngumkonto kaMzilikazi. Wabona…imiqhutshululu yezilwane ezazinoniswe yikudla izidumbu* (Mahlangu 1957: 4

The above Ndebele language quotation was translated by Lindiwe Ndlovu as;

On his way, Moffatt saw horrible things. He saw dead bodies, he saw hungry children crying for the food and mothers had been taken, some had been killed. He saw women crying for their husbands who had been taken or killed. He saw fat lions feasting on dead bodies (Ndlovu 2014: 59).

This is the reproduction of the accounts on raids as recorded by missionaries. Such a reproduction of texts makes the story real. Writers in the colonial period also helped the pre-colonial discourse on the relations between the Shona and Ndebele people. The portrayal of the Ndebele people as ruthless and brutal continues into the colonial era. Ndlovu argues that "this extract shows that the author does not criticise the history as created by missionaries but takes it as it is. This confirms that the writer does not believe that the raids were exaggerated but that the Ndebele were indeed involved in these destructive raids" (Ndlovu 2014: 59). With SIT one sees invasions as a subject of power and dominance with power being physical or intellectual superiority to conquer others. The Ndebele were superior in terms of warfare hence they conquered the Shona people. From a SIT's perspective, one can describe the Shona-Ndebele relations in the pre-colonial era as being characterised by prejudice, ethnocentrism and power struggle.

3.1.4 Critique of the Shona-Ndebele relations in the Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe from a CCT Perspective

This discourse is about first thesis of Tracy's CCT where the 'Common Human Experience' is being investigated as one of the sources of theology. In line with the CCT, the researcher assumes the role of the philosopher in asking the following questions: Why did the Ndebele people invade the Shona people instead of a negotiated peaceful co-habitation? Did the Ndebele people perceive themselves as being superior to the Shona people? Were the Ndebele people enemies of peace

environments? Were the Shona people prepared to peacefully cohabit the Zimbabwean space with the Ndebele people? A geographical space in many societies represent the physical boundary of human identity. Invaders or foreigners are always taken as a threat to the socio-political and economic situation of an established society. Land is not just an economic commodity but is also an identity marker. There is a metaphysical connection between land and the people who occupy it. In the Shona cosmos, land is not just an asset, but it is part of someone's identity such that losing land is synonymous with losing your identity. Such arguments are raised by Bishop Sebastian Bakare in his book; *My Right to Land*. It is the home of ancestral spirits who resides in the caves, mountains, trees, graves, and rivers. Therefore, land is power and identity for the Shona communities.

In societies where identity boundaries are tightly closed, land is also not easily accessible. The Ndebele people might have tried to negotiate for a peaceful co-settlement, but the Shona were not prepared to share the inheritance of their forefathers with aliens. Ethnic societies normally shut out foreigners in fear of their fundamental norms being endangered. The Ndebele people therefore, might have resorted to invasions after failing to negotiate a peaceful settlement and it would be erroneous to think of Ndebele people as inherently violent and enemies of peace. Conversely, the resistance by the Shona people to cohabit with the Ndebele should not be understood in terms of selfishness but in terms of protecting territorial integrity. The two viewed themselves as different from one another hence, the need to maintain boundaries. Being Ndebele or Shona in this context might have been in terms of geographical space, norms and customs, language, and religion. In this case, Ndebele-Shona differentiation in identity may thus, be understood in terms of social and religious categories rather than ontological ones.

The second set of philosophical questions that should be raised are: do certain derogatory names reflect the identity of people are or they are reflection of the feelings of those coining them? Does the name '*amasvina*' (dirty) really represent the qualities of the Shona people? Can dirtiness be considered an identity category for any people? In what ways does the symbol *amasvina/dirty* relate to the symbol Shona? It is important to allude to the concept of representation. Stuart Hall argues that "representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (Hall 1997: 183). In the eyes of the Ndebele

people, *amasvina*/dirty represents Shona people. It becomes meaningful among the Ndebele people to correlate dirtiness with the Shona people. While among the Shona people, the symbol of dirt is a derogatory one and unacceptable. Chitakure argues that "the perception of the Shona people as *amasvina* became the basis for raids, ruthless killings and the treatment of Shona people as valueless people." (Interview). If the argument is true, then the Ndebele people perceived themselves as superior to the Shona people. It is unlikely that an ethnic group can build its identity boundary on dirtiness.

Conversely, how does the symbol '*madzviti*' represent the symbol 'Ndebele?' So, to the Shona people the symbol '*madzviti*' represent the symbol '*Ndebele*' and it became meaningful for them to understand the Ndebele that way. Chitakure confirmed that the Ndebele people were known as madzviti which a derogatory name was associated with cruel raiders or oppressors (Interview). Can an identity boundary build on cruelty? *Amasvina* and *madzviti* were not self-identity markers but imposed ones by the opponents. What is common from the two symbols is that they are both based on experience; the experience of ndebele people as raiders and that of the Shona people as eaters of uncleaned animal intestines. The ascription of negative or derogatory names to the other ethnic group, invasions and raids is the Common Human Experience we draw as sign of strained relations between the two tribes. These bad relations were primarily based on resources (land, women, livestock, and grain) and power. Chapters five and six demonstrate how past Pauline experiences of the Corinthian correspondence inspire social cohesion in the present Zimbabwean ethnic context.

3.2 The Ndebele-Shona relations in colonial Zimbabwe

The colonial era left an indelible mark in the history of Zimbabwe. This seems to be true of other African countries which were also colonies of different European countries at one time. When one travels across Africa today, the colonial legacy is evident in different ways such as infrastructure, language, religion, dressing and economy. African countries can be divided into Francophone, Anglo, and Portuguese states and this is obviously a colonial legacy. In Zimbabwe, that colonial legacy also affected the social life of people particularly, the tribal or ethnic relations. This section attempts to investigate the influence of the colonial setting to the relations between the Shona and Ndebele people.

When the BSAC pioneer column from South Africa crossed into the Zimbabwean plateau, they set up different cities on their way to Salisbury (present day Harare). Firstly, they arrived at Fort Victoria (Masvingo), then Fort Charter (Chivhu), and finally Fort Salisbury (Harare) before spreading to the east and west of the plateau. This expedition was authorized by Queen Victoria who issued them the Charter to exercise their authority in the plateau. The charter states that:

> …there will be the existence of a powerful British Company, controlled by those of our subjects in whom we have confidence, and having its principal field operations in that region of South Africa lying to the north of Bechuanaland and west of Portuguese east Africa (Gazette 1889).

This charter gave them authority over land, minerals, trade, governance, and security and this marked the beginning of the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Several events had happened prior to the granting of the charter by the royalty; the most famous one was the Rudd Concession initiated by Charles Rudd who hoodwinked Lobengula to sign without understanding the meaning of the concession. Lobengula was not aware of the contents of the treaty; only to realize later that he had been tricked. The concession authorised the BSAC to extract minerals and to carry out other business ventures. This signing of the concession by Lobengula led to his accusations by the Shona people as a sell-out. According to Marowa, "today the shona accuse the ndebele people of selling the country as a way of evading the responsibility for the colonisation of the country" (Interview). Such a statement was to be used for propaganda purposes in the future and the statement was used later in the armed struggle to fuel tribalism. The Shona people used the statement to create an image of the Ndebele people as irresponsible people who sold a country which did not belong to them to the whites.

Attempts to reverse the agreement by Lobengula did not materialize as the British were there to stay and by 1890, they had established themselves and the Union Jack was already flying high in their new settlements. The settlers had to embark on the development of infrastructure and resettlement of the indigenous people. They had to occupy the prime land while the indigenous people were relocated to what they call the "Tribal Trust Lands" or "Reserves". This arrangement had some resentment from the local people and further on; locals were subjected to hard and forced labour. Tax was also introduced as a way of forcing them to seek employment and reduce their

livestock. It was not long before an uprising erupted in the name of the First Chimurenga. The term *chimurenga* is from shona meaning war. According to Suzanne Dawson:

> The first *chimurenga* or uprising in Southern Rhodesia was a complex set of struggles over land, cattle and taxes rather than a planned, unified movement intended to overthrow the whites, neither the Africans nor the British were unified. The African societies were in reality complex and often, co-operating with the whites and benefiting from white settlers through trade while other members of society were oppressed (Dawson 2011: 144).

The *chimurenga* uprising started in Matabeleland before it erupted in Mashonaland. The white settlers were caught unaware by the uprising since they never thought of the indigenous people openly rebelling against them and to make matters worse, with the Shona who had seemed to be loyal from the onset. The rebellion was complex on the basis of the following observations;

1. Most of the Shona states were already subjugated by the Ndebele, hence they viewed the Ndebele as enemies. Such people saw the coming of the BSAC as a sigh of relief. Leaders of such people openly joined the colonial settlers in fighting the ndebele people. Ruzivo was quick to point out that, "chief Gutu and chief Zimuto were some of those men who saw the coming of the whites as their messiahs" (Interview).
2. There were independent Shona states that were not affected a lot by the Ndebele raids and these are the ones who also fought alongside the Ndebele people. They felt the threat of the white settlers equally the same as their counterparts in Matabeleland.
3. They fought these wars, not as a unified force but independently and the idea of nationalism was not yet enshrined in their governance. The current scenario of the first chimurenga as a form of nationalism was a later creation that did not exist at that time. What was important at that time was that they set their differences aside and confronted the common enemy. This is an illustration that identities are not fixed but are fluid and dynamic. So, it is an extreme position to essentialize identities.

Eventually, both the Shona and Ndebele were subjugated by the white colonial settlers and this was to be the situation for nearly ninety years. The colonial settlers were to devise mechanisms of controlling these people and one such effective mechanism was to divide them. Solomon Mombeshora argues that "the colonial era provided fertile soil in which the ideology of tribalism germinated, blossomed and was further propagated" (Mombeshora, n.d.).

3.2.1 The Colonial administration and ethnicity in Southern Rhodesia

After completing the colonization of Zimbabwe, the colonial administration had to re-organize society in many ways to make it governable. Firstly, they had to divide the country into provinces for easy administration. These provinces were given tribal tags as a way of fuelling tribalism. The following names were given to provinces; Mashonaland, Matabeleland, Manicaland, Masvingo, and only Midlands had a neutral name. What this implies is that, Mashonaland is the land of the shona people and this applies to other provinces. All the ethnic groups consciously and unconsciously accepted and promoted their new status. Thus, the colonial administration separated different tribes was a way of promoting hatred suspicion, enmity and polarization.

Secondly, they had to introduce identification system based on one's district of origin where citizens were given identity cards with the last two digits indicating where one comes from. This means that one would not be allocated land or a home in a place where did not originate from. Chiefs were central in issuing land and they would not give land to 'aliens' at the expense of 'their children'. These identification cards further promoted the separation of tribes or ethnic groups; a scenario that Ndlovu-Gatsheni describes as, "ethnic citizenship" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008).

Thirdly, the settlers had to propagate propaganda that would tarnish the image of the Ndebele in the memoirs. They justified their colonization of Zimbabwe on the grounds of protecting the weaker and oppressed Shona people from the Ndebele people. The Ndebele people were portrayed as ruthless people who did not work but survived on raids and slavery. Such propaganda was to be an imprint in the minds of the Shona people for generations to come and it worked well for the settlers to feud ethnic tensions.

Fourthly, the church was not spared from feuding tribalism. The Church, particularly the Anglican Church, named her dioceses on ethnic grounds. When the Anglican Church arrived in Zimbabwe as part of the pioneer column they named the whole country to as far as Botswana, Diocese of Mashonaland. According to Geoffrey Gibbon, "in 1888, the Diocese of Mashonaland was established by Bishop Knight-Bruce" (Gibbon 1973: 71). This might have been an insult to the ndebele people. As the Anglican Church was expanding, the colonial church leadership continued with tribal tags in the naming system.

Gibbon further writes that,

> On December 1, 1952, it was agreed that when the division was made, the Northern half should revert to the old name of Mashonaland, and it was probably this that made members from the Southern half accept the name of Matabeleland, though some would have preferred Bulawayo (Gibbon 1973: 106).

The church through her naming system followed the pattern of the colonial government in dividing people. In 1981 the Anglican Church formed two more dioceses and they made the same error of naming the other diocese, Manicaland. However, another diocese they did well in naming it 'Lundi' which seems to be a neutral name. The ethnic identities were intensified by the colonial masters in a bid to divide and rule people. The impact of these mechanisms was minimal at the earlier stages of colonization since people had one common enemy then. Nkomo argues that "at that time in the villages of Zimbabwe, the rivalry between the two main language groups barely existed. In towns, the two groups are so mixed that it did not occur to people divided in this way" (Nkomo 1984: 113). This was Nkomo's assessment of the situation during the colonial era. He was so positive about the situation, but the question is; was the situation as glorious as the picture he paints in his biography?

3.2.2 The Ghetto as the common ground for different ethnic groups

It was in the ghettos where a new culture was developed which was distinct from that of the rural areas. The introduction of different taxes such as hut, dog and cattle were meant to coerce the indigenous people to seek employment so that they get money to pay tax. The new settlement patterns could not accommodate huge numbers of the indigenous people's livestock hence they were forced to reduce their herd. The traditional African economic system was replaced by the western one hence the need to seek employment. It was in the suburbs such as Mbare, Highfields, Makokoba, and Mutapa that such clashes were witnessed. These were some of the earliest ghettos of the colonial period and one can view these suburbs as platforms for dominance. How would people exhibit their dominance?

3.2.2.1 Football as a platform for ethnic clashes

Sporting is one area where different social identities can parade their tribal strength, and this is a common phenomenon throughout the world. In American football, team membership should do mainly with regional identities, for example, the Green Bay Packers command a huge following in Wisconsin cities because it comes from that state. When there is a match on that day, almost everyone will wear a Green Bay Packers' jersey. Even at workplaces employees in the restaurants and supermarkets will be wearing those jerseys. If it is on a Sunday, churches are likely to witness reduced attendance as people go to attend such matches. One Anglican clergyman (name withheld) had to pretend to be a Green Bay Packers' supporter for the diocese to elect him when he applied for a bishop's job in a Wisconsin diocese. This happens to be the same with football teams around the world like Barcelona, Real Madrid, Manchester United, Liverpool, AC Milan, and Roma. In Southern Rhodesia, football and boxing became the most popular games where ethnic tensions were manifested. According to Lyton Ncube, "since its colonial introduction in the colonial era, football in Zimbabwe has been associated with ethnic identity discourses" (Ncube 2014: 192).

When one visits the old Bulawayo city monument approximately forty kilometres outside the present city, one piece of history to be encountered is the formation of Highlanders football team. According to the team's website, the team was founded by the grandchildren of Lobengula, Albert and Rhodes in 1926 and they named it Lions Football Club (Anon 2014). The team is the heritage of the Ndebele state and in 1936, its name was changed to Matabeleland Highlanders Football Club. In response to the formation of Matabeleland Highlanders Football club, the Shonas also formed their team and named it Mashonaland United. The justification for a Mashonaland United football team in Matabeleland province was seen as provocation. Such names were suggestive, and this explains why whenever these teams met, violent clashes erupted; in worst cases, days before the match. According to the Highlanders team website, "…in 1975 the name Matabeleland was dropped and the new name for the club was simply Highlanders Football Club and this was after the ZAPU leader Nkomo criticised the use of tribal names for football teams" (Anon, 2014). It was at this time that Mashonaland United changed its name to Zimbabwe Saints. This however, did not completely eradicate ethnic violence within the sporting community.

The formation of Dynamos Football club in Harare in 1963 increased rivalry between the Shonas and Ndebeles. Dynamos became the symbol of shona power and identity while Highlanders stood for the ndebele superiority and the rivalry continues until now. Ncube postulates that "essentialism tends to characterise Highlanders and Dynamos supporters' perception and attitudes towards each other" (Ncube 2014: 195). Recently, at a match between Dynamos and Highlanders, a Highlanders supporter caused uproar in the social media when he came with a banner written, "Rest in Peace Mashona, Zinja" (translated as 'rest in peace the shonas, the dogs') (Moyo 2016). Who are the Shonas referred to as dogs? It is Dynamos football club. In another recent league match between Highlanders and Dynamos in Bulawayo, the game was abandoned after violence erupted when Dynamos equalized through a controversial goal.

It was during the colonial era that rivalry was magnified in the townships of Bulawayo, particularly in social life. Why did two rivalry teams of football with tribal following exist? Highlanders football club was formed as a team for the Ndebele people as evidenced from the history of the formation of the team at Old Bulawayo City Museum. Whenever ndebele and shona football teams met even after independence, their encounter always turned tribal. Enocent Msindo pointed out that, "unions and clubs in Bulawayo such as Sons of Mashonaland Cultural Society, Kalanga Cultural Society and Matabele Home Society existed in the period between 1950-1963" (Msindo 2007). These points illustrate that ethnicity still existed though it was somehow suppressed or minimal. However, Msindo (2007) disputed with that above remark as he argued that, "ethnicity and nationalism positively fed each other during that time". This means that he agreed with Nkomo that the situation in the cities was generally calm.

3.2.2.2 The rise of nationalism as a platform for ethnic clashes

The 1950s witnessed the rise of nationalism through trade unions. These were resistance movements that reacted to the continued oppression by the colonial administration and the indigenous people were now demanding for majority rule. Prominent leaders emerged in those days with household names such as James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Benjamin Burombo, Joshua Nkomo, Jason Moyo, and Leopold Takawira leading the masses in demonstration against oppressive labour regulations. The new identity of the oppressed people emerged, and the ethnic

ones were buried. This confirms the tenets of the SIC that people can prioritize certain identities at a given time and drop others. The new leaders assumed a national status and a common ground was realized.

In the early 1950s, the idea of nationalism began to emerge and resistance to oppressive structures started with labour movements. Nkomo, who was later given the title Father Zimbabwe, emerged during this period. ZAPU was formed as a multi-ethnic liberation movement with Nkomo at the helm of the party and gained popularity across the country from people of all tribes. The early stages of liberation initiatives started with the spirit of oneness and people had a common purpose and enemy in mind. However, as the liberation struggle started to shape and a brighter future appearing, tribal issues began to resurface as people began to strategically position themselves for leadership posts in an independent Zimbabwe. Marowa argues that "the tension between the two ethnic groups even during the armed struggle might have caused the delay of independence." (Interview). The logic being that there was divided attention among the political parties; who instead of concentrating on the enemy; concentrated on outwitting each other.

The political landscape changed in 1963 with the split of ZAPU and the formation of ZANU under the leadership of Ndabaningi Sithole. In his biography, *The Story of My Life*, Nkomo cited ethnicity as the major force behind the split. Nkomo blames Mugabe and Leopold Takawira for fuelling this split on tribal lines for their own benefit. Nkomo vividly and sorrowfully narrated how the split happened and narrated three distinct accounts of how the two (Mugabe and Takawira) strategically managed to split the party along tribal lines.

Here are the three accounts:

> Ironically it was during that inaugural meeting when all our minds should have been on the single purpose of liberating Africa that the divisions within our movement first came into the open. The first indication I had (Nkomo) that something was wrong when I came in Nairobi on the way to Addis. My Egyptian friend Mohammed Faiek suddenly put a completely unexpected question: Is ZAPU still one party? What tribe do you belong to? I said I did not know what he meant, "Are you a Ndebele? Asked Mohammed. Yes, that is what I speak, but what do you mean? I asked. Mohammed seemed surprisingly well-informed. Mohammed finished up with a warning, "you watch out, there is a problem in your party" (Nkomo 1984: 112).

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This first incident shows that the issue of tribalism had already deepened in the party, but it was still unknown to Nkomo. The fact that Nkomo as the leader was not aware of that while someone from as far as Egypt had first-hand information was a sign of a well calculated underground operation. Someone has reliably told Mohammed Faiek and the argument was that the majority were the shona people and that justified their quest to take over leadership of the party. The second incident took place in Addis Ababa, here is its captured;

> At Addis Ababa meeting I found out what he meant when Leopold Takawira and his friends launched their campaign against my leadership. They started in the full glare of publicity, in a way calculated to damage our cause as much as possible. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) offered us a splendid opportunity to gain the attention of the world's press and our press conference was booked for 2 pm one day, the best time for the news media throughout Africa and Europe. Our publicity committee had agreed on a formal press statement of the case for Zimbabwean independence, which I was to read before answering questions. The typing and copying of the statement as a press hand-out was the responsibility of secretary Robert Mugabe. I arrived with 1 ½ hours to spare to get ready and prepare the answers to likely questions –but by the time the journalists arrived; neither Mugabe nor copies of the statement were available. (Nkomo 1984: 112-113)

Nkomo describes Mugabe's absence as a deliberate ploy to sabotage and embarrass the cause of liberation. This was another ethnic drive from Mugabe and his compatriots. The issue of a common cause was no longer a priority; the focus was now on toppling the Ndebele leaders from leadership. The third incident was witnessed by Joseph Msika who was the ZAPU deputy treasurer and it is reported as;

> Joseph Msika, then the deputy treasurer of ZAPU, had an even more disturbing experience. He saw one of our colleagues, Washington Malianga nervously hiding away a printed document Joseph Msika asked to see it, Washington refused, so Joseph snatched it away and read it. He found it was a circular openly urging ZAPU to bring the majority tribes to the leadership of the party and get rid of *Zimundebere* (sic) "which is a derogatory term in shona language for the old Ndebele man. (Nkomo 1984: 113)

This was a direct attack on Nkomo and was purely on tribal lines. Takawira also took advantage of the students' activists abroad who were not in touch with the true situation at home. These students also began to feud tribalism and were the beginning of other serious ethnic clashes to come. The white settlers also capitalized on the situation by exaggerating the ethnic differences in

Zimbabwe and this was targeted at weakening the liberation efforts. In 1963, ZAPU organised a congress for all members under the leadership of Nkomo. Nkomo as the leader summoned all party members who were in Zimbabwe and abroad to attend the congress and had to organize all their transport logistics including air fares. The congress was to be held at Cold Comfort Farm outside Harare. At the congress, no delegate from Dar es Salaam attended and this was reported as the centre where tribal cards were being played. The 2014 ZANU PF congress seems to be a replay of the 1963 Congress because it is characterised by high factionalism based mainly on tribal grounds. According to Joshua Nkomo, "in 1963, ZANU come out a rival party from ZAPU and it was established in Highfields at Enos Nkala's home while ZAPU was having a congress at Cold Comfort Farm" (Nkomo 1984: 116).

Though the two parties were rivals, they continued to fight for the independence of the country from different fronts. ZAPU operated from Zambia while ZANU operated from Mozambique and Tanzania. The incidence of violence between the two parties was witnessed in other places at certain occasions. Nkomo admitted that sometimes, violence turned ugly to the extent of petrol bombing each other to the amusement of the white settlers. Throughout the struggle for freedom, the two military wings of these political parties had a marriage of convenience. Isolated cases of the flights between the ZIPRA and ZANLA forces were witnessed in some other demobilisation camps. At the time of going to the Lancaster House talks for independence, these two parties played a hide and seek game. ZANU PF now under Mugabe had to pretend as if it was interested in forming a coalition with PF ZAPU while that was a disguise. The basic philosophy was to go into the elections as a united force to beat the colonial government under Smith. Such a philosophy was not embraced by Mugabe and his leadership as evidenced by the way they circumvented last minute coalition talks in London prior to the 1980 elections. At the Lancaster House Conference in England, the two parties negotiated for independence and a new constitution as a unified force. This was a conference that was held in 1979 where the ceasefire agreement was reached and a road map for independence was established.

Meanwhile, Nkomo described the relationship between the two parties as cordial. After signing the agreement, the two parties decided to go for elections as a single party and the day after the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement, Mugabe was to meet with Nkomo to finalize the issue.

However, the next day Nkomo and his team went to the flat where Mugabe and his team were lodging. However, Mugabe and his team were nowhere near their flat on that day, only to be informed by a young ZANU official that Mugabe and his team had left the country for Tanzania. That very day, Mugabe was on television in Tanzania announcing that they were to fight elections on their own as ZANU. According to Nkomo, "the national campaign of reconciliation that I dreamed of remained a dream I and the fighters and followers of ZAPU had been deceived" (Nkomo 1984: 200). Nkomo further asserts that "Robert Mugabe had shown by his quick get away from Lancaster House that national unity was not his priority" (Nkomo 1984: 203).

The period for election campaign began with the two political parties representing "two languages" fighting to outdo each other. In the campaigns, slogans based on tribalism dominated the scene. Villagers were indoctrinated to hate Nkomo and his party and Mugabe managed to get the support of Samora Machel on this project. Marowa argues that "liberation symbols during the second chimurenga said something about the tension between the ndebele and shona people (ZANU and ZAPU) (Interview). ZAPU had a bull as its symbol; in a herd of cattle, the bull is the head and the only one that can fertilize all cows. The bull is the most powerful animal in any herd of animals and ZAPU was portraying herself as the most powerful, fertile and head of all political parties. ZANU, on the other hand, had the cock as her symbol. The cock is also the head of chickens, the most powerful, the one that fertilises hens, and the only one that crows at any given time. The analogy given on these symbols illustrates that these parties were even fighting on their symbolism. It was a power game to outdo each other. The elections were finally won by ZANU PF and Nkomo in his biography contest that the elections were heavily rigged since the settlers preferred Mugabe to Nkomo.

In the *Second Chimurenga,* the Mbuya Nehanda ideology was propagated as the inspiration for the war. What about the spirit mediums or ancestors from the Matabeleland? Mbuya Nehanda did not influence the *First Chimurenga* in Matabeleland, so why was she used as the national inspirer of the *Second Chimurenga?* Is this not shona hegemony? Why does Mugabe feature as the torch bearer for the war in the history of the armed struggle and not Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole? These are the questions that academics need to answer. Power struggles became the main source of conflict between the two tribes, but these identities must not be essentialized. Other Shona

people remained members of PF ZAPU for example, Msika the former vice president who was a zezuru from Chiweshe[8]. Even the other electorate from shona provinces remained loyal to PF ZAPU. Other Ndebeles, on the contrary, remained loyal to ZANU PF. To view these political parties on purely tribal grounds will be an exaggeration of reality.

As seen in this discourse, the problem of ethnicity continued from the pre-colonial era into the colonial era. To blame the settlers for ethnic tensions in the colonial era will be an overstatement of facts since the settlers took advantage of the tensions that were already in existence. The indeed fuelled the tensions for their own benefit. What is evident from the two tribes is the fact that till independence, no reconciliation efforts were made. Independence was achieved in 1980 with the two parties still at loggerheads. Therefore, there were no clear reconciliation efforts between the ndebele and shona people before independence. Therefore, we need to look at how reconciliation efforts made after independence.

During the colonial period, with SIT one sees the attempt to strengthen or intensify identity boundaries by the colonial settlers. This is seen in the demarcation of the country into administrative provinces with ethnic names[9]. I would like to term these, geographical essentialization of ethnic boundaries. The main thrust by the colonial settlers was to divide the locals for purposes of easy control and administration. Once people are far apart, propaganda is then used as the cognitive approach and this promotes stereotypes. To cement their project of fixed identities, a system of national identity cards based on districts was developed. In big towns, for example, Bulawayo; ethnic clubs were formed such as, 'Sons of Mashonaland Cultural Society, Kalanga Cultural Society, and Matabele Home Society'. Such clubs were formed to perpetuate ethnicity and it is an indication that people were very conscious of the identity boundaries. In these clubs, there were also issues of superiority where one ethnic group sees itself as being superior to the other. This was further spread into sport where football clubs are formed along ethnic lines, for example, Matabeleland Highlanders Football Club and Mashonaland Football Club. During the liberation war, these ethnic boundaries would be visible as the army wings of these two parties (PF

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[8] Chiweshe is a rural area in Mashonaland central province.
[9] The provincial names are; MaShonaland (East, West and Central)– the land of Shonas, Manicaland-the land of Manyika, and Matabeleland (North and South)-the land of the Ndebeles. The other two provinces Midlands and Masvingo do not have tribal names. Midlands is a mixed province because of it being on the center of the country.

ZAPU and ZANU PF) fought one another. This is even witnessed in Nkomo's testimony that, "there was violence between PF ZAPU and ZANU PF to the extent of petrol bombing each other in townships" (Nkomo 1984: 117). Did these settler's mechanisms help to essentialize ethnic boundaries?

In the colonial period, we also see individuals crossing ethnic boundaries. With the rise of labour movements in the 1950s, we see leaders like Nkomo being accepted across the ethnic boundaries. This is in line with the tenants of the SIC where people can have multiple identities and are open to change. The labour movement becomes the new universal identity that binds people together regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. In this period, one sees the disapproval of the tenants of the SIT where boundaries are fixed. Nkomo argues that "at that time in the villages of Zimbabwe, the rivalry between the two main language groups barely existed. In the towns, the two groups are so mixed that it did not occur to people divided in this way" (Nkomo 1984: 113). Boundaries are loosening up even with the split of PF ZAPU and ZANU PF on ethnic grounds; people like Msika (the former vice president of Zimbabwe) are accepted in senior PF ZAPU ranks. Openness to change is key with SIC and this is what is taking place particularly from the 1950s.

3.2.3 A critique of the Ndebele-Shona relations in the colonial Zimbabwe from a CCT perspective

In the investigation of the Common Human Experience during this period the following philosophical questions need some attention. Are relationships worth pursuing? Identity categories 'ndebele' and 'shona' are they social or ontological? The two ethnic groups begin to see themselves as being ontologically the same while distinct from the colonial settlers. This is the reason why they united against the settlers in waging the *Second Chimurenga* war. The formation of football and social clubs with ethnic names was an affirmation the presence of ethnic boundaries based on social identity categories. Language becomes the distinctive identity marker. The crossing of ethnic identity boundaries by certain people like Msika during the early years of resistance movements was a sign that there was nothing metaphysical about being ndebele or shona.

However, the formation of ZANU PF in 1963 was an indirect way of saying relationships are not worth pursuing. The formation of ZANU PF and PF ZAPU mainly along ethnic lines reinforces the incompatibility of the concepts 'ndebele, and 'shona' What are the qualities that makes the two concepts incompatible? Are we talking the inner or external qualities? Are we dealing with metaphysical or epistemological issues? It seems here we are confronted with an epistemological issue. The epistemological issue is cited by Ezeugwu Evaristus C, and Ejeh Paulinus C as the 'bucket theory of the mind' (Ezeugwu & Ejeh 2015:76) The theory assumes that people's minds are filled with norms, taboos, and prejudices uncritically. In this case individual minds attain knowledge passively. The divisions were therefore perpetuated the existence in the people's minds of reservoirs of ethnic stereotypes. The attempt after the Lancaster House agreement by ZANU PF and PF ZAPU to participate as a united party was a continuous search for a common identity. This was a recognition that there is nothing ontological different between the two. The intended unity did not materialize and the main reason was power sharing. Therefore, power and resources seem to be the major sources of conflict between the two ethnic groups though there are some other issues ochestrating ethnicity in the Zimbabwean context. What symbols from Paul that can inspire social cohesion in an atmosphere of power and resources wrangles? Do we have issues of power and resource wrangles in the Corinthian context?

3.3 The Ndebele-Shona relations in post-colonial Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe celebrated her independence on the 18th April 1980 under the leadership of Mugabe who became the first Prime Minister. This marked the end of ninety years of colonialism. In a bid to build a Zimbabwe for everyone, the new Prime Minister pronounced reconciliation for everyone and this was a sigh of relief especially for the former colonial regime government. He (Mugabe) established an all-inclusive government that included whites and members of other political parties. Nkomo himself was also given a cabinet minister's post as minister of Home Affairs. That is a powerful ministry and it is normally given to trusted cadres since it has to do with the country's security. That was a big trust on Nkomo and the ndebele people. This brought joy to all Zimbabweans who viewed Mugabe as the new Moses sent to deliver the children of Zimbabwe from bondage. The question then is: what happened to this newly reconciled Zimbabwe? This

section will explore some of the landmarks of the post-colonial Zimbabwe which illustrate the relationships between the Ndebele and Shona people.

3.3.1 The Entumbane, Connemara, Ntabazinduna, and Chitungwiza clashes

The attainment of independence in 1980 brought so many challenges to the new Prime Minister especially in his bid to form an inclusive government. Regardless of forming an all-inclusive government he also needed to unite his army, police, and prisons. Soon after the pronouncement of a ceasefire in 1979, it was now time for all liberation forces in the battlefields to come to the camps to surrender their weapons and being incorporated into the new army. The status of these war veterans was not yet clear hence they were a lot of suspicions. Assembly points were established and of significance were the Entumbane (Bulawayo), Connemara (Gweru), Ntabazinduna (Bulawayo), and Chitungwiza (Harare) assembly points. According to James Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "the ZANLA combatants were promoted and given ranks ahead of their ZIPRA combatants" (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 284). This was the beginning of favouritism based on party lines. This was a carry-over of their clashes during the armed struggle. This resulted in an open war between the ZANLA and ZIPRA in the above-mentioned assembly points. It seems as if these two military wings were also at loggerheads even during the liberation war. These sentiments were shared by Ndlovu-Gatsheni who argued that "in Libya, ZANU and ZAPU were put in the same training camps and they killed each other" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 44). So, the fighting at these assembly points was not something new but a continuation of what was happening in the battlefields.

According to the CCJP report, "over 300 people died" (CCJP 1997: 7). The Dumbutshena commissioned was set to investigate the circumstances surrounding the clashes and unfortunately, its findings were suppressed and never made public. In the clashes, the dominating ZANLA forces with the help of other state machinery emerged victoriously. Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni argue that "the situation was worsened in 1982 with the discovery of arms caches in ZAPU owned properties around Bulawayo and Gweru" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 284). Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders were blamed for attempting to destabilize the new government and were then arrested and sacked from government. The reaction of former ZIPRA forces was to go back to the battlefield

and operate as dissidents. The promising unity had been broken and Zimbabwe had to go through another dark phase in the next six years in form of the *Gukurahundi* massacres.

The dominant discourse within this period was that the shona people were promoted to better positions in the military forces with the ndebele people being side-lined. Therefore, ethnicity was at the centre stage of the early uprising. Though other ndebele people were given top posts in government, the majority were complaining of being segregated along ethnic lines. In the public discourse, the Entumbane war was taken as an ethnic war meant to eliminate the shona people in Bulawayo. This argument was pushed by Chitakure who argued that the "Entumbane was a war to eliminate Shonas in Bulawayo. Some shonas had to hide in the houses of Ndebele friends and relatives" (Interview). Therefore, the *Gukurahundi* war that came later is seen as retaliation by the shona people. Chitakure argues that in the public discourse today, no Ndebele wants to talk of the Entumbane and its aftermaths (Interview). His point of departure, therefore is that; in discourses about reconciliation, we need to go back to as early as the raids during the time of Mzilikazi. Mugabe and his government also argue that the Entumbane, Connemara, Ntabazinduna, and Chitungwiza clashes were a result of the failure by Nkomo to appreciate the hand of fellowship by ZANU PF. Nkomo from another perspective, labels the Entumbane, Connemara, Ntabazinduna, and Chitungwiza incident as a creation of ZANU PF for the sake of perpetuating their ethnic agenda. The discovered arms cache in the ZAPU properties according to Nkomo; were planted by ZANU PF to justify their evil action. In the public discourse, no ethnic group wants to take responsibility for what happened in the clashes and this therefore, complicates the whole social cohesion project.

3.3.2 The Gukurahundi Massacres

The *Gukurahundi* was defined by Mugabe's government as a war against the dissidents operating in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. The war was aimed at eliminating dissidents' activities that were destabilising the country. However, some in Matabeleland feel that it was a brutal ethnic cleansing war aimed at eliminating the Ndebele people in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. Such sentiments are found in Ndlovu-Gatsheni's definition that was alluded to in chapter one of this research. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's argument is that "ZAPU relates to dissidents and ZAPU is Ndebele, therefore, the Ndebeles are dissidents" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 35-36). That seems to

have been the equation that was employed to justify the massacre of innocent civilians in which more than 20000 people lost their lives. The Catholic Church through its Faith Based Organization (CCJP), came up with a comprehensive document on the atrocities that took place in Midlands and Matabeleland provinces. The report was presented to the government and was suppressed.

According to the CCJP, "in August 1981, North Korean instructors arrived in the country to begin the training of the 5th Brigade which was to be used to combat dissidents" (CCJP 1997: 7). In December 1982, the trained 5th Brigade had its first pass out and was ready for the mission. A month later, on 26th January 1983; the 5th brigade was deployed in the northern part of the Matabeleland province and the massacre of people began within few days. Nkomo who was fired from the government, was placed under house arrest and by night, fled to Botswana for safety. He then proceeded to England where he wrote his biography; *The Story of My Life*. The CCJP report narrates in detail how people were murdered, mutilated and raped. In 1986, unity talks begin and on 22 December 1987, the Unity Accord was signed by Nkomo and Mugabe marking an end to the *Gukurahundi* atrocities. According to the CCJP report, "in April 1988, amnesty is announced for all dissidents and 122 surrendered" (CCJP 1997: 10). The *Gukurahundi* however, worsened the animosity between the Ndebele and Shona people and today, it is still the point of reference for the relationship between the two tribes. In any discussion with the affected people from these provinces, one can realise how bitter there are regardless of the signing of the Unity Accord. However, with the signing of the Unity Accord and the merging of the two country's most powerful political parties, ethnic issues were swept under the carpet. To say that ethnic issues were solved would be a fallacy since they resuscitated some years later after the death of the central figure, Nkomo. What was put to rest were dissident operations and this resulted in calmness in the country.

Earlier on, Chitakure argued that the Entumbane war was an ethnic war meant to eliminate all the shonas in Bulawayo. He however, made another argument that seems to show that though it was an ethnic war, boundaries were being crossed willingly. Chitakure argued that some Shonas who survived had to hide in the houses of their Ndebele friends and relatives (Interview) In that statement, we can see some rays of intersectionality; where people have multiple identities and boundaries are crossed daily. Chitakure's argument proves that boundaries were not fixed as is presupposed by the current general discourses on these clashes. We see the Ndebele and Shona

people befriending each other to the extent of protecting each other from those who are extremists. In Chitakure's argument, we can also deduce that the Ndebele and Shona people were also related. Such relations might have been because of intermarriages. Essentializing ethnic boundaries in any society is difficult given the multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships.

The *Gukurahundi* story is one of the highly contested discourses in Zimbabwe, especially when discussing the Ndebele-Shona relations. Marowa refers to *Gukurahundi* as ethnic clashes (Interview), while Ndlovu-Gatsheni refers to it as genocide. Both are from the academic fraternity and they are talking of the same circumstance but from their choice of words, one can observe a difference in perception. Marowa seems to be viewing the event from a neutral perspective. In ethnic clashes, one can expect a balance of power between the fighting parties. However, this does not rule out the possibilities of one tribe exerting dominance on the other. Such a perception is also shared in the public discourse especially by some of the Shona people like Chitakure. Ndlovu-Gatsheni however, sees the events as one ethnic group slaughtering the other with the possibility of the slaughtered group being innocent or non-violent. In such a situation, it is difficult to talk of mere ethnic clashes when the other part is using state machinery. Such sentiments are also shared by some of the Ndebele people. Therefore, Marowa and Ndlovu-Gatsheni's views represent the divergent views of this story in the public discourse. What about politicians? Mugabe views the *Gukurahundi* as a war that was meant to eliminate dissidents operating in Midlands and Matabeleland provinces and labelled it as 'a moment of madness'.

In the *1985 BBC Panorama Report*, Mugabe was captured at a rally saying, "the dissident party and its dissident father are both destined not only for rejection but for utter destruction" (Nigel 1985). This is to confirm that during the early 1980s, Mugabe viewed ZAPU as a dissident party and Nkomo as the father of dissidents. Such an understanding of ZAPU and Nkomo as dissidents was passed on to Mugabe's supporters, the majority of whom are shonas. In the same footage, a banner was shown written, "*Pamberi naPresident, Pamberi ne5th Brigade*. We wish you well" (Nigel 1985). The slogan is translated as, 'Forward with the President, Forward with the 5th Brigade'. There are two things from the slogan that should be attended to. First, the slogan refers to Mugabe as the president when he was not known by that title during that period. His title was prime minister while Rev Canaan Banana was the President. Mugabe took the title of president at the Unity Accord in December 1987. So, on the banner, we see the anachronistic use of the title

'president' for Mugabe. One then challenges the originality of the banner. Are we not dealing with a heavily edited film that misplaced some of the pictures in the editorial process? Second, the supporters are aware of the functions of the 5th Brigade, the army regiment that was used in the *Gukurahundi* operations. The supporters of ZANU-PF are in full support of such operations. For example, in the same footage; the supporters were chanting that, "Nkomo must die in exile, he must be hanged for disturbing the country" (Nigel 1985).

The political discourse, particularly that of ZANU-PF seems to have been fuelling ethnicity. Nkomo as the leader of PF ZAPU was seen as an enemy of the state and therefore, the Ndebeles were enemies of the state as well. Who constitutes that state? The supporters of Mugabe who happen to be mainly Shonas. Chitakure testifies that during the war and independent elections, they were asked to sing derogatory songs against Nkomo. One such song refers to Nkomo as, "*bhuru rengozi*" (Interview). The ndebele name *Nkomo* means cattle. The shona names, *bhuru* means, 'bull', while *rengozi* means, 'of an avenging spirit'. Among the Shona people, appeasing angry spirits involved offering a live bull or a cock depending on the scale of the offence. That appeased animal would not be slaughtered for food or used for any form of domestic or agricultural work. The animal would roam freely in the wilderness. In brief, the animal will be considered useless for the society. In that song therefore, Nkomo is portrayed as a useless bull but in his election campaigns, he still used the bull as a symbol of his party.

Mugabe acknowledges that the *Gukurahundi* was a historical event but what he seems to deny is the brutal nature of the event and the full apportioning of the blame on him and his army. At the funeral of Nkomo in 1999, Mugabe admitted that "it was a moment of madness" (Doran 2015). For example, he argues that "even to this day I don't believe that it was just the 5th brigade which did it, but they were other many people involved" (Nigel 1985) and this is the discourse that is being pushed for by ZANU PF. Even those representing the ndebele people in government are now pushing for the same discourse. While presenting a lecture at the Great Zimbabwe University, Vice President Pelekhezela Mphoko argues that "the post-independent disturbances that rocked parts of Matabeleland and Midlands regions in the 1980s commonly referred to as *Gukurahundi*, were a western conspiracy bent on destabilising the newly independent Zimbabwean State" (Mapanga 2016). The current discourse on *Gukurahundi* shows that Mugabe is not denying his involvement in it but that it was for a good course meant to combat the dissident activities threatening the

country's peace. This comes out clearly in his recent attack on the war veterans on 6 September 2016 at the opening of the ZANU PF Central Committee meeting where he made the following utterances, "dissidents tried it and you know what happened" (Tshuma 2016).

What does Nkomo, on the other hand, say about *Gukurahundi*? Nkomo denies being the father of dissidents;

> 'It is said that you (Nkomo) are responsible for the dissidents what is your response?' His response was; 'that is not true'. Then the follow-up question was, 'but they are said to be former ZIPRA fighters. What is your take?' His answer was, 'yes there are former ZIPRA fighters, but who is responsible for former members? There are no longer our members'. Then another question was; 'do you condemn dissidents?' His response was; 'yes, I am on record several times condemning dissident activities' (Nigel 1985).

Therefore, in the public discourse Nkomo distances himself from the dissident's activities. Nkomo also dismisses the argument that the *Gukurahundi* was the shona war against the Ndebeles. He had to make the following argument;

> The fifth brigade is not a shona tribal army composed of shona people, but it could be a tribal army but not a shona tribal army. It is a misrepresentation of facts to think that its actions are actions of the Shonas against the Ndebeles. It is a mistake to think that the shonas are revolting against the ndebeles. It is a political tribal army (Nigel 1985).

Nkomo, therefore, avoided generalising issues like what Mugabe, his counterpart in the Unity Accord did. He does not see the *Gukurahundi* as a true reflection of ethnic tensions but as actions of individuals who might not be representing the entire group feelings. So, he argued that the *Gukurahundi* was a project of Mugabe and his top hierarchy, not a shona tribe project. Such separation of issues is not common in the public ethnic discourse.

3.3.3   The road to the 1987 Unity Accord

The Unity Accord was a peace agreement between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU and the chief signatories of the agreement were Mugabe and Nkomo. What had happened within the seven years of independence that caused the two political parties to sign this agreement when Mugabe in 1980 had formed a government that included some opposition party ministers? In a bid to foster unity, Mugabe's first government comprised twenty-three cabinet ministers which included four PF ZAPU ministers with Nkomo being the minister of Home Affairs. Then the other opposition

minister (Dennis Norman) was from the Rhodesian Front who was responsible for Agriculture. However, he did not appoint any minister from Smith and Muzorewa's political parties.

The chronicle of events from 1980 to the signing of the Unity Accord in 1987 shows that there was never peace at all in Mugabe's government. Jacqueline A Kalley, Elna Schoeman, and L. E Andor's book on the chronology of political events of Southern African countries reveals some astonishing events. On 6 August 1980, Edgar Tekere was arrested for killing a white farm manager and later acquitted in November (Kalley, Schoeman & Andor 1999: 711). This shows that there was still animosity between some whites and Africans. In the same year, Mugabe threatened Lieutenant General Walls with deportation when he asked the Queen to nullify the elections which he considered fraudulent (Kalley, Schoeman & Andor 1999: 712). The whites were emigrating from the country every month at an average of a thousand people. Smith had to intervene by encouraging fellow whites to stay and give the new country a chance to develop. In November 1980, fighting erupted in the streets of Bulawayo between the ZIPRA and the ZANLA forces over fifteen people died and over two hundred wounded (Kalley, Schoeman & Andor 1999: 712). All these events happened within a year showing that the country was never stable while Nkomo and Mugabe accused one another of responsibility for the disturbances.

As early as January 1981, Nkomo was demoted from his ministerial post (Home Affairs) and appointed to a less security threat ministry of Public Affairs (Kalley, Schoeman & Andor 1999: 714). This did not please PF ZAPU members who responded by petitioning Mugabe to involve them in the security of the state. Mugabe responded by further demoting Nkomo to be the minister without portfolio but with assignments to form a unified national army. That same year in February, another fight broke out in Bulawayo among national army members in which over three hundred soldiers died. The major cause of such fights was ethnicity. Things intensified when two senior army generals Lookout Masuku and Dumiso Dabengwa were arrested on an accusation of keeping arms cache in the ZIPRA farms (Kalley, Schoeman & Andor 1999: 718). On 26 January 1983, the fifth brigade was deployed to Midlands and Matabeleland provinces to combat dissident activities. Events worsened and in 1983, Nkomo and all other PF ZAPU ministers were fired from the cabinet. Chapter two has covered the ordeals of the *Gukurahundi* war where thousands of civilians were killed in the disguise of combating dissident activities. It was that war that left permanent scars on the people of Matabeleland and Midlands provinces.

The period between independence (1980) and the signing of the Unity Accord (1987) was not as peaceful as anticipated by Mugabe. Swords were never turned into ploughshares and spears were never turned into pruning hooks. The nature of the conflict was threefold, that is racial, ethnic, and regional. There were elements of mistrust from all the tribes (shona, ndebele, and whites). The use of armed force was a contradiction to Mugabe's reconciliation speech where he had promised not to use violent means again. Racialism, regionalism and tribalism remained prevalent regardless of Mugabe's will to trample divisive forces. The country's state of emergency that was issued by Smith in 1965 continued to be in existence until 1987.

The public discourse was now in the hands of the ZANU PF government in which Nkomo was portrayed as a retrogressive, coward and rebellious person. He was said to be retrogressive because he refused the extended hand of fellowship by Mugabe and wanted to go back to tribal war. He was a coward because he escaped the country dressed like a woman, an issue that Nkomo denied in his own biography. He was rebellious because he hid some weapons and led the dissidents. Therefore, he was labelled as the father of dissidents as alluded to earlier on. Therefore, the Ndebele people were labelled as enemies of the state and sell-outs like their ancestor Lobengula who sold the country to the settlers. The common accusation against the Ndebeles is that they were the ones responsible for colonization. Marowa dismisses such an accusation as, "a way of evading responsibility for the colonisation of the country by the Shona people who were also equally responsible for colonization" (Interview). Less is known about the Ndebele perception of colonization since they were not given enough public space by the ones in power.

This period was marked by essentialization of boundaries due to the *Gukurahundi* war. Three things are important as boundary markers and these are; language, party affiliation and the geographical space one occupies. Anyone who spoke ndebele during that time was a target of *Gukurahundi* violence. The 5th brigade soldiers used geographical space and language as the identity markers of their enemy. Those found not able to speak shona were targets of torture. It is during that time that many of the Ndebele speaking people learnt to speak shona as a survival strategy. This is echoed by Chitakure who argues that "there was no need for a Shona person to learn ndebele because there were no benefits while for the Ndebele learning shona was a way of survival" (Interview).

Chitakure maintains that even today, there is no benefit for a Shona person to learn ndebele since almost everybody understands shona while for the Ndebele person, there are benefits since the Shonas are the majority. So, language during this period became an important identity marker. Politically, belonging to PF ZAPU was considered a dissident activity and hence, an enemy of the state. Affiliation to ZANU PF became a public affair while to PF ZAPU a secret one. There was a strong push towards one party state and that party was to be ZANU PF; any other party affiliation was not acceptable. In terms of geographical space, staying in Matabeleland and other parts of the Midlands provinces became risky. The period was marked by a strong drive towards essentializing ethnic boundaries.

3.3.4 The 1987 Unity Accord

The Unity Accord was signed on 22 December 1987 and today it is celebrated as a public holiday in Zimbabwe, though people have mixed feelings about it. John Gambanga describes it as, "one of the major political milestones in Zimbabwe's political history since independence in 1980" (Gambanga 1989: 1). Banana cited in Sithole argues that "it ended what was described as an internal struggle for national unity" (Sithole 1989: 143). The question for today is; did it achieve the objectives of ending internal struggle? The situation on the ground proves that the Unity Accord did not completely remove internal struggle, but it lessened its scale. The physical violence stopped with the signing of the Unity Accord though the psychological war is still present. Nathan Shamuyarira, the former cabinet minister in the government of Zimbabwe cited in Sithole also postulates that "the Unity Accord was a successful effort to unite ZANU and ZAPU after ZANU PF had been finally confirmed as the dominant political party" (Sithole 1989: 144). His comments reflect sentiments of a political activist directly benefiting from the Unity Accord.

What are the general sentiments on the Unity Accord? How do people of different persuasions view it? People like Gambanga sees it as the country's milestone achievement in the history of Zimbabwe. Such sentiments are based on the stability that was achieved by the agreement after dissident activities stopped. Earlier on, Nkomo argued that his party had nothing to do with the dissidents, but the question to be asked is, why did his agreement with ZANU PF ended the dissident activities? Were the dissidents not identifying themselves with PF ZAPU? There are two possible answers to the questions raised above. First, the dissidents were an underground operation

army of PF ZAPU; taking responsibility for it had some legal and political consequences for Nkomo. Second, the dissidents were not a PF ZAPU underground military wing but maybe were sympathizers of PF ZAPU. Therefore, PF ZAPU was not responsible for their sympathizers since they were independent of PF ZAPU leadership. This explains why even when Nkomo condemned their activities, they would not listen to him. However, the fact remains that the agreement brought stability in the country as some of the said no go areas were then accessible. For example, the tourism industry in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces was heavily affected. Running businesses in those areas was also difficult as shops were looted on various occasions and buses burnt. After the fifth brigade operations were stopped and the regiment dismantled; the country became a one-party state, a status that ZANU PF wanted.

Gatsheni-Ndlovu describes the Unity Accord as, "nothing less than a surrender document where the PF-ZAPU politicians threw in the towel and allowed PF ZAPU to be swallowed by ZANU PF. The bitterness and the memory of having lost family members, relatives and friends did not go away with the Unity Accord" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 48). The same sentiments are shared by Chitakure who argues that "PF ZAPU had no option because they were losing it politically (violence) and democratically (elections) (Interview). The leaders might have entered the agreement for the sake of protecting the lives of their people. However, most of the Ndebele people interviewed (Malalisa, Stimela, Sithuwani, Mandoza all pseudo-names) during this research believe the Ndebele leaders sold out their freedom to the Shona people. They argued that their leaders entered the agreement for selfish reasons and the general people from Matabeleland are not benefiting anything from it. However, to say that the people in Matabeleland are not benefiting anything from the Unity Acord will be an understatement given that there is freedom of movement and association throughout the country. Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that "the resentments are seen with the resuscitation of ZAPU in 2000" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 48).

The death of Nkomo on 1 July 1999 can be described as the death of the most important signature to the Unity Accord. A year after Nkomo's death, ZAPU was resuscitated under the tag ZAPU 2000. Eight years later Dumiso Dabengwa resuscitated PF ZAPU and defected from the Unity Accord agreement. Political analysts such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni describes such as move as an expression of their resentment to the Unity Accord (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 48). However, the resuscitated ZAPU 2000 with Cont Mhlanga as the Secretary General and PF ZAPU under

Dabengwa seem to be failing to make inroads into the Zimbabwean political landscape. The possible reason for their failure to attract the electorate can be that they are heavily attacked by both electronic and print state media as defectors, un-progressive, un-peaceful and unpatriotic people. Regardless of ZAPU 2000 and PF ZAPU's failure to penetrate the electorate, their presence is a demonstration of the failure by the Unity Accord to address ethnic issues. According to Msindo, "ZAPU 2000 agitates for a federal state in which provinces retain greater political and economic autonomy" (Msindo 2007: 287). Therefore, in the public discourse, there are two major divergent views on the Unity Accord. First, it was an achievement that brought stability in the country. Second, the PF ZAPU leaders sold the Ndebele people's sovereignty to the Shona people.

The signing of the Unity Accord is an illustration that ethnic boundaries are not fixed but flexible. With the Unity Accord, we see the rivals now being friends sharing the same table. The political discourse completely changes; the one who was formerly regarded as *bhuru rengozi* (the bull of avenging spirits) became father Zimbabwe. Identity boundaries had already shifted and the one who was the father of dissidents is now the father of Zimbabwe. This means that even Mugabe acknowledged that Nkomo was his father as well. In that image, all the Zimbabweans were now one family under their father Nkomo and this became an important step in destroying ethnic boundaries.

The formation of MDC in 1999 under the leadership of Tsvangirai as the party president also brought some important issues related to SIC. He managed to win the electorate of the Matabeleland provinces regardless of him being shona. The support for MDC by the electorate of Matabeleland provinces raise two important issues. First, people can forego ethnic boundaries in trying to meet certain goals. The moment people of diverse background begin to pursue a common goal the ethnic cohesion is possible. The general ndebele electorate disowned its leadership in ZANU PF and disregarded their venerated leaders like Msika and Nkomo. They preferred identifying with Tsvangirai, a shona with the goal of removing Mugabe from power. A new identity of the oppressed fighting for their freedom that once existed during the labour movements in Rhodesia resurfaced. Then second, the top PF ZAPU leadership crossed the boundaries to work with Mugabe while the general Ndebele people retained the boundaries as they continued to fight Mugabe.

3.3.5 Ethnicity in Contemporary Zimbabwe

Currently, there is a serious drive on the internet for the revival of an independent Ndebele Kingdom. Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues that "there is a creation of a virtual community known as the United Mthwakazi Republic (UMR); that symbolizes the desire for a restored pre-colonial Ndebele nation in the mould of Swaziland and Lesotho" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 27). Reacting to this community, Mugabe argued that;

> Zimbabwe is one entity and shall never be separated into different entities. It's impossible; I am saying this because there are some people who are saying let's do what Lesotho did. There is no Lesotho here. There is one Zimbabwe and one Zimbabwe only (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 27).

This is a clear indication that ethnicity is still a force to reckon with, a scenario that this research sees as unhealthy. The virtual community identifies the following things as sources of their resentment;

a. Marginalisation of the elected Member of Parliament (MPs) of Matabeleland.
b. Institutionalization of the reign of terror in Matabeleland.
c. Perpetration of ethnic cleansing against the people of Matabeleland.
d. Translocation of the economic resources of Matabeleland to Mashonaland.
e. Reserving key jobs for Shona people in Matabeleland.
f. Deprivation of the Ndebele people of educational opportunities.
g. Regarding the cultural identity of the inter-cultural society of Matabeleland. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 47).

These are some of the reasons they are raising for their resentment of the current Zimbabwean situation. Therefore, because of the reasons raised above they declared that;

> For our part, for our present generation this Zimbabwe, and any attempts to maintain it in any guise in future as a state that includes uMthwakazi are as false as it is silly. It is only part of the grand illusion of the whole Zimbabwe project created in 1980...what we have is their Zimbabwe, of Shonas, and a fledging state for uMthwakazi which we have called UMR (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 50).

This is a clear sign that ethnicity is still a problem in Zimbabwe and needs serious consideration. Twelve of the thirteen interviewees agreed that the use of ethnic abusive language is one of the major problems in the Zimbabwean context. This is happening across sectors from the country's leadership to the public. For example, in 2015 the first lady Grace Mugabe said, "Ndebele men are only good at marrying and making babies instead of developing their areas" (Reporter 2014). There

was also a recent controversial statement by Linda Masarira[10] when she labelled Ndebele people as cowards and in another anonymous video in the social media (WhatsApp and YouTube). In another social media posting (WhatsApp and You Tube) a Shona man urged other Shona men to date Ndebele ladies as small houses. Such provocative statements have dominated the country's public discourse thereby worsening the tensions between the two tribes. Most of these provocative statements are not factual but are stereotypes transmitted over generations.

Therefore, this chapter has demonstrated that the Shona-Ndebele relations in Zimbabwe are not cordial and desperately need redress. It is unhealthy in the medium to long term, to disregard them like the current Zimbabwean government is doing. In concluding this chapter other ethnic challenges have risen from another angle that is the clashes between the five tribes commonly known as the Shona. Though there are times when Shona-Ndebele relations seem to be cordial, most of the times their relations have been sour.

3.4 Conclusion

Ethnicity is the 'Common Human Experience' that the CCT is mostly interested in. At independence, there were attempts to break both ethnic and racial boundaries. In his reconciliation pronouncement, Mugabe called for unity regardless of colour, creed, region and language and there is a redefinition of identity boundaries. Colour, region, tribe, race, and language are no longer considered important identity markers. Mugabe seemed to be calling for a new national identity marker which was 'Zimbabwe.' Identity markers are now built on politics and the material conditions of the people and this is covered in the next chapter. Mugabe's dream did not last long as ethnic conflicts continued and ethnic identity markers are re-enacted throughout the post-colonial era. Language and geographical space remains prime identity markers during the post-colonial era. Although there is a realization for pursuing relations, the conflicting parties failed to break identity markers such as language and regionalism. In line with CCT, we can conclude that ethnic relations between the Shona and Ndebele people remain fractured. While attempts have been made to repair the fractured relations, there remains some challenges. Ethnicity, racism, violence, prejudice, and regionalism remain the 'Common Human Experience' between the Shona

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[10] Linda Masarira is part of the leaders of a current movement called Tajamuka that is leading citizens in raising issues with the government. The movement has successfully called of nationwide demonstrations against government.

and Ndebele people. The CCT in chapter six explores how Paul in the Corinthian correspondence inspire social cohesion between the Shona and Ndebele people.

Chapter Four: A Survey of past Reconciliation efforts in Zimbabwe

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to make a survey of past reconciliation efforts in Zimbabwe, their strengths and weaknesses. This task will be carried out in the following order; background and nature of the conflict, the resolution of the conflict and lastly, the post-conflict situation. This is a further step into the investigation of the 'Common Human Experience.' In this case, the outstanding philosophical question that needs more attention is; are relationships worth pursuing? Otherwise, we are engaging the philosophy of love.

4.1 The 1979 Lancaster House Agreement and the 1980 reconciliation pronouncement by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe

The war of liberation in Southern Rhodesia ended with the political settlement famously known as the Lancaster House Agreement which was held in London, England. It was at this three-month conference where a political settlement to end armed conflict between the liberation forces and colonial forces was reached. Attached at the appendix of this thesis is an abstract of the fifty-one-page agreement at Lancaster House that calls for an analysis as the 1980 Independence reconciliation will be discussed in this section. The agreement was a purely political and economic settlement. Issues that were to do with reconciliation of conflicting and affected parties were not adequately addressed. The most important subject of crimes committed during the ninety-year-old colonial period, the liberation war by all forces and loss of property were all ignored.

The Lancaster House Conference was characterized by amnesia. Huyse describes amnesia as, "an officially imposed form of forgetting and was included as a constituent element in the Lancaster House Agreement" (Huyse 2003: 35). The premises for such an approach was to establish a newly-born country. The fear was that, an inquiry in the past would re-open ninety-year-old wounds hence dangerous for the new political dispensation. Huyse further argues that "this strategy drew a veil over the human rights violation of the Rhodesian secret service, army and police" (Huyse 2003: 35). The agreement led to the first multi-racial democratic elections in which Mugabe came out

victorious though some of his opponents like Nkomo and General Walls contested the legitimacy of the results.

Having won the elections, the new Prime Minister of the nation went on to give his victory speech which was broadcasted on both radio and television. It was a speech pregnant with positive promises of a heaven on earth. First, Mugabe's concern was of establishing peace and stability. Second, this peace was to be modelled after the Lancaster House Agreement. However, the Lancaster House model of peace as noted earlier had some problems. The major problem as noted by Huyse was amnesia. Third, the speech completely dismissed future chances of armed conflict. Fourth, he quoted the words of Isaiah 2: 4 and Micah 4: 3, "they will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks". That was a message of ceasefire and peace. Fifth, there was a promise to prioritise national interests at the expense of party issues; that was a call for unity of purpose. Sixth, unity between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU was his major concern as well. In the new government, Mugabe was to set a coalition government as a way of fostering peace while engaging Nkomo into talks was one of his major priorities. What is not clear are the contents of the talks between the two. Seventh, there was a promise to respect the fundamental human rights and freedom in full. Eighth, the new government was not to interfere with pension rights and benefits of civil servants which emanated from the Smith regime. This was meant to ensure the smooth transition from the old government to the new one. Ninth, there was the promise of not deporting anyone from the country and the citizenship of the colonial masters was guaranteed. Tenth, there was the promise not to interfere with property rights of individuals set by the Southern Rhodesia government. This should have surprised the war veterans and the masses because it was an acknowledgement of the colonial legacy. Eleventh, there was the pledge to forget the past. This form of reconciliation has been condemned earlier on as an imposition to the offended people. Twelfth, there was the promise to trample racialism, tribalism, and regionalism. That was an emphasis of a new identity and people had to bury their previous identity categories. Thirteenth, the Prime Minister-elect ended his victory and reconciliation speech with a pledge for the improvement of the life of all people.

There was much hope for all the people from the Prime Minister's victory and reconciliation speech. The speech was followed by the independence speech a month later. The speech also

appears in the appendix of this thesis. The Prime Minister-elect Mugabe gave this speech on the eve of Independence Day celebrations on 17 April 1980.

The speech was an extension of his victory and reconciliation speech. He was simply elaborating the points he had raised a month earlier. The focus of his speech was reconciliation and forgiveness through prioritizing national interests before any other interests. All the wrongs of the past were to be forgiven unconditionally and there was no justification for any form of oppression even being done to the former oppressor. The key to his speech was the emphasis that evil is evil even done by the formerly oppressed. In the new Zimbabwe, all people were equal regardless of race, tribe and region. Therefore, from the two speeches, there was much hope of a future Zimbabwe characterised by peace, love, prosperity and respect for human rights. Was this going to be the real case on the ground for the new Zimbabwe? Was this unity and peace going to last for a long period? If not, then what happened?

In the CDA the following question are asked; what is the current discourse on the reconciliation model of 1980? There are different schools of thought on this reconciliation model. The less popular discourse describes Mugabe's action as that of the father of the prodigal son in Luke 15:11–32 who welcomed him back home unconditionally. Such sentiments are shared by Osiwald Mapika and Martin Chirume who are priests in the Anglican Diocese of Harare (Interview). The popular discourse represented by Huyse and Chitakure is that the reconciliation of 1980 by Prime Minister Mugabe lacked so many things needed for an effective reconciliation process. The masses were not included in the process; they were forced to practice amnesia.

The masses were victims of war from both the liberation fighters and the government forces. Civilians lost their wealth, relatives and homes and these issues were never addressed while the perpetrators of violence against the masses never confessed their actions. The imbalances created by ninety years of oppressive rule were not addressed; land acquired illegally was protected under land rights. It seems Mugabe's pronouncement of reconciliation was a political gimmick meant to consolidate power. Chitakure further argues that Mugabe made a selfish pronouncement of reconciliation without considering the feelings and emotions of most people who had suffered during the armed struggle (Interview). The pronouncement of reconciliation was also because of

international pressure and with Britain protecting her interests. The chronicles of events that took place between 1980 and 1987 show that the reconciliation model of 1980 was a failure.

Prime Minister Mugabe had assumed a new role of being the head of state hence he was supposed to forego some of the identity boundaries he had maintained during the armed struggle. This explains why he was now calling everyone on board to come and build Zimbabwe. Among his cabinet ministers, we now see the PF ZAPU members and Whites. His new status as the Prime Minister demanded him to destroy the liberation war boundaries where the former enemy is now a colleague in government. Those who were fighting against each other in the liberation war were now members of one unified force, yet they still belonged to their ethnic or racial identity categories.

4.2 The signing of the Unity Accord

The Unity Accord was signed on 22 December 1987 which took ten meetings for the agreement to be established, was meant to end the conflict between PF ZAPU and ZANU PF. The desire for these two parties was to establish peace, law and order and political stability which were considered as a necessary condition for social and economic development. The agreement was to eliminate violent activities that were taking place in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. The contents of the agreement (also attached in the Appendix) were as follows; first, PF ZAPU and ZANU PF were to merge into one party and this was in line with Mugabe's wish of a one-party state. A one-party state would help him to consolidate his power and dictatorial tendencies. The name of the new merged party was to be ZANU PF which outlines the dominance of another party over the other in the agreement. Why should the other party lose its name while the other maintains it? Is this not an African model of marriage where the wife loses her surname? In other terms, PF ZAPU was married by ZANU PF and lost her name. Mugabe was given the role of being the first secretary and president of the party with the powers to appoint his vice secretaries and vice presidents. This became another source of contention again. Why two vice presidents? ZANU PF was not prepared to lose the vice president's post and the alternative was to add another office in their hierarchy. The Marxist philosophy was adopted as the guiding ideology of the new party.

In public discourses, the signatories to the agreement (ZANU PF and PF ZAPU) define the Unity Accord as a success which ended violence that had rocked Matabeleland and Midlands provinces.

Dissident activities came to an end and the 5th brigade withdrew from the provinces facilitating the end to brutal killings of masses. However, for the general populace, the same mistake that Mugabe committed in 1980 was repeated in 1987; the agreement was discussed among the leaders of the two parties. Ordinary citizens who were brutalised by the violent activities were never involved in the reconciliation process. They were forced to accept the top leadership's agreement while their grievances were never addressed. The agreement was guided by amnesia and perpetrators of violence were not brought to book. Even today, no one wants to take responsibility for the crimes committed in these provinces where people lost their loved ones and no confession and apology was given. The public from these provinces felt betrayed by their leaders who valued their individual benefits at the expense of the masses. They were given farms, houses, and ministerial posts resulting in further alienation of the leaders and their people. The agreement appeared to be successful but that was a short artificial success at the expense of disgruntled citizens. What appears as success is, in fact, negative peace that awaits explosion into anarchy or tribal at any time.

With the Unity Accord, ethnic identity boundaries among the leaders were broken once again. This is in line with the SIC where one person can carry multiple functions in the community. Mugabe became the president while Nkomo and Simon Muzenda were the two vice presidents. Political leadership became the prime identity marker and not ethnic markers. The new ZANU PF party now reserves its chairmanship to the former members of PF ZAPU. One person now has multiple identity markers such as being a government official as well as belonging to an ethnic group. Ministers of different ethnic backgrounds could then relate well more than their ethnic fellows who were not in government. However, such a transformation of identity boundaries is taking place mainly among the top echelons while the general people try to maintain them

4.3 The road to the signing of the Global Political Agreement

As a continuation of the CCT's investigation of the 'Common Human Experience', this section introduces another period of a twist in reconciliation efforts of the country. The issue of one-party state did not fully materialize as the sacked Edgar Tekere formed his new political party known as Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) which contested the 1990 and 1995 elections. Violence emerged again in the Midlands province and other isolated places during the election campaigns. The economic situation of the country began to deteriorate slowly especially with the

implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). With the implementation of ESAP, many companies closed or downsized their operations resulting in many job losses. Another form of economic conflict was now looming in form of labour actions.

During this period, the war veterans demanded recognition for their contribution in liberation war. The government of the day saw the possibility of losing popularity and subsequent electoral defeat and responded to the call of the war veterans by awarding them $50 000 each. Where was that money to come from? The Ministry of Finance had to make the money available from fiscus (national treasury) and supplemented through printing. This led to a sharp rise in inflation and price hikes while on the other hand, thousands lost their jobs due to retrenchments. Industrial actions intensified with certain individuals such as Morgan Tsvangirai rising to fame and this was the advent of MDC party. In 1999, a referendum to change the constitution of the country was carried and the opposition MDC with the help of civil society, successfully campaigned for a "NO" vote. This angered ZANU PF who responded by unleashing a fresh form of violence in what was to be termed the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Violence was used to reclaim farms from whites and several people were killed. Others fled the country while their property was either destroyed or looted. The whole process was politically referred to as the "*Third Chimurenga*". The international community responded by imposing economic sanctions against Mugabe's government. While the conflict took a racist twist, tribalism and ethnic tensions did not cease.

The 2000 general elections were marred by violence with the opposition party commanding influential seats in urban centres and the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces. "Political violence and intimidation of the electorate are said to be ZANU PF's winning card" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008: 1). The voting pattern now can be characterized as a protest vote by the people from Midlands and Matabeleland provinces who were dissatisfied by the unity agreement of 1987. The time had now come for them to demonstrate their dissatisfaction. In the urban centres, citizens were not happy with the obtaining economic and material conditions. This is further supported by Ndlovu-Gatsheni when he asserts that, "the MDC is banking on popular anger rather than on its mobilization prowess" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008: 1). Hope for the oppressed and suffering was now in the new political dispensation of MDC.

ZANU-PF narrowly won the 2000 elections with the aid of intimidation and violence, especially in their rural strongholds. Therefore, from the year 2000 to the signing of the GPA in 2008, violence was now more political than tribal or racial. Several events happened within the political arena. In 1999 soon after the death of Nkomo, ZAPU 2000 was revived and eight years later Dumiso Dabengwa revived PF ZAPU party marking the weakening of the 1987 Unity Accord (Dube 2012:2). In 2005, the MDC split into two major factions; MDC-M (led by former student activist Arthur Mutambara) and MDC-T (led by founder Morgan Tsvangirai). Though the splits were politically motivated, some tribal issues were raised as catalysts for the break. The height of political violence was in the 2008 run-off elections where thousands of people were killed due to political violence and this was now in the ZANU PF rural strongholds where ZANU PF had lost their traditional seats to MDC. The economic and political situations facilitated for a political settlement between the country's strongest parties (ZANU-PF, MDC-T, and MDC-M).

4.4 The Signing of the GPA

The GPA was signed on 15 September 2008 with the three presidents of the country's popular political parties being the signatories to the agreement. These presidents were, Mugabe (ZANU-PF), Tsvangirai (MDC-T), and Mutambara (MDC-M). The agreement's signing came as a relief for the country that was economically struggling. The economy of the country had reached unbearable levels with the hyperinflation breaking a new record (officially at 231 million % although unofficial figures record more than a billion %) in the history of global economics. Tension mounted among the people of different political, ethnic, and social background. The signing of the agreement gave people much hope of a new Zimbabwe characterized by respect and tolerance of one another. On the day of the signing of the agreement, the ceremony venue (Rainbow Towers in Harare) was filled to capacity and the mood was jovial.

The GPA was a twenty-one-page document with twenty-five articles and an abridged version of the GPA is attached at the appendix of this thesis. Only two articles (Article: xvii and xviii) and the preamble have been chosen because they are relevant to this discussion. In the preamble, the three parties were dedicating themselves to, "putting an end to the polarization, divisions, conflict, and intolerance that has characterized Zimbabwean politics and society in recent times" (Global Political Agreement, 2008). This trend had not changed since the 1980 independence and

polarisation, divisions, conflict, and intolerance were characteristic of the Zimbabwean political and social landscape since independence.

Article VII of the GPA addresses the subject of Promotion of Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity. These four subjects are key to the discussion of this thesis. The three parties agreed that they;

> 7.1 (a) will ensure equal treatment of all regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin and will work towards equal access to development for all.
> 7.1 (c) shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre-and post-independence political conflicts.
> 7.1 (d) will strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, place origin or political affiliation (Global Political Agreement 2008).

The three political parties acknowledged that there was unfair and unequal treatment of citizens along the lines of gender, ethnicity, race, political affiliation, age, and place of origin. In 1980, Robert Mugabe pledged to end racism, ethnicity and regionalism, but twenty-eight years later these elements were still alive. However, from this agreement, a positive step was taken towards addressing the country's long-term conflicts as the parties agreed to find ways of addressing the pre-and post-independence conflicts. They acknowledged that since independence, efforts to deal with these issues were fruitless. This pledge set the tone for the formation of the Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation which will be looked at in later sections to establish its successes and failures.

In Article XVIII of the GPA, the parties agreed on the security of citizens which had been a major concern since the country's independence. Instead of protecting the citizens, the state machinery was used mainly for brutalizing her people and protect certain individuals. That was the reason why in 1981, PF ZAPU petitioned Mugabe demanding to be involved in the security architecture of the state. In similar fashion, in the negotiations to the signing of the GPA, one of the highly contested ministerial posts was that of Home Affairs. The agreement, at last, was to have co-ministers of Home Affairs while the ruling party retained the powerful Defence and State Security

ministries. The parties agreed that violence had reached unbearable levels to the extent of displacing people from their homes. Some families never returned to their rural homes even after the signing of the agreement because the political conditions in their villages of origin were not ideal.

4.5 The Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI)

The organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (hereafter referred to as ONHRI) was formed by the inclusive government under the GPA agreement. According to Terence Mashingaidze, "many Zimbabweans considered the formation of ONHRI to be a watershed opportunity for stemming the nation's historically entrenched culture of state-sanctioned violence and impunity" (Mashingaidze 2010: 19). There was much hope from Zimbabweans and it was seen by the majority as an opportunity for healing the scars caused by politically motivated violence since the pre-colonial era. The need for reconciliation and national healing was overdue and a necessary step towards economic development and social cohesion. The ONHRI was to be chaired by the three ministers who were representing the three signatories of the GPA. These three ministers were John Nkomo (ZANU-PF), Sekai Holland (MDC-T), and Gibson Sibanda (MDC-M). The two (John Nkomo and Gibson Sibanda) have since passed on. To show that this was a serious matter, 24 and 25 July 2009 were declared as days of peace with the intention of promoting national healing and reconciliation ideals. The ONHRI started their consultation process with the traditional leaders and this was meant to ensure that the whole exercise is approached from a cultural rather than legalistic sense. (ONHRI Policy Brief 2009). The model of a cultural or traditional approach to reconciliation was implemented in Rwanda under the system of Gacaca courts. The ONHRI's mandate was meant to be an ongoing process rather a one-time event and the process is still underway. What are the feelings of the people and different organisations about the work of ONHRI so far?

4.6 A critique of past reconciliation efforts in Zimbabwe from a CCT perspective

In 1980, the conflicting parties realized the significance of reconciliation as they came together to form a coalition government. This means that they had prioritized the worth of pursuing relations. The African philosophy of Ubuntu/Hunhu/Botho defines humanity in terms of relationships. An individual is defined in terms of the community he/she belongs to, unlike the western concept of philosophers like Rene Descartes who defines an individual as he/she conceives himself/herself in

the mind. The 1980, reconciliation was a sign that relations are worth pursuing but those reconciliation efforts did not last long because identity markers that separated people for a long time were not dealt with. What symbols did Mugabe and his government use to reconcile people in 1980? When Mugabe pronounced his reconciliation statement, there were no clear symbols that he used. It seems symbols such as 'democracy', 'Zimbabwe', 'economy', and 'new constitution' were used to unify people. In what ways, can these symbols represent human beings? Can these symbols form identity categories for people? In other countries like USA, 'democrat' and 'republican' are identity markers. Leaders of liberation movements after the 1963 split promoted an ideology that the symbol ZANU PF represents shona interests while the symbol PF ZAPU represents ndebele interests. The quest for the coalition of PF ZAPU and ZANU PF towards the 1980 elections was an attempt to destroy political identity categories. The symbol Zimbabwe became a unifier for all conflicting parties though it did not fully achieve the desired goals. The 'Common Human Experience' we get in 1980 is an attempt to repair fractured relationships and therefore, reconciliation was prioritized.

With the signing of the Unity Accord, GPA, and the formation of the ONHRI, it becomes necessary to question whether the pursuit of relations was seriously prioritized from a Common Human Experience's perspective. There was a positive step towards responding to this question; what seemed irreconcilable was now reconciled. The conflicting parties realized the importance of pursuing relationships to stop loss of human life. Being 'Ndebele' or 'Shona' was now seen as a matter of political or social differences rather than ontological differences. There is a shift of the 'Common Human Experience' from enmity, hate and war to friendship, love and peace. The 1987 agreement put to an end the 'Common Human Experience' of the symbol '*Gukurahundi*' which represent, name calling, death, torture, fear, dissident activities and ethnicity. Though people have different views on the achievements of the Unity Accord, it went a long way in bringing about stability in the country. However, the execution had some shortcomings in terms of inclusion. Therefore this 'Common Human Experience' continues to influence the country's ethnic discourse. The signing of GPA put to an end the 'Common Human Experience' of political violence.

The CCT's investigation of Zimbabwe's 'Common Human Experience' from 1980 to present has established that though efforts were put to reconcile the Ndebele and Shona people, relations between the two are still poor. The relations are still characterized by discrimination, prejudice,

ethnocentrism, stereotyping, and polarization. This is the 'Common Human Experience' that need answers from Paul in the Corinthian correspondence for social cohesion to be achieved. Answers can be sought through the correlation of these 'Common Human Experience' symbols and the symbols that are in Paul's Corinthian correspondence.

4.7 Initiatives by the Ecumenical Bodies

It has been mentioned earlier on that there were unfruitful efforts in the past by the churches to initiative reconciliation. In concluding this chapter, it is worthy discussing those efforts in brief. Two significant efforts are discussed, and these are the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference's *CCJP Report on the Disturbances in Midlands and Matabeleland Provinces* and the Head of Ecumenical Bodies, *The Zimbabwe We Want: Towards A National Vision for Zimbabwe*.

4.7.1 The Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC)

In terms of being prophetic, the ZCBC is one of the most active ecumenical bodies in Zimbabwe. They are well known for confronting the evils affecting the society without fear of any powers of the day. ZCBC is an ecumenical body in the sense of being made up of eight Roman Catholic dioceses, not in the sense of being made up of different denominations. Therefore, it is ecumenism within one denomination and such definition of ecumenism goes back to the early church when the so called ecumenical councils were gatherings of different bishoprics within the Roman Church. Under the ZCBC are different arms that focus on certain aspects of ministry and one such arm is the CCJP whose area of focus is justice and peace in the society.

Having seen the polarization that was going on in the country, the ZCBC tasked the CCJP to map the way forward for the country's quest for reconciliation and peace. In carrying out that task, the CCJP produced a 105-page report on what transpired in the country between 1980 and 1990. They documented all the disturbances that took place in the country and how the government responded. The documentation was meticulously done starting with independence in April 1980 and ending with the lifting of the State of Emergency in July 1990. They documented how people were brutalized during the *Gukurahundi* times and the names of those who disappeared. It was a comprehensive report that was scientifically done, and the analysis was academic. The ZCBC facilitated a very important step towards attaining an effective reconciliation. They gave an ear to the victims and allowed the truth telling process to prevail. This was a golden chance for the

government to achieve long-lasting peace and genuine reconciliation. Such a process requires financial resources and expertise and the ZCBC had done that for the government freely.

The report ended with seven recommendations which could have resolved the problem of ethnicity if the government had implemented them. The seven recommendations were as follows; first, the will of affected communities was supposed to be followed in exhuming the bodies of those buried in mass graves. "It is essential that no steps be taken without consultation with communities and relatives of the deceased. Some may wish for exhumation, while in adjacent areas, others may not, for cultural or personal reasons." (CCJP Report 1997: 103). Second, in the process of exhuming those bodies, judicial proceedings were supposed to be followed. "Exhumations should be done through the intervention of judges to keep a legal record of the proceedings and findings, even in situations where no legal prosecutions are to follow on findings (such as in Zimbabwe)." (CCJP Report 1997: 103). Third, the exhumations were supposed to be done professionally; "there are teams of forensic anthropologists and organisations around the world who are experts at this type of work. They have accomplished successful exhumations in several Latin American countries, and also in the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Ethiopia, Rwanda, among other places." (CCJP Report 1997: 103). The government was supposed to hire those experts so that they help the local personnel in carrying such a huge task. The fourth recommendation was for the depository for the human remains.

> In cases where exhumed remains are not identified: a.) establish a general data base in the hope that identification might ultimately be possible and keep the remains available at a specific centre and under control. b.) if it is not possible to keep remains unburied, do not rebury underground, but keep them in an above-ground sepulchre, so that remains will not be affected by the organic activity of the soil. If this is not possible, due to economic or cultural constraints, remains should be reburied in the hardest possible container so that they could be retrieved and re analysed if necessary. (CCJP Report 1997: 103)

The fifth recommendation was for the protection of the sites where the remains were to be kept for possible further identification in the future. This was for a limited time before the actual burial of those unidentified remains. The last recommendation was the establishment of a symbolic shrine where the unidentified remains were to be buried and at least their relatives will have a symbolic place to commemorate their beloved ones. It is more like the tomb of the unknown soldier at the National Heroes Acre in Harare. Why do we need such a shrine in Matabeleland? According to the

report "relatives of victims often express the strong need to have a place where they can remember their loved ones, pray, or follow other cultural practices of mourning" (CCJP Report 1997: 103). Such recommendations were meant to be the first step towards healing of memories. This is the reason why the victims are still mourning, and the spirit of avenging continues to rise. However, such a great step towards peacebuilding was thrown into the dust bin by the government. The report was never made public since its compilation in March 1987 and one can see the spirit of resistance in admitting the sins of the past by the perpetrators and amnesia continues to be enforced on the people.

4.7.2 The heads of Ecumenical bodies

Eight years after the compilation of the CCJP report, the heads of ecumenical bodies in Zimbabwe produced another prophetic document titled; *The Zimbabwe We Want: Towards A National Vision for Zimbabwe*. This time around the country's three major ecumenical bodies; ZCBC, EFZ, and ZCC teamed up to echo their voices. Unlike the CCJP report which was a product of one denomination, this was a combined effort and hence, represented wider views. However, it was not as meticulously done as the CCJP report. The document came out at a time the woes of Zimbabwe's political and economic landscape were increasing and the church could not continue confining herself behind pulpits while the citizenry was in danger. This was a 58-page document that covered a range of subjects unlike the CCJP report that was mainly interested in the violence that had affected the country for ten years. Ethnicity, racism, poverty, abuse of human rights, and violence were on the increase. The heads of ecumenical bodies lamented over how people were still suffering twenty-five years after independence and the purpose of the document was to propose a vision for a prosperous and peaceful Zimbabwe. In the document, the heads of the ecumenical bodies suggested ways that the church could assist the nation with in bringing peace.

The first suggestion was for the church to be unified; the leaders realized that the church was not united hence there was need for the church to unite first and pull in one direction before attempting to reconcile the nation. How was that to be done? This was going to include inter-church programs that were to promote mutual relationships. The leaders argued that 'when we are reconciled, we can indeed become the salt of the earth in the communities in which we live, and others can say "See how they love one another" and begin to emulate our example' (ZCC, EFZ, & ZCBC 2005:

53). The second suggestion was the use the formal ecumenical bodies in promoting peace through programmes such as national days of prayer and composition of songs that are meant to promote peace. Third the church was to use both print and electronic media to promote peace. The last recommendation was the setting up of the Truth and Justice Commission in which the leaders argued that "the truth must be told in order to heal the wounds. Many people are hurting and are raising questions and need to know what happened to their loved ones" (ZCC, EFZ, & ZCBC 2005: 53). These were the suggestions of how the church was to participate in peacebuilding and reconciliation project for the country. In addition to that, the following recommendations were made to the government for reconciliation to be possible:

First, there was that need for a new constitution and this was supposed be achieved by mid-2007. They cited the constitution that was drafted in 1979 as not people centred. Second, there was need for national dialogue on matters of economy, electoral processes, human rights, national reconciliation, and governance. Third, the government was recommended to establish an independent land commission to ensure fairness and transparency in land distribution. Fourth, oppressive legislations such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) were supposed to be repealed. Fifth, the government was supposed to take steps in bridging relationships with the international community. Such relations would improve the economy through trade and investments. Sixth, the church pledged to do her part through facilitating relationships with the international community and mobilisation of both spiritual and material resources; an effort that was meant to transform the country.

After the publication and presentation of the document, there was no demonstrated commitment from government to honour the recommendations of the church. The document simply became one of the many white elephants lying in the National Archives. All the church's efforts were thrown into the dusty bins as the spirit of amnesia continues to survive to the detriment of the country's peace and social cohesion. It is for this reason why the researcher feels the need to continue with efforts for peace and reconciliation and to never give up. New ways should continue to be explored until a solution is found for tolerance, long lasting peace and prosperity.

4.8 Conclusion

The major lesson to be taken from the Zimbabwe's efforts towards reconciliation is that one cannot be both player and referee, or one cannot be both judge and criminal. This is what had affected reconciliation efforts in Zimbabwe since 1980. The main perpetrator (ZANU-PF) wants to be both referee and judge and the conflict of interest makes the arrangement unfeasible. It is normal that the offender would look for a mechanism to protect him/herself. Truth Commissions must exercise some form of independence from the political parties. In South Africa, the TRC had enough room to use their authority since the major offender was no longer in power. This was not going to be possible when the apartheid government was in power. The three major opportunities for Zimbabwe to set up an autonomous Truth and Reconciliation Commission came in 1980, 1987, and 2008 and were not utilized. Having lost these three opportunities at the inception of new or transitional governments, this research is undertaken with belief that there still hope in the word of God, particularly in the Pauline ethics on reconciliation. What is important is to identify symbols that characterize the Shona-Ndebele relations and correlate them with symbols from Paul that enhance reconciliation.

Chapter Five: An evaluation of Paul's ethics regarding reconciliation and Social Cohesion in the Corinthian correspondences

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, an exegesis of two texts; I Corinthians 1: 10–17 and II Corinthians 5: 16–21 is done for the purposes of gleaning aspects in Paul that can be of use in dealing with ethnic tensions in Zimbabwe. Standard abbreviations of the names of the Biblical books will be used in engagement with scriptural quotations. Since christian texts are one of the two principal sources of theology, there is need to investigate them to glean some symbols that can be of use in giving answers to our 'Common Human Experience' of ethnicity. These texts have been selected because they hold a special role in Paul's discourse on reconciliation. The researcher regards these two texts as Paul's best texts on reconciliation. This is due to the following premises: I Corinthians 1:10 serves as the thesis for the entire epistle's discourse on reconciliation. This argument was earlier on raised by Margaret Mitchell and Ben Witherington III.

Then, II Corinthians 5:16–21 is a special passage on reconciliation as Paul referred to the words (reconciliation/reconciling, reconciled) five times in six verses, making them the most pregnant reconciliation corpus in the New Testament. As argued earlier on, it was Paul alone who used the word 'reconciliation' in the New Testament and the bulk of such usage is in II Corinthians 5:16-21. In addressing the subject of reconciliation in these texts, Paul also produces symbols that he thinks can help in fostering reconciliation. He introduces important symbols such as Christ, Baptism, New Creation, Ambassador, and Cross in his attempt to bring about reconciliation in the Corinthian correspondence. Therefore, these two passages are the most relevant when engaging with reconciliation.

5.1 The background of Corinth

This section will give a brief description of the city of Corinth and as well as the identities of the Corinthians. The geography of a place helps us in understanding the life and dynamics that one finds in a certain place. To understand the behaviour of the Corinthians, one needs to locate their space and eventually their identities will be unearthed. This constitutes what is called the background knowledge or a frame of reference. Rothaus (2001: 1) argues that when engaging with Corinthian letters, "an analysis of Corinth as a city is not out of place, but rather necessary". This

means that one cannot separate religion from its society and context. Societal and historical contexts are important components of exegesis that must put into perspective.

5.1.1 The City of Corinth

The city of Corinth like other ancient cities, had a long history hence one can talk of Old and New Corinth. Meek (1972: 22) argues that it was Aristophanes who originated the name, *'korinthiazesthai',* meaning to practice fornication. Old Corinth was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE and from that time onwards, Corinth became a ruin for almost a century. In 44 BC, Julius Caesar had to rebuild it hence the New Corinth was a colony of the Roman Empire.

When the Roman Empire subdued Corinth, the city was built after a Roman plan (Barnetto 1997: 2). The official language of the city was Latin though Greek has dominated the region since the time of Alexander the Great. Administratively, Corinth was the capital city of the Roman province of Achaia and she housed the Roman proconsul. According to Acts 18: 12, the proconsul of Corinth during Paul's time was Gallio. Judicially, she was under the government of four magistrates and it is questionable how the magistrates coped with the demands of a large city such as Corinth. In this city, Julius Caesar had to resettle his war veterans, freed slaves of war, urban merchants and workers. He had to improve the living conditions of the city by upgrading infrastructure as a way of getting total allegiance from his war veterans.

Geographically, the city lies within the Mediterranean region and its climate is characterised by hot dry summers and cold wet winters. Donald Engels argues that "water has always been a precious commodity here and not only the streams, but even the wells of the region run dry in the summer months" (Engels 1990: 12). The region receives very little rains averaging 400 millimetres per year and this is the reason why streams and wells run dry in summer months. C.K Barrett argues that "the region was not fertile, but its economic advantages were great" (Barrett 1968: 1). The city can be divided into two parts which are; urban and rural. Corinth was a link between the west and east and was built on an isthmus. She had two seaports that were Lechion and Cenchreae. Such a strategic positioning of the city had some immense economic benefits.

Commercially, the city has been regarded since antiquity as an economic giant due to her strategic location. Stephen Neil describes the city as great and wealthy (Neil 1966: 69). The city was in control of land trade routes between north and south Greece. She dominated the major sea trade

route between Asia and Europe. Strabo in Horrell (2004: 2) argues that Corinth was renowned for its wealth; he attributes the city's economic success to its ability to exploit the commercial potential of its strategic location. She became one of the most popular areas of banking and finance in the Graeco-Roman world. Paul Barnetto writes that it had, "splendid buildings, paved roads, harbour, water supply, agora, shopping area, senate house, temples, fountains and monuments, gymnasiums, bath, schools, administrative block, theatre, library, parks and athletics fields (Barnetto 1997: 3). Regardless of all these developments, the gap between the rich and poor continues to widen. Other people were filthy rich while some were very poor. Therefore, it was a city of extremes hence the source of divisions and conflicts. In summary, the ancient philosopher Homer refers to her as, "wealthy Corinth" (Homer 570)

Religiously, the city was characterised by diversity. In Acts 18:11, Paul visited the city and stayed for 18 months in which he established a church that flourished. This is evidenced by the fact that by the second century, the See of Corinth had considerable authority over other Sees. When Christianity arrived in Corinth, other religions have established roots in the city and this is testified by the fact that several temples belonging to different cults and religions have sprouted throughout the city. Aelius Aristeides labelled Corinth as the "Aphrodite of the Roman Cities" (Engels 1990: 12). Eugene Boring and Fred B. Craddock postulates that, "it was typically a Hellenistic city in which gods many and lord many were worshipped; this has been documented by the excavations of temples and shrines to Apollo, Asclepius, Aphrodite, Demeter, Poseidon, Isis, Serapis, Artemis, and Helios" (Boring 2009: 507). In such a scenario, religious syncretism was likely to take place as people searched for identity. However, the Paul's Corinth was destroyed by an earthquake in about 521 CE.

5.1.2 The authorship and place of origins for the letter
It is not obvious today in the New Testament to claim the authorship of a certain book or letter without proffering some reasons for that claim. What are the basis for this research to claim that I Corinthians is a product of Pauline authorship? Wayne A. Meek categorised I Corinthians as one of the undoubted letters of Paul in contrast to the works of Pauline school (Meek 1972). This is suggestive of Pauline authorship of the letter. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin further claim that "Pauline authorship of I Corinthians has been undisputed, and the letter is already attested in the 90s by Clement of Rome and later Ignatius as Pauline" (Hawthorne 1993: 175). The

question remaining is, why was the book endorsed as Pauline in nature even from the church fathers? Can we rely on endorsements only which were sometime proven to be in error in the past?

However, there is internal witness to the Pauline authorship. In I Corinthians: 1: 1–3, the writer of the letter claims to be Paul in his opening greetings. Such an introductory formula has been one of the main characteristic features of the Pauline letters. This is typically true of the other Pauline letters such as Romans 1:1; Galatians 1:1; I Thessalonians 1:1, Philippians 1: 1, and II Corinthians: 1:1, their introductory formula identifies Paul as the author. The challenge is that this is also typically true of disputed letters of Paul. They all start with an introductory formula that claims Paul as the author. So, there is need to look for further evidence. Furthermore, the author identifies himself in the concluding greetings and remarks as Paul. I Corinthians: 16: 21, explicitly claim that the author is Paul and he wrote with his own hand. Raymond F. Collins describes this as the signature of Paul and for him, that is a remarkable feature of I Corinthians (Collins 1999: 1).

Another piece of evidence of Pauline authorship is based on the arguments that Paul was responsible for the founding the Corinthian church. That places him in a better position as the author of the letter. Such claims are based on the reconstruction of Paul's missionary journeys as recorded by the author of Luke-Acts. Acts: 18: 1-17 mentions the arrival of Paul in Corinth on his second missionary journey. He met Priscilla and Aquila who were recently deported from Rome after Claudius expelled all the Jews and the two became some of the pillars of the Corinthian church. He was also joined by Silas and Timothy and their attempt to preach in the synagogue was fruitless and they later devote their ministry to the Gentiles. The dating of this event is likely to be between 50-53 CE. In Acts 19, Paul arrived in Ephesus and it is believed that it was during his stay in Ephesus that he wrote the letter to the Corinthians following a report from Chloe's family. However, I Corinthians 5: 9 shows that Paul wrote several letters to the Corinthian Church. So, to say this is his first letter is not correct but according to canonicity, this is his first letter. He might have written five or six letters as Wayne Meeks suggests (Meek 1972: 22). In conclusion, I Corinthians shows much historical and literary evidence of Pauline authorship.

5.2 An exegesis of I Corinthians: 1: 10–17

> *10. I appeal to you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no dissensions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment. 11. For it has been reported to me by Chloe's*

people that there is quarrelling among you, my brethren. 12. What I mean is that each one of you says, "I belong to Paul," or "I belong to Apollos," or "I belong to Cephas," or "I belong to Christ." 13. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul? 14. I am thankful[a] that I baptized none of you except Crispus and Gaius; 15. lest anyone should say that you were baptized in my name. 16. (I did baptize also the household of Steph'anas. Beyond that, I do not know whether I baptized anyone else.) 17. For Christ, did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel, and not with eloquent wisdom, lest the cross of Christ be emptied of its power (RSV).

Richard B. Hays titles this passage, "*A Call for Unity in the Community*" and this is the main objective of this research. According to Hays, "the same verb used in I Corinthians 1:10, is used to Mark 1: 19 and Matthew 4: 21 to describe the mending of fishing nets" (Hays 1997: 25). In his view, the divisions have torn the church like the tearing of fishers' nets in the gospel. He is appealing to them with his apostolic authority. In I Corinthians 1:10, he appeals to them that they may not be divided but being "united in the same mind and same judgement". Other versions use, "same mind and same opinion". Was Paul calling for uniformity here? Is Paul proposing a unity based on the absence of different opinions? Certainly, not! This should be understood as a form of hyperbolism meant for people to realise the seriousness of unity that Paul is proposing. This is further argued by Collins when he says, "same mind and same opinion are essentially synonymous. The repetition has the rhetorical effect of emphasizing Paul's point" (Collins 1999: 69). So, what is the basis for this unity according to Paul? There are three issues that he regards as the foundation for unity and these are; the Cross of Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ, and Baptism in his name. The solution to the identity crisis in the Corinthian church lies in Jesus Christ who is one ground of unity. If people realize that Jesus is their ground of identity, then divisions will be minimized.

I Corinthians 1:10 is regarded as the central verse of the entire epistle by different scholars notably, Margaret M. Mitchell and Ben Witherington, III. For example, Margaret M. Mitchell argues that, "the entire letter is throughout an argument for ecclesial unity as centred in the *πρόθεσις* or thesis statement of the argument in I Corinthians 1:10" (Mitchell 1992: 1). Ben Witherinton III reinforces the same argument, "I Corinthians 1:10 constiues the proposition….the thesis of the entire discourse." (Witherington 1995: 94). It therefore, follows that the verse needs some special attention for our exegesis. Paul opens verse 10 with the word *Παρακαλῶ (*verb, 1st per, sing, pres, subj active). Firstly, we need to take into consideration Sheffield Pickett's argument that, "there are two passages where Paul uses the verb to recommend the course of action he wants his readers

to take" (Pickett 1997: 59). The first case of such use is in I Corinthians 1:10 where he uses the word *παρακαλω*. The word has multiple meanings, but in this context, it means to beseech, call upon, admonish and summon. Paul is summoning them to agree and cast away divisions among themselves.

Then the second use is in I Corinthians 4: 16 where he urges them to be imitators of himself (*Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε*). In using '*Παρακαλῶ*' (parakaleo), Paul is aiming at "reforming the Corinthians' conduct so that it is governed by 'the word of the cross'" (Pickett 1997: 59). The question therefore, is that given a variety of meanings that can be attached to the verb *Παρακαλῶ,* what is the best translation that can be adopted for this context? The big question that one can ask is; what was the nature of Paul's *Παρακαλῶ* request. Here the question leads us to the investigation of the rhetorical usage of the word. Margaret M. Mitchel understands *Παρακαλῶ* as the bridge between the conclusion of the thanksgiving section and the commencing of the main body of the epistle (Mitchell 1992). In Anthony C. Thiselton's words "*Παρακαλῶ* functions as the transitional hinge form between the end of thanksgiving and the beginning of the main body of the letter." (Thiselton 2000: 111). The argument is that the term *Παρακαλῶ* is used as a subject-changer in the art of rhetoric. Carl J. Bjerkelund in Anthony C. Thiselton disagrees with Thiselton and Mitchell as he argues that "*Παρακαλῶ* functions as a request, to be translated, 'I ask' and depends not on rhetoric; but on some prior personal or relationship between the writer and the addressees" (Thiselton 2000: 112). Therefore, *Παρακαλῶ* can be best translated as 'I appeal', a word that does not have harsh connotations. Such a rendering of *Παρακαλῶ* represents a broad view of illocutionary speech-acts contrary to the locutionary speech-acts. An illocutionary speech –act is based on relationships and for this matter apostleship or friendship, a locutionary speech-act is based on intellectual (rhetorical) persuasion. Therefore, the use of *Παρακαλῶ* should be understood in the context of illocutionary speech-acts and Paul is making a gentle request as opposed to a command.

Paul makes his appeal to the *ἀδελφοί* which the RSV translates as 'brethren' but it's proper rendering is 'brothers'. It is a masc noun, nom, pl, of *ἀδελφος* meaning brothers and it was used to refer to a son of the same mother. However, there are some arguments pertaining the proper translation of *ἀδελφοί.* Different versions of the bible translate this noun differently. For example, the NJB and NIV translate *ἀδελφοί* as brothers while the NRSV translates it as brothers and sisters.

Are we here confronted by the gender inclusive and exclusive debate? To avert the problem, the RSV translates ἀδελφοί as brethren, a word that is gender neutral. Anthony C. Thiselton argues that "it is difficult to know how best to translate ἀδελφοί since the addition of 'and sisters' adds to the text what it does not say explicitly" (Thiselton 2000: 114).

While the other category of scholars represented by Joseph Barber Lightfoot advocate for the inclusion of sisters in the translation, their argument is anchored on the classic Greek family categories where the noun ἀδελφοί was used in a gender inclusive sense. Therefore, there is no problem with all the translations cited above as long as readers understand their ancient usage. The importance of this debate on the usage of ἀδελφοί is that Paul is making the appeal as one of the family members. He sees the church as a family in which congregants are brothers and sisters of which he is one of them. As part of the family, his appeal carries much weight and makes much impact to his fellow brothers and sisters. In Paul, new identity markers are set as ἀδελφοί no longer refers to biological brothers and sisters, but it now extends to fellow believers in church. So, ethnic and economic boundaries are now subdued by spiritual ones.

Paul does not appeal in his name but in the name of Jesus Christ whom he describes as the Lord. The phrase δια τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is genetive construct and normally when preposition δια is before a genitive, it is translated 'through'. Literally, Paul is appealing to the brothers and sisters through the name of Jesus Christ the Lord. Joseph A. Fitzmyer proffers that "Paul appeals in Christ's name because the divided Christians of Roman Corinth have forgotten that Christ is among them as the source of their unity". (Fitzmyer 2008: 140). He appeals to the brethren that they may "all agree and that there be no dissensions among them, but that they may be united in the same mind and the same judgment" (I Cor 1: 10b). What does he mean by this phrase? Key words in this part of the verse are σχίσματα (Nom, Neut, Pl) meaning dissensions, divisions, a split, and schism; κατηρτισμένοι (per, pass, nom, pl, masc) meaning to render, repair, and restore; and lastly, γνῶμη (dat, sing, fem) meaning mind, understand, purpose, intention and opinion. The part of the verse is made up of a combination of nominatives and datives. The words σχίσματα and κατηρτισμένοι are drawn from common Roman political vocabulary. Cleon L. Rogers and Cleon L. Rogers 111 argue that "the word pictures the destruction of unity through force and was used of a tear in a garment or political factions engaged in a struggle for power" (Rogers & Rogers 1998: 347).

If one is to go by the later definition, then the church of Corinth was in deep waters hence the need for Paul to intervene. Was the church in danger of a complete split as suggested by the term, 'schism'? Is the use of the term "schism" justified in this situation? Raymond E. Brown disagrees and admit that there were a division in Corinth but no complete break-up. The modern use of the term, "schism" does not capture accurately the tensions that were at Corinth. In this verse, Paul was not suppressing different opinions among members of the church, but agreement in conduct that will result in common unity. In such context, Paul was not advocating for passive unity but an active and engaged type of unity. The question then is; what was the central course of schism in the Corinthian church? From verse 11ff, Paul mentions the source of information and the sources of division within the church. What follows from here onwards is a discussion of the source of information and things that were central to the division.

5.2.1 Chloe's household

In I Corinthians 1: 11, Paul claims that he had received the information of the divisions of the church from Chloe's household. The verb used is ἐδηλώθη (Aor, Pass, Ind, 3rd Per, Sing) meaning, to make plain or declare. The RSV translate the verb' 'it has been reported to me' while in other versions like the New English Translation it is translated, 'it was made clear'. Is there any significant or theological difference between the two? There is a combination of the passive ἐδηλώθη and the personal pronoun dative singular μοι and the preposition περί. Thiselton argues that such a combination "characteristically refers to conveying information to someone about something" (Thiselton 2000: 120). Translating ἐδηλώθη as 'informed' or 'reported' is considered by Thiselton as a weak translation (Thiselton 2000: 120). He thinks that the word is stronger than that. The question is; who were these people that Paul would trust? Was there such a report or it was Paul who manufactured it as some scholars would want to claim? It was Paul's mode of operation that, when he establishes a church, he will leave it in the hands of local leadership but with contacts or informers as argued by Barret (Barrett 1968: 4). Paul does not reveal anything about these people except to say that they brought a report to him? This led to the quest for the identity of these people and different theories were developed pertaining their identity. The general notion from most scholars is that these people might have been slaves of a prominent woman in Corinth. According to Boring and Craddock, "Chloe was apparently a business woman in Corinth or Ephesus (where Paul is writing) who has relatives, or slaves, or employees who travel across

the Aegean region on business" (Boring & Craddock 2009: 509). Boring and Craddock are not even sure of the city of residence of Chloe and thought of that generalization as a safe way to put it. This agrees with Collins' argument that;

> It is not certain that Chloe lived in Corinth. Based on her people's knowledge of the situation at Corinth some commentators think that she lived there (Theisen, Meek) and that her people came to visit Paul in Ephesus. If Chloe resided in Corinth and if she was Christian, then she along with Erastus and Gaius would have been one of the powerful Christians of Corinth (Collins 1999: 78)

The other viewpoint is that Chloe lived in Ephesus and her slaves had gone to Corinth on a business venture where they discovered that the church was in conflict. On their return, they reported the matter to Paul. Such a view is raised by Gordon D. Fee and Florence M. Gillman and if that was the case, one would describe these slaves as dangerous gossipers. It is dangerous for a visitor on a business venture to carry such a report unless they were tasked to do so by one of the church members. This research supports the view that Chloe might have been a residence of Corinth. However, they (scholars) unanimously agree that she was a business woman though they disagree on her city of residence.

Why was this family interested in the life of the church of Corinth? How did they get to know of Paul? Were they members of the Corinthian church or Chloe herself was she a Christian? Buttrick (1953: 20) boldly claims that Chloe was a Christian convert and Paul might have been the one who converted her. That view does not have Biblical support and is again, based on speculation.

Collins argues that:

> In the early history of the church, it sometimes happened that a group of slaves belonging to the same household were Christian even if the slave owner was not. Alternatively, when the owner was a Christian it was quite likely that the slaves were Christian as well. It is likely that Chloe was a Christian and most probably, the patron of a church that gathered in her house (Collins 1999: 78).

Collin's argument holds more water as it answers some questions pertaining the interests of Chloe's household in the whole subject. It will logically follow that these slaves were sent by the owner (Chloe) to give the report and even the confidence of Paul in them may be emanating from that relationship. If they used Chloe's house for worship, then this explains why the slaves were so knowledgeable of what was taking place hence; their report had substance. Whatever the case

might be, between the two (slaves and Chloe) they were Christians who knew what was happening in the church. It is unlikely that it was a report of an outsider and therefore, Paul was not responding to hearsay but to facts.

5.3 An analysis of the nature of the division in the Church of Corinth

In I Corinthians 1:12 it is mentioned that some claim that they follow Paul (*ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου*), some Apollos (*ἐγὼ δέ Ἀπολλῶ*), some Cephas (*ἐγὼ δέ Κηφᾶ*), and some Christ (*ἐγὼ δέ Χριστοῦ.*) These phrases can be translated as 'I side with Paul' or 'I am of Paul'. Fitzmyer argues that "it sounds like a Corinthian slogan, but it could also be merely Paul's way of formulating such allegiance." (Fitzmyer 2008: 142) However, Hays does not think that it was Paul's way of formulating such allegiance but he supports the idea of slogan. Hays (1997: 22) further argues that "these slogans have probably arisen spontaneously within the Corinthian church without any direct encouragement from the leaders whose names were being bandied about". Such slogans were common in the politics of the ancient world and they indicate support for an individual politician. The text indicates that there were four groups competing for dominance within the Corinthian Church. The questions to be asked then are: who were these men behind the controversy and what did people mean when they said they belonged to these men? An understanding of these men will help us to unpack the source of conflict as we seek to interpret this passage.

5.3.1 Paul

Who was Paul in Corinth? What constituted the Pauline group? Was there anything like a Pauline group or it was constructed by Paul for rhetorical purposes? These are the questions that informs this this section. Thiselton argues that this group might have been composed of those people who wanted the gospel to be freed from the law (Thiselton 2000). Paul preached a gospel that sought liberation from the law and this might have attracted this group. Such a liberation would come from the authority of Paul as the apostle and founder of the Corinthian church. There is no sufficient evidence pointing to doctrinal issues as sources of the split. Thiselton postulates that this group might have been composed of the early converts of Paul when he first arrived in Corinth (Thiselton 2000: 126). Therefore, they could have been seniors with the responsibilities of maintaining the church traditions that had been introduced by the apostle. Such a group in contemporary setting, tends to be protective and prescriptive. They demand respect from the newcomers and they form a closed circle of originals and the role of newcomers is taking

instructions from them and consult on everything. They see themselves as custodians of faith and traditions.

In such circumstances, positive participation by newcomers is difficult. If that was the case, then the coming of Apollos might have been a welcome move by the newcomers while for the seniors a threat to their status. So, the visit of Apollos might have facilitated the expansion of the church and the ways of doing things for the church began to shift. Thiselton argues that "expansion probably necessitated more than one group, each of which might well come to develop some distinctive social, liturgical or group ethos" (Thiselton 2000: 127). This might have created small factions based on patronage on a distinct leader. It is within this context that the Pauline group would perceive itself as protecting the old and legitimately authorised ways of doing things against the new reforms by the new members. They perceive themselves as superior since they bear the brand of the planter of the church, hence their source of pride. So, they value themselves above other members of the church. They are the 'inner-circle' of the Corinthian church.

5.3.2 Apollos

Paul gives more attention to Apollos than the other two (Cephas and Jesus) suggesting that Apollos might have had more followers than the other two or was more popular than the two. Apollos was more threatening to Paul's ministry than the other two or the Apollos group was more vocal than the other two. These are speculations that need to be examined. Who was this Apollos? Acts 18: 24 describes Apollos as the native of Alexandria, probably he preached in Corinth while Paul was absent (I Cor 3:6) and was with Paul in Ephesus when the letter was written (I Cor 16: 12). Farmer describes him as, "an attractive teacher because of his more Hellenised Christian wisdom" (Farmer 1998: 1605). This view is further supported by Acts 18. There are three things Luke says about Apollos in Acts 18. Firstly, Apollos is presented as an eloquent man, secondly, he is a powerful man in terms of speech (exposition), and thirdly, he is a man who managed to use the Old Testament to prove to the synagogue community that Jesus was the Messiah.

It is within this context that scholars like Gerald F. Hawthorne believe that he was trained in rhetoric and it was that skill and ministry that created the problems which resulted in Paul writing to the Corinthian church (Hawthorne 1993). Even today, some people naturally get attracted to people who are eloquent in speech. For example, the fame of Mugabe was due to eloquence. People

in Zimbabwe would like to hear his speeches even though they do not agree with what he is saying. Hawthorne argues that "Apollos's eloquence and sophistic presence in Corinth were undoubtedly contrasted with Paul's unimpressive delivery" (Hawthorne 1993: 38). So, one can deduce from Paul's argument in I Corinthians 1: 17 that people accused him (Paul) for not being impressive in his delivery. He condemned such wisdom and gift as worldly. For Paul, paying attention to such wisdom would pollute the gospel message particularly the value of the cross and its redemptive power. The people who were bragging with the name of Apollos have espoused a form of 'Wisdom Theology'.

There is much speculation from the secular literature that Corinth was a home of sophists who influenced the Christian communities. The so-called man of wisdom who were strongly intellectual would charge for their intellectual services to show their value. They were therefore, not simple men and were rich and occupied important leadership positions in Corinth. In any society, people of that nature would command a huge following and respect. Paul, on the other hand, was more like a monk who lived a simple life and earned his living through working as a ten maker. In such a society simplicity, would not be taken as humility but as lack of competence. Such would have been the source of scorn for Paul by the Apollos group. This group would probably scorn the Pauline group by saying; you follow Paul, what does he offer? He is uneducated, he can't deliver a sound sermon, he does not have money and he lives by a trade of tent making while Apollos was eloquent in speech, educated and respected in the community.

Today in the Anglican diocese of Harare, a similar problem is arising, when a priest is transferred to a certain parish people investigate his educational background and if not satisfied, they try to decline the appointment. Thiselton concludes that "Paul, however, distances both Apollos and himself from the Corinthian triumphalism and had no personal differences with Apollos" (Thiselton 2000: 124-125). Even Titus 3: 13 mentions Apollos as one of the emissaries of St Paul.

5.3.3 Cephas

Cephas is the frequently used Aramaic name for Peter. This is another interesting group in the whole drama at Corinth. Where did this group come from? Did Peter ever preach in Corinth to the extent of establishing some followers? Most scholars including Hays, Collins and Thiselton agree that there is no sufficient evidence to conclude that Peter visited Corinth. This, however, is not a

warrant that he never visited Corinth and certain biblical verses can be interpreted as implying that Peter visited Corinth at a certain time. There are three views in this regard from different scholars. Hays argues that "Peter was merely a widely-recognised leader in the early church whose reputation and personal influence had spread to Corinth" (Hays 1997: 22). This will mean that Peter did not physically visit Corinth, but his fame was due to his position as the head of apostles. Such scenarios are common even today in some countries like Zimbabwe. Manchester United has a big following in Zimbabwe more than the local teams, but the team never visited Zimbabwe even for a friendly match. This means allegiance to certain personalities or systems does not need physical contact.

Collins believes, "the slogan 'I am of Peter' indicated the existence of a Jewish-Christian faction at Corinth, the Petrine Party. They knew of Peter only through the early tradition" (Collins 1999: 80). Again, such an opinion is not different from that of Hays that Peter never visited Corinth. The challenge with the assertion is that there is no sufficient evidence for the existence of a Jewish Christian group in Corinth. The presence of a Jewish Christian group would have resulted in some doctrinal schism which is not the case in the text. Barrett gives us the third argument that Peter visited Corinth at one time. He raised two issues which are;

> In I Corinthians 1:12, the genitive case of the names (ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δέ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δέ Κηφᾶ, ἐγὼ δέ Χριστοῦ) is likely to signify agencies of conversion since verses 13-17 go on to allude to the administration of baptism of converts by these named persons. Thus, converts tended to align themselves with the evangelist under whom they had been won to the faith (Thiselton 2000: 128).

This implies that Peter visited Corinth and made some converts. However, such an argument remains speculative and one cannot reliably make a conclusion out of such a premise. I Corinthians 9: 5, can be interpreted as referring to the presence of Peter and his wife in Corinth. Some scholars, Barrett included, have interpreted this verse as referring to the presence of Peter and his wife in Corinth. All these three views do not disqualify the presence of the Peter group in Corinth as other scholars would want to take it as the creation of Paul for these other two groups (Peter and Christ) for rhetoric purposes.

The group would be proud to be associated with the founder of a wider church; the one who had been with Christ during his earthly ministry and was given the keys of heaven. They would ask

questions; who is Paul and where was he when Jesus was calling the twelve? What can Paul offer when he was a persecutor of the church? What can Paul offer as a later convent? Such a group has much to boast about and they would see themselves as belonging to the genuine apostle not Paul, a self-proclaimed one.

5.3.4 Jesus

This is another surprising group because surely Jesus never visited Corinth. So how come there was Christ's group? In response to the slogan, "I belong to Christ" Hays raised another important question, "is that not what every Christian should say?" (Hays 1997: 23). Surely every Christian belong to Christ. How can someone be a Christian without belonging to Christ? If that is the case, why is Paul rebuking those people who are saying we are of Christ? There must be something more to this slogan than its simple and literal use. Hays argues that this group claimed Christ as their leader in an exclusivist way (Hays 1997). John Chrysostom argues that, "even those who said they were of Christ were at fault because they were implicitly denying this to others and making Christ the head of a faction rather than the head of the whole" (Chrysostom 1854: 25). There are six theories in explanating this slogan (Thiselton 2000:129-133).

The first theory is called A "Judaizing" Group and from Ferdinand C. Baur (Thiselton 2000:129) This theory is based on apostleship and it postulates that true apostles were those who saw the earthly Jesus. Since Paul was not among the first twelve apostles, this group disapproved his apostleship. "The allusion in I Corinthians 1:12 to 'Christ's people'and 'Peter's people' are the cries of Jewish or Judaizing Christians, while 'Paul's party' is that of Gentile Christians'" (Thiselton 2000:130) making the issue a patronage one rather than a doctrinal one.

The second theory is called Ultra Spiritual Pneumatics and it came from Wilhelm Lutgert and was supported by James Moffat, Ernst H. Wendland, and Johannes Weiss (Thiselton 2000: 131). Wilhelm Lutgert in Anthony Thiselton argues that the group were, "spiritualistic gnostics who recognised no authority and no source of revelation other than the glorified spiritual Christ" (Thiselton 2000: 131). James Moffatt refers to them as, "ultra-spiritual devotees or high flying gnostics who made a mystical Christ, no human leader, the centre of religion." (Moffat 1890: 10) Ernst H. Wendland also calls them, "pneumatics who invoke for themselves special direct revelations from Christ, as against other groups" (Thiselton 2000: 132).

The third theory is called the Interjection from a Copyist and it was proposed by Johannes Weis and Jean Herring (Thiselton 2000: 131). The two argue that the slogan ἐγὼ δέ Χριστοῦ (I am of Jesus) was a later interjection by a scribe (Thiselton 2000:131) but there is no scriptural support for this argument.

The fourth theory is called Misreading of Crispus and it came from Rymer Perdelwitz (Thiselton 2000:132). The theory points that maybe the Greek Χριστου in the original manuscripts read Κριστου. This means that the text should read, "I belong to Crispus" who was one other person mentioned by Paul in I Corinthians 1:14. However, there is no evidence of such early manuscripts, so it remains a speculative theory.

The fifth theory is called the Pauline Rhetoric: Hypotheses and Declaration and it came from John Chrysostom. Chrysostom argues that "Paul added 'I am Christ's' of himself, wishing to make the accusation more grievous although they were not using the name themselves" (Chrysostom 1854: 25). This theory therefore, doubts the existence of a Christ party at Corinth. Though a sizeable number of modern scholars subscribe to this theory, other influential scholars such as Fee and Collins believe in the existence of the Christ's party.

The sixth theory, the Pauline Rhetoric of Irony and was adavanced by Wolfgang Schrage. Anthony C. Thiselton argues that "to postulate a 'Christ group' would thus constitute an ironic touch added by Paul himself" (Thiselton 2000: 133). In the irony, Paul wanted to show the absurdity of the Corinthians in their claim to monopolize Paul and Apollos by adding Christ. Therefore, it will be meaningful for Paul to disapprove such a group. Such a group would say we belong to the one who is being proclaimed; so why worry about the proclaimer. Such a group claims to be more spiritual and authentic than other groups. Carl F. G. Heinrici and Johannes Weiss in Collins declined the existence of such a group and the slogan, "I belong to Christ" might have been an addition by Paul as a rhetoric technique (Collins 1999: 80). Their argument is based on the I Corinthians 3: 22 and I Clement: 4:3 which mentions only three people; Paul, Cephas and Apollos.

SIT may be of use in understanding the social issues in Corinth. Christianity was a new religion distinct from the existing pagan form of worship. These people were proud of being members of this young religion. New things are associated with sophistication and advancement and this could have been the new identity tags of these new converts. Religious identities sometimes override all

other forms of identity, especially in a multi-religious context. However, the conflict arose when further identities of belonging to certain individuals emerged. They further formulated new identities as a way of outdoing one another. So, they were now a Pauline group, Petrine Group, Apollos group and the Christ group.

The conflict in Corinth was not doctrinal in nature as has been agreed by most scholars. This research upholds that view and the problem was of patriotism to individuals. Andrew Clarke calls them, "personality cults" (Thiselton 2000: 125). Since patronage is a power game, this research identifies the problem in Corinth as an identity problem. Identity boundaries are drawn along power lines since power is an important identity marker in SIT. How is power to be perceived in the Corinthian context?

Those from the Pauline group would draw their power from three important qualities of Paul. The first quality is seniority. Paul was senior to Apollos and therefore, Paul's followers are better off than Apollos' followers and was hence, more experienced. Even in the commercial sector, experience in the field is highly valued than theoretical education. Second, Paul was strong in letter writing because of his strong educational background. There are no official recorded letters written by Apollos. Written scripts are more powerful than speeches of skilled rhetoricians. In this way, Paul was more popular in a wider geographical area than Apollos and this would be a source of pride and power for the Pauline group. Third, Paul was also a miracle worker. This means that he possessed some extraordinary powers. We do not hear of Apollos as a miracle worker and miracle workers are usually powerful crowd pullers. So, by belonging to Paul, they belonged to a very powerful, respected, experienced and knowledgeable man.

The Apollos group would draw their power from eloquence since eloquence is an important identity marker. Eloquence is the power of articulation and conviction. Many people who made it in the political career are the eloquent ones. They possess the power to win people's allegiance through their convincing tongue and because of that, people generally associate eloquence with wisdom and sophistication. The intellectuals and sophisticated ones easily identified with Apollos. It is a common phenomenon in the world for the young and intellectually educated people to despise the old, experienced and less intellectual people. Intellectualism was thus, the prime identity marker for the Apollos group.

The Peter group draw their source of power from an individual who was the most senior and a foundation of the apostles. In Peter, they belonged to the one with first-hand information about Christ and belonging to Peter was like belonging to the foundations of the church. All the apostles like Paul and Apollos were built on Peter, the foundation of apostleship. Therefore, the Peter group saw itself as the most important, powerful and authoritative one.

For the Christ group, they belonged to the Messiah of which the qualities such as eloquence, miracle worker and the foundation of everything belonged to Him. Christ is incomparable to the other three and this was the most powerful group that did not submit to any human authority. Therefore, all the factions were supposed to submit to the authority of the Christ group. All these factions were built on the power identity marker and hence, the fight for dominance. All these groups would claim power from certain attributes of their leaders. Power and dominance are the major contributors of schism in the church even today. In the contemporary church, more conflicts or schisms are power centred more than doctrinal centred. So, Paul would not fold his hands and watch the quarrels going on and had to intervene.

5.4 Paul's response

CCT draws from the Christian message symbols that provide answers/solutions to the 'Common Human Experience' that has been investigated in chapters three and four. What symbols did Paul use in this passage to deal with the 'Common Human Experience' of his day? It was Paul's custom as evidenced in some of his letters to respond to issues in writing and that must be taken as his pastoral solution to the problem. This is typically true of I Corinthians. When he received the disturbing news from Chloe's family, he had to respond in trying to restore unity in the church. In verses 13-17, Paul is responding to the issues raised by Chloe's family and James D. Dunn describes this letter as, "Practical Theology" (Dunn 2003). He describes it as Practical Theology because Paul was not only concerned with spiritual matters but practical issues especially peace within the Christian community.

From a CCT's perspective, in I Corinthians 1:10–17 we are faced with the 'Common Human Experience' of factionalism within the church. It is factionalism based on patronage to certain individuals and not doctrinal divisions. It is contestation for dominance and the focus is on the spiritual gifts and credentials of their adored leaders. Boundaries have shifted from ethnicity,

economy and politics to spiritual gifts and credentials of their leaders. So, the interest of this inquiry is on how Paul managed to dismantle the boundaries and what he had to offer in place of these boundaries. Three symbols (Christ, Baptism, and Cross of Christ) came out from Paul's response and these are important in the Critical Correlation task. The first task is to investigate how people used these symbols in the Corinthian context before correlating them to the Zimbabwean ethnic context in the next chapter. What is important so far from the investigation of these symbols is their ability to transcend socio-economic, political and religious boundaries of different societies.

5.4.1 Paul's Use of the symbol 'Christ' in I Corinthians 1:10-17

In his response, Paul uses rhetoric devices particularly by asking some rhetorical questions. He began by asking the following questions, Is Christ divided? (*μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστος;*). The verb *μεμέρισται* is a perf, pas, ind, 3rd per, sing of *μερίζω* meaning, 'to apportion, bestow, share, disunity, and differ'. How was the fourth group going to respond to this question? The question seems to authenticate their position of belonging to Christ. Their response was likely to be, "yes" we are right because we belong to Christ and the others are wrong. So how can someone interpret this question? Gordon D. Fee rephrased the question in the following way; "can Christ be made a party in the same breath as the others?" (Fee 2014: 62). That rephrasing will make sense because this fourth group was now putting Christ at the same level with human beings like Paul, Peter, and Apollos. This means that by their divisions they were also dividing Christ which was wrong for Paul.

The symbol 'Christ' is the most significant of all symbols in this passage because both 'Baptism' and 'Cross' are linked to Christ. Paul is making a strong argument that Christ is one and that people should focus on him and he justifies his argument with two main reasons. Firstly, it is only Christ who died for these people, not the evangelists. Secondly, baptism was administered in the name of Christ, not the evangelists. These is the reasons why they acquired a new identity tag of "Christian" not Paulinian, Cephasian, nor Apollosian. This is the common identity that people should espouse to avoid divisions in the church. Paul castigated their focus on eloquence but that they should focus on the message, not the packaging. This is the same challenge that the field of homiletics face today. Many Christians are focusing on the packaging of the gospel not the contents of it. Paul is afraid that if people focus on the individual gifts of delivering the gospel, then they are at the risk of losing the whole gospel. David Prior argues that "Paul's arguments against

disunity all focus on Jesus Christ and it needs to be said uncompromisingly that both then in Corinth and generally today and disunity arise because the eyes of Christians are elsewhere than on Jesus" (Prior 1985: 36). Paul argues for the wholeness of Christ, one cannot separate Christ from the Cross. In this case, Christ is the Lord of the Church meaning that the Church and apostles mentioned in this passage belong Him.

Christ for Paul, is one and cannot be divided and he died for all without a distinction. By asking the rhetoric question; is Christ divided? Paul is evoking the metaphor of the body of Christ. Since the church is the body of Christ, it follows that it cannot be divided. For Paul, it is only the name of Christ that can heal broken relationships. In Christ, old barriers typical associated with Judaism are destroyed. Zorodzai Dube in his article *Contesting History and Identity Formation in Paul and in South Africa,* demonstrates how Paul managed to dislodge Jewish identity markers and contested for gentile inclusive ones (Dube 2015: 2). Though Paul is not dislodging Jewish identity markers, he is dislodging the Corinthian Church's new identity markers based on three personalities (Paul, Apollos and Peter) and contesting for Christ as the universal identity marker that should be accepted by all.

Therefore, the symbol 'Christ' is the pivot of all the symbols that are discussed in this thesis. In both texts (I Cor 1:10–17; II Cor 5:16–21) Paul makes use of the symbol Christ in his quest to bring reconciliation to the feuding parties. In verse 10, he makes an appeal in the name of Christ. Divisions are centred on the names of three prominent figures, Paul, Apollos, and Cephas. Robert Banks argues that, "Paul's thinking does not begin with the distinctions that divide from one another, but from that which is common to them all" (Banks 1980: 114). In all the factions including the Christ one, their first commonality was grounded in the name of Jesus Christ. All the names that were used as identity boundaries were subject to one great name- Jesus Christ. By presenting the name of Jesus in the whole argument, Paul is bargaining for a common and acceptable identity. He is rendering all other names insignificant and drawing people's attention to one significant and faultless name-Jesus Christ.

What makes the name of Jesus Christ significant, acceptable and common to all factions? First, the name Christ is not divided (I Cor 1:13). Paul is therefore, challenging the Corinthian church to examine their faith. If their faith is in Christ, where is the model of their divisions? An undivided

Christ cannot inspire divisions. He cannot inspire that which is foreign to Himself. Paul is thus, challenging the Christian nature of the Corinthian Christians. Second, none of the three names were crucified for the redemption of Christians. Third, none of the Christians were baptised in the name of these three names. Baptism just like the symbol of the cross, will be discussed later. In fact, all the other remaining symbols (New Creation and Ambassador) are attached the symbol of Christ. Tillich is therefore justified in his argument of Christ as the most important symbol of Christianity. The symbol Christ for Paul, transcends all cultures. Christ as the symbol transcends the intellectual (Hellenistic) culture represented by Apollos. He transcends the Jewish or legalistic culture represented by Peter. He also transcends the Hellenistic culture as represented by Paul. It is within this framework that the symbol Christ has some universal traits. Such universal traits give the symbol a mediation role.

In II Corinthians 5: 16–21, Paul reminds the Corinthian Christians that by their behaviour of living according to the flesh (II Cor 5:16). In II Corinthians 5: 21, Christ knew no sin but become sinful so that humans can become righteous before God. In doing so, Paul is reminding the Corinthians that no one is worth of God's grace but through Jesus, it became possible. Even the names they are boasting about were also redeemed by the name of Jesus Christ and their apostleship was not by merit. Paul is disarming the Corinthians of the ego ammunition. All the factions for Paul have fallen short of the glory of God, hence the need for seeking reconciliation with God. Paul is reminding all the factions that none is superior, and they are all at the same level. Such levelling off the ground creates conditions necessary for reconciliation. It is only the righteous name of Jesus that can facilitate reconciliation of broken relationships. Facilitating reconciliation is difficult in a context where one party claims superiority over the other. In this context, even the Jesus faction was brought low to the level of human patrons. These two commonalities give the symbol Christ the primacy over all other symbols that were being evoked in the Corinthian church. This then becomes Paul's springboard for his mediation task.

5.4.2 Paul's use of the symbol 'Baptism' in I Corinthians 1:10–17

The third question was, "were you baptised into the name of Paul"? (ἤ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβάπτίσθητε;) (I Cor 1: 13). The symbol 'Baptism' is also at the heart of Paul in the passage as it appears six times in eight verses; ἐβάπτίσθητε (aor, pas, ind, 2nd person, pl), ἐβάπτίσα (aor, act,

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indicative, first person, sing-3 times), *βάπτίζειν* (pres, act, inf). Thiselton argues that "the aorist passive *ἐβάπτίσθητε* may perhaps carry a reflexive sense, did you have yourself baptized in the name of Paul?" (Thiselton 2000:139). However, Thiselton's proposal water down the idea of the agency of baptism which seems to be Paul's main concern in this passage. This is a rhetorical question that requires only one answer which is 'no'. He continues to say he was thankful to God that he did not baptise them except a few (Gaius, Crispus and the household of Stephanas). Is Paul making a teaching on baptism or is he rendering baptism as of no significance at all? I concur with the dominant scholarly position that Paul was not making a teaching on baptism and neither was he belittling it. Hays argues that "perhaps, some difficulty was caused by misunderstandings among the Corinthians about the meaning of baptism. This would explain why Paul declares himself glad that he did not baptize many people at Corinth" (Hays 1997: 23).

The rhetoric question is pointing to the important person in the whole drama and people must focus on that person only not the human agents of the gospel. Paul is not belittling baptism, but he is acknowledging that if he had baptised many people, the subject was going to be more complex because it seems people were now thinking that the one who baptize them is the one that matters. Paul explicitly acknowledges that his major task was to preach the word than to perform some sacramental rites. He is not demeaning the value of sacraments but the misconceptions that were placed on them by the Corinthian church. The issue therefore, is not on the one who baptizes but in whose name, was one baptised. David Prior argues that "to be baptized in the name of someone was to have one's life signed over to that person, to come under his authority and to be at his beck and call" (Prior 1985: 37). For Paul to be baptized in the name of Christ means to becoming the possesion of Christ and of nobody else. People were losing focus by placing importance on the one who had performed the ceremony. In doing so, Paul is reinforcing loyalty to Jesus Christ, who is at the centre of both baptism and cross. Baptism however, became an important rite in the admission of new members in the church and became an identity marker that dislodged the rite of circumcision.

The Corinthian church, therefore, should be united because they were baptised into one name. According to Rudolf Schnackenburg, "baptism in the name of Christ makes it impossible for them to feel bound to any other than Christ. The name 'Jesus Christ' that was invoked over them denotes the Lord to whom they exclusively belong from the time of their baptism" (Schnackenburg 1964:

19). These other names were just God's fellow workers. The Corinthian Christians were therefore, urged to focus on the owner of the job, not workers. It is like in the corporate world where the owners of the company are more valued than the employees. For example, in Zimbabwe, the name Econet is synonymous with the name Strive Masiyiwa, not the employees. The Corinthian church should not boast of human leaders but in Christ the symbol that installed human leadership. Baptism is an important symbol that makes the Corinthians, Christians. It is an entry point into the most important symbol of unity which is Christ.

5.4.3 Paul's use of the symbol 'Cross of Christ'in I Corinthians 1:10-17

The symbol 'Cross of Christ' appears twice in this pericope. In I Corinthians 1: 13 it appears as a question, "was Paul crucified for you?" (*μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν;*). Then another reference is in I Corinthians 1:17c, "lest the cross of Christ be emptied of its power." (*ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) (RSV). According to Thiselton, the English construction, "surely Paul was not crucified for you, was he"? offers one of the best ways of conveying the use of μη in Greek as a way of formulating a question which emphatically invites a negative answer" (Thiselton 2000: 137). This question exposes the sinfulness of the acts of the Corinthian church by putting loyalty to mere human beings. Paul is demonstrating to the people that human beings in this context are just mere instruments hence, people must not focus on instruments but on the one who send or made these instruments.

How does a symbol of scorn and defeat in the Roman world become a symbol of power and victory in the early church? Why is Paul bringing the symbol 'Cross of Christ' to the conflict situation? Prior argues that "Jesus is the only one who can unite men and women and he does so through his cross, because we can come to God only via the cross of Christ and the ground there is level: all are equal at the cross" (Prior 1985: 36-37). The more we go away from the cross of Christ, the more we move away from the place of reconciliation. By invoking the symbol 'Cross of Christ', Paul was challenging the Corinthians to stop their personality-cults and focus on Christ.

Attached to the 'Symbol Cross' is the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Gloer argues that;

> With Christ's death, however, there has come a radically new and different way of knowing. The epistemology of the flesh is superseded by the epistemology of the Spirit. There is a "transvaluation of values, and in particular, the turning upside

down of the secular canons of wisdom and power." For Paul, this new epistemology of the Spirit is best understood as an epistemology of the cross. From the beginning, Paul's message to the Corinthians had been "Jesus Christ and him crucified" (I Cor 2:2), whose power is disclosed in what the world regards as weakness (Gloer 2007: 591-592).

The power of the cross is manifested in the death and resurrection of Christ. It was through the cross that death was defeated. Thiselton argues that "the cross now functions as that which subverts and cuts across all human distinctions of race, class, gender, and status" (Thiselton 2000: 145). The preaching of the gospel for Paul was not to enhance status but to witness Christ. Those who teach the gospel for the sake of enhancing their social status are emptying the gospel of its power. It is the symbol 'Cross of Christ' that has power of salvation and not human wisdom. Ralph P. Martin proffers that "the effect of the cross and resurrection is to lead responsive believers to break with their old "self"-life and to live henceforward under the dominion of Christ the Lord" (Martin 2014: 301). In I Corinthians 1:13, Paul suggested that the Cross of Christ is the identity marker on which the allegiance of the Corinthian Christians should be judged, but in I Corinthians 1:17, it is now the centre of preaching. In Christ, the barriers that divides Gentiles and Jews are demolished.

According to Tillich, "by dying on the cross, Christ humiliates himself as a slave and experience the death of a slave. Now this demonstrates that God is not strange to the lowest reality" (Tillich 1965: 156). In short, Tillich is saying is, to liberate everyone, Christ had to take the lowest form of humanity-slave. Paul is advocating for a new common identity for the Corinthians. Pickett argues that "on the personal level, the cross functions as a symbol of identity" (Pickett 1997: 209). As a symbol of identity, the Cross reverses the commonly held notions of weakness and power, honour and shame.

The identity of the Corinthians is now grounded in their shared knowledge of Christian reality. This Christian reality for Paul "is defined exclusively in terms of the symbol of the cross" (Pickett 1997: 61). The cross therefore, symbolizes the conquest of evil forces. To put it in Tillich's words, "the cross symbolises the conquest of the demonic temptation to power which is met in every religion, in every religious leader and in every priest" (Tillich 1965: 136). For Tillich, this is what makes the symbol 'Cross of Christ' special and unique. In the symbol 'Cross of Christ,' we encounter the theology of hope for those who are hopeless. According to Alister E. McGrath, "the cross does indeed reveal God" (McGrath 1985: 149). At the very heart of the gospel of Paul is the

notion that Christians should live according to the message of the cross of Christ. They are no longer supposed to live according to worldly standards.

5.5 An exegesis of 2 Corinthians: 5: 16-21

> *16 From now on, therefore, we regard no one from a human point of view; even though we once regarded Christ from a human point of view, we regard him thus no longer. 17 Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come. 18 All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation; 19 that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation. 20 So we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God. 21 For our sake he made him be sin who knew no sin so that in him we might become the righteousness of God (RSV).*

This section looks at some literary problems pertaining this letter and probably events that precipitated the writing of the letter (the occasion of the letter). The background of the city has already been discussed in the earlier exegesis of I Corinthians 1: 1–10.

5.5.1 The literary problems of II Corinthians

The unity of II Corinthians has been a subject of debate in the history of New Testament scholarship. Two major schools of thought will be engaged, and these are, those who see second Corinthians as a composite letter and those who argue that it is a single letter (unity). It has been argued that II Corinthians is a composite letter meaning that it is made up of different letters. Such arguments emanate from some of the verses that scholars have picked from this letter. Verses such as; II Corinthians 6: 14–7:1; 8–9; and 10–13 have been used as a claim for this position. These texts are viewed as different from the rest of the letter either in literary context and tone. The argument is that II Corinthians is composed of two to six letters or fragments. For example, Pascuzzi argues that "in II Corinthians 6:13, Paul unexpectedly breaks his narrative, resuming it at II Cor 7: 2" (Pascuzzi 2008: 549). Chapters 6: 14–7:1 are thought to be an interpolation by someone else who is not Paul. Furthermore, the vocabulary of the plot has six new words that are not found anywhere in the rest of Pauline corpus. Such a sudden change of vocabulary raises some questions of authenticity, with concerns of what might have happened for Paul to suddenly change his vocabulary. Floyd V. Filson and James Reid argue that "the most serious question as to the unity concern chapters 10–13" (Filson & Reid 1953: 270). The question is whether these chapters belong

to this letter? The vocabulary of these chapters differs greatly from the vocabulary of chapters 1–9.

According to Floyd and Reid;

> Words frequent in chapters 1–9 but absent from chapters 10-13 include, glory (*δόξα*) nineteen times, comfort (*παρἴάκλησις*) eleven times, affliction (*θλῖψις)* nine times, and joy (*χαρά*) five times. Among words absent from 1–9 but frequent in chapters 10–13 are weakness (*ἀσθένεια*) six times and "to be weak" (*ἀσθενέω*) seven times. (Floyd & Reid 1953: 270)

This variation in vocabulary has been taken as the product of different authorship. However, this analysis has been disputed by other scholars who subscribe to the view that II Corinthians is a product of one author and a single unified work. So, what are the basic reasons for this claim?

The first argument for the unity of this letter is based on the history of the transmission of the letter. The argument being that from the period this letter begun to circulate in the early church there is no evidence of its circulation in fragments. Filson and Reid argue that "no manuscript divides it into or more letters or omits any section" (Floyd & Reid 1953: 269). The argument of the letter being composite in nature has no historical basis when one traces its preservation and transmission. The same view is supported by Pascuzzi who reiterates that, "manuscript evidence supports the letter's compositional integrity" (Pascuzzi 2008: 549). The only way to refute this argument is to appeal to the loss of the earlier manuscripts which is mere speculation.

The second argument is based on a seemly discontinuity between II Corinthians 6: 13 and II Corinthians 6: 14–7: 1. The argument of Pascuzzi is that digressions, change of tone or topic are not necessarily later insertions or a sign of a new letter (Pascuzzi 2008: 549). This might be Paul's rhetorical strategy for a certain purpose. What might have been the purpose for that? When one reads II Corinthians 7: 2, it appears following smoothly after II Corinthians 6: 13 and it is more of a return to an early appeal after a break but is that the case? Even if that is the case does that point to different authorship? In the present context, don't we have cases like that among different speakers, preachers, authors, filmmakers and politicians? The typical example is the president of Zimbabwe, Mugabe; he can digress completely from his speech and only to return to the real subject after thirty minutes or an hour. In the same speech, one can pick different tones and literary devices. This also applies to contemporary preachers. One can discern multiple unrelated themes

in one sermon, poems, songs, and prose forms in one sermon. In the same vein, Floyd and Reid argue that;

> A connection between Corinthians 6: 11–13 and II Corinthians 6: 14–7: 1 can be discerned. In II Corinthians 6: 11–13 Paul ask the Corinthians to a warning against being too broad and lax in friendship, he adds, "but keep clear of sinful associations with unbelievers". Then in II Corinthians 7: 2–4 he goes back to his main appeal for the personal welcome from his readers (Floyd & Reid 1953: 270).

Such digressions are common in literary works and the Pauline epistles cannot be spared for them. In concluding this debate, two crucial questions from Pascuzzi should be the points of reflection. Firstly, "what circumstances occasioned the writing of each presumably independent letter? Secondly, "why were they stitched together to form canonical Second Corinthians?" (Pascuzzi 2008: 549). These questions remain central as this is an ongoing debate within New Testament scholarship. Each school of thought has valid arguments to make and this research takes both schools of thought seriously.

5.5.2 The occasion of the letter

This is an important background for the exegesis of this passage. The end of I Corinthians gives a picture of a Paul who has managed to win back the Corinthian church to his leadership. Relationships are now amended, and he is now even able to appeal for collections to help other fellow brothers and sisters who are experiencing famine. However, II Corinthians gives a picture of fractured relationships again. Relationships are now strained, and Paul is now writing an apologetic letter that is largely defensive of his ministry as he tries to win the Corinthians back to his leadership. There is no account that gives us the reasons why Paul wrote this and what can be done is a reconstruction of the possible reasons that possibly precipitated the writing of the letter. In I Corinthians 16: 5–7, Paul intends to visit Corinth and concluding the Ephesian ministry and then proceeds to Macedonia but that did not happen. In II Corinthians 1: 15, Paul changed his travel plan. Now he wants to stop briefly in Corinth *en route* to Macedonia and then brings collections of the Corinthians for the poor brothers and sisters in Jerusalem. This plan was again, abandoned. No explanation is given from the text for the change of all these plans.

The problems in Corinth escalated though Paul had earlier sent Timothy with the letter to address them. What was the cause of these problems as they resurface in II Corinthians? II Corinthians

gives a picture of rival missionaries or intruders who have entered the city and negatively criticised Paul's ministry and apostleship. Who were these intruders and what negative things did they say about Paul? The text does not explicitly review the identity of these people, but Paul's response can give a clue as to who were these people.

> Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they ministers of Christ? I am talking like a madman. I am a better one: with far greater labours, far more imprisonments, with countless floggings, and often near death……. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I am not indignant? (NRSV II Corinthians 11: 22–29)

One can deduce that these intruders were Jewish Christian Missionaries. They were after assassinating Paul's ministerial credentials. They raised so many issues to dismantle Paul's authority. In II Corinthians 3: 1 they boasted of having letters of recommendation for their ministry while Paul did not have. It is not clear as to where they got these letters from and the contents of the letters. However, one can speculate that probably the got the letters from the leadership in Jerusalem. Paul responded by arguing that he did not want any letter of recommendation from anybody since his letters of approval were in the hearts of the believers. Why would he want a recommendation letter from the people who knew him? Only strangers are the only ones who need letters of recommendation so that people will welcome them. In II Corinthians 10: 10; 11: 6 they boasted of their rhetoric skills and accused Paul of being weak in speech but strong in writing. They were claiming to be more educated and sophisticated than Paul.

In II Corinthians 12: 1, 12, they boasted of their supernatural gift of seeing visions as a proof of their superiority to Paul. That will put their ministry at a higher supernatural level than Paul's. Paul then responded by appealing to the fact that he also saw visions and that there was nothing special about them seeing visions. According to Pascuzzi, "these people are in the background of his argument throughout the letter" (Pascuzzi 2008: 548). So, the argument here is that for one to understand this epistle, the identity of these people and their accusation against Paul are central. It is within this context that one would understand why there was renewed tensions between Paul and the Corinthian church. These people managed to sway people to their side. Just like in 1 Corinthians, the identity boundaries are set along the power lines such as intellectualism, spiritual gifts and letters of approval from higher authorities.

5.5.3 An interpretation of II Corinthians 5: 16-21

Pascuzzi's title of this passage as, "a ministry of reconciliation" says it all about the main aim of this research. Okure concurs with Pascuzzi that "Paul sees the ministry of reconciliation as the key to the problem of the other in the Corinthian Community" (Okure 2006: 111). In verse II Corinthians 5: 16, Paul writes, *Ὥστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἴδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα· εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν. ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν. "From now on, therefore we regard no one from a human point of view; even though we knew Christ from a human point of view, we know him no longer in that way"*. The word Ὥστε is a conjunction and Murray J. Harris argues that it "introduces a consequence of what is affirmed in II Corinthians 5: 14-15 concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus" (Harris 2005: 426). Following Ὥστε is the expression *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* which '*from now on*' The expression seems not to imply Paul's present time when he was writing the letter, but it goes back to the time of the of salvation that came about by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Paul uses a form of parallelism in which similar words are used interchangeably but with different connotations. He interchanges *οἴδαμεν* (verb, perf, act, ind,1st, per, pl) and *γινώσκομεν* (verb, pres, act, ind, 1st, per, pl). Both verbs mean knowing /knowledge, but Paul used them with some slight variations. Harris argues that *οἴδαμεν* signifies the possession of knowledge while *γινώσκομεν* means the acquisition of knowledge (Harris 2005: 427). However, such distinctions were not common in the Hellenistic world.

Jan Lambrecht argues that "in II Corinthians 5: 16, two sentences must be distinguished; 16a, the independent consecutive clause and 16b, the conditional period with a protasis" (Lambrecht 1999: 95). Then there is also an apodosis. A protasis is a clause expressing the condition in a conditional sentence and while an apodosis is a clause expressing the consequence in a conditional sentence. The first part is anthropological in nature while the second one is Christological. So, what is Paul saying when he said, "from now on?" What time frame is referring to? He is distinguishing his pre-conversion life which he referred to as, "human point of view" (*κατα σαρκα*) from his converted life. His worldview shifted with the conversion experience and no longer saw things the same way. Paul's sight has put Christ's lenses hence, now sees things as Christ wants. The way he sees fellow humans is now different from the pre-conversion period when he treated fellow human beings without respect as he persecuted them. Philip Edgcumbe Hughes postulates that "the

world's standard of value is respect of persons in their outward appearance but with God there is no such respect of persons" (Hughes 1992: 197). When human beings discriminate one another, is it on spiritual matters (inward qualities) or in physical matters (outward qualities)? Racism, tribalism, nepotism, and other forms of segregation based on social status are they not outward qualities? He conversion experience made him to see things differently and reconciliation is possible when people began to see things differently. The shona and ndebele people need to change their worldview for them to engage one another meaningfully.

Floyd and Reid argue that "the human estimate of men was abolished at the cross; race, nationality, birth, money, position, intellectual gifts and social status these standards of value disappear in the light of the calvary" (Floyd & Reid 1953: 335). For Paul, this was the real foundation for fellowship. If the Corinthian Christians should disregard these outward identities and concentrate on their new identity as Christians (one body), they will neither listen nor be divided by the machinations of the superlative apostles. Floyd and Reid further argue that "no genuine community can be created by social status, intellectual interests, nationality, race, or mere sentiments. A community united by one or more of these factors may appear to be strong, but it is subject to the disintegrating power of sin, particularly pride". Therefore, conversion calls for a change of mindset and this is exactly what Paul is appealing to the Corinthian Christians in verse 16.

In II Corinthians 5: 17 he writes, *ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, κανὴ κτίσις□ τά ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά "so if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!"* The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (in Christ, preposition + noun, dat, sing, masc) frequencies in Pauline writings. Harris postulates that "it often means in personal union with the risen Christ or in the body of Christ (church)" (Harris 2005:431). Multiple means such as 'in fellowship, union, united, incorporation with Christ' are also possible. The word κτίσις can mean creature or the act of creating. The subject of new creation will be discussed in depth in the next section since it is one of the symbol selected for the correlation task.

According to Lambrecht this verse has two parts;

> 1.There is once more a somewhat independent consecutive sentence, again with "so that" verse 17a. It is a conditional period consisting of a protasis and apodosis. Its style is staccato-like; in both clauses, the verbs are missing. 2. 17b has two short parallel clauses. Paul employs the phrase "new creation" (Lambrecht 1999: 96).

This terminology of a new creation is common in the Old Testament particularly in Isaiah 48: 5 and Isaiah 65: 22. Paul might have been influenced by this vocabulary. The moment one participates in Christ then the old ways of viewing things or behaviour must disappear. According to Paul this new creation has been ushered by Christ's death and resurrection. Gloer argues that "as a result of the cross the new creation has broken into the old, a whole new order which exists simultaneously with the old which is passing away" (Gloer 2007: 592). In Paul's view, such old things such as misconceptions, distinctions and prejudices must disappear in the Christian life as they are viewing as things of pastiness. When a society reaches that level of faith, then true reconciliation is possible and sticking to the past is an enemy of true reconciliation.

II Corinthians 5: 18 reads, *τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ καί δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς. "All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation."* The verb *τοῦ καταλλάξαντος* (aor, part, gen, sing, masc) qualifies the noun *τοῦ θεοῦ* (gen, sing, masc) presupposes that God is the initiator of and goal of reconciliation. The preposition *διὰ* in combination with the noun *Χριστοῦ* (gen, sing, masc) means that God achieved that reconciliation by acting through Christ. Christ therefore, saved as "God's agent in achieving reconciliation" (Harris 2005: 437). In this verse, we are dealing with "God's act of reconciling the world through the work of Christ" (Harris 2005: 434). The phrase *διὰ Χριστοῦ,* Gilliers Breytenbach argues, "might refer to the death of Christ, but it is more likely that the phrase refers to the role of the risen Christ during the encounter with Paul, calling the latter to be his apostle" (Breytenbach 2005: 280).

Paul's conversion experience at Damascus therefore continues to be significant in his ministry and theology. So, "verse 18 explains verses 14-15 by introducing the notion of change from enmity to friendship" (Breytenbach 2005: 282). Reconciliation from this perspective is not a human initiation but God's. Human beings do not reconcile God to themselves, but God reconciles himself to humans. It is within this argument that Philip E. Hughes writes that, "reconciliation proceeds from God and returns to God" (Hughes 1992: 204).

How does Paul understand reconciliation? Harris argues that "reconciliation denotes a transformation of relations, not in the sense that original friendly relations are restored but in the sense that friendly relations now replace former hostility" (Harris 2005: 436). This understanding

of reconciliation is helpful in the Zimbabwean context given that we are trying to create cohesion between the shona and ndebele that seemed to have been non-existent since the arrival of the ndebele people in Zimbabwe. Harris further argues that "reconciliatian restores humans to a proper relationship with God and with fellow human beings, just as sin produces in humans a twofold alienation, from God and from other human beings" (Harris 2005: 436). Therefore, the ministry of reconciliation is of paramount importance for a Christian and the community at large. This act of reconciliation between God and humanity should continue in the reconciliation of hostile societies and groups of people. Christ in this regard therefore, is the agency of reconciliation and to be Christians therefore, means to be the agents of reconciliation.

In II Corinthians 5: 19, Paul says, *ὡς ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν καὶ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς. "that is, in Christ, God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us."* According to Lambrecht, verse 19 is a continuation of verse 18 (Lambrecht 1999: 98). The adverb *ὡς* (which/how/that) combined with the conjunction *ὅτι* (that/because) has possible several meanings. It can be used for comparison (as…), as a causal (because) or as an epexegetic (that/that is/what I mean is that...) The epexegetic part is the more appropriate use of *ὡς ὅτι* in this verse. It is making clearer the meaning of verse 18. The phrase *ὡς ὅτι* is therefore restating the thoughts of verse 18. The idea of Christ being the agent of reconciliation continues in this verse. The challenge however is in translating the phrase *θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων.* Does it mean that 'in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself or God through Christ as the agent was reconciling the world to himself? In both cases God remains the subject of reconciliation. How can the subject of God remain the subject be explained? Gloer proffers that:

> Now it is God who acts to bring about this reconciliation! In fact, whenever the verb *to reconcile* appears in the active voice in the New Testament to speak of the relationship between God and humanity, God is always the subject. Whenever it appears in the passive voice in such contexts, humanity is always the subject. In short, God reconciles, and humanity is reconciled! For Paul, it is never Jesus the loving son stepping into the gap to protect humanity from an angry father. It is God the Father who takes the initiative by sending Jesus the son to accomplish the work of reconciliation. (Gloer 2007: 592)

Therefore, "human beings and the whole created universe are the objects and principal beneficiaries of God's reconciling action" (Harris 2005: 437). Here Paul is illustrating that reconciliation did not come to human beings by merit but by grace because He (God) did not count our trespasses. Okure argues that;

> the word "trespasses" or debts is a financial metaphor also used in the Lord's Prayer, which is itself a jubilee year. Cancellation of debts was an essential requirement of the Jubilee year (Lev 25:28); it underscored the universal dependency of all created things on God and the divine ownership of creation. As in the old creation, so now in the new: everything is a grace, a gift (Okure 2006:113).

What does that mean to the contemporary world? There is no human situation that merits reconciliation, but it calls for a love and forgiveness. God reconciles Himself to human beings because of His love and forgiveness.

II Corinthians 5: 20 reads, *Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντος δι᾿ ἡμῶν· δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, καταλλάγητε τῷ θεῷ.* "So, we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God." Paul is demonstrating the importance of the ministry of reconciliation. The imperative *καταλλάγητε* (Aor, pass, 2nd, per, pl) seems to point to the Corinthians as the object of reconciliation. Why is reconciliation important for Christians? The first point is that Christians are ambassadors of Christ; a special task. According to Hughes, "an ambassador acts and speaks not only on behalf of but in place of the sovereign from whom he has received his commission" (Hughes 1992: 209). This is one of the five symbols to be used for the correlation task. Breytenbach postulates that;

> According to II Corinthians 5:18–20 Paul was entrusted with the *λόγος τῆς καταλλαγῆς.* He acts as an ambassador (*πρεσβεύομεν*), representing Christ (*ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ*). As if God is inviting through him (*ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντος δι᾿ ἡμῶν*), Paul begs the Corinthians on Christ's behalf (*δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ*) to be reconciled to God. (Breytenbach 2005: 274)

Paul in this context represents Christ and this is true of all other Christians. Christians, therefore, mirrors Christ on earth. It is when Christians are true ambassadors of Christ that the ministry of reconciliation is successful. If Christ was the agency of reconciliation, then Christians as ambassadors of Christ must also be agency of reconciliation. Reconciliation is also of great importance for the Christians because it became the serious priority of God. Though not sinful,

God decided to be treated as a sinner so that reconciliation can be achieved. The self-sacrifice of Jesus was a testimony of the importance of reconciliation.

II Corinthians 5: 21 reads, τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ. *"For our sake, he made him be sin who knew no sin so that in him we might become the righteousness of God."* The significant phrase in this verse is ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν (ἁμαρτίαν- Acc, sin, fem, ἐποίησεν-Aor, act, Ind, 3rd, per, sing). To understand the verse, it is important to take note of the verses that form the immediate context of verse 21. Harris postulates that "the repeated affirmation that Christ "died for all" (ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν), vv 14b, 15a, and 15b) led Paul to explain how humans benefited from Christ's death; verse 21 expands on "all this comes from God" and "through Christ" in v.18…" (Harris 2005: 450). In this context, Paul naturally drives to explain Christ's death was significant in restoring the righteousness to humanity. Paul's verse is not only emphasizing on the sinlessness of the pre-incarnate Jesus but even how the incarnate Jesus remained sinless. The question to be asked is; what does it means to say, 'he made him be sin who knew no sin?' Gloer argues that "with verse 21 we have entered the arena of mystery for here the mercy and judgement of God meet" (Gloer 2007: 596). Sin has corrupted the world and humanity has been further alienated from God since humans have lost their righteousness before God because of sin. So, how were we going to be redeemed as sinners? Gloer argues that;

> Christ on His cross, by divine appointment, the extremist opposites meet and became one-incarnate righteousness and the sin of the world. The sin is laid on the sinless one; its doom is laid on him; his death is the execution of the divine sentence upon it. When he dies, he has put away sin; it no longer stands, as it once stood, between God and the world (Gloer 2007: 597)

In this verse, we see God in Christ acting on our behalf. The verse begins and ends with Jesus and God who is the actor is referenced in the centre of the verse. Christ is not reconciling Humanity to an angry God who is not willing to forgive but is the willing God to reconcile humanity to himself who intiates the whole process of atonement through Christ.

5.6 Paul's symbols for reconciliation in II Corinthians 5:16–21
Three symbols for reconciliation come out from this text and these are; New Creation, Christ, and Ambassadors of Christ.

5.6.1 The symbol 'New Creation' in II Corinthians 5:16–21

Lim argues that "these views on the conception of New Creation remain firmly focussed in Paul's theology" (Lim 2014: 297). For Paul, being a New Creation means being liberated from all the boundaries whether they are social or national. These boundaries for Paul function as identity markers that divide people instead of uniting them. Paul, therefore, sees these boundaries as having a negative function rather than a positive one. According to Moyer V. Hubbard, "the primary purpose of Paul's stark New Creation statement is to portray conversion as a complete and irrevocable break with one's former way of life" (Hubbard 2002: 186). It is, therefore, a transformation of one's life. Jean La Fontaine posits that "it is the transformation of raw human material into socially responsible persons" (La Fontaine 1985: 115). This transformation is through Christ and this is the reason why Paul first reminds the Corinthians that their identity is in Christ before emphasising the New Creation concept. II Corinthians 5: 17, "if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation".

Lim postulates that "the old identity needs to be reconfigured in light of the Gospel of Christ" (Lim 2014: 298). What this means is that everything in the world should be evaluated in the light of the Gospel which points to the most significant symbol 'Christ'. In the New Creation symbol, what is Paul trying to achieve? Remember the context of II Corinthians where Paul is dealing with his rejection by the church after his opponents have castigated his ministry. According to Lim, "for Paul, a new creation is not only about the whole process of the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit leading to repentance and faith or the continual growth in holiness leading to conformity to the image of Christ. The New Creation is more than that, "it is the new community that allows their previous identities to be transformed in the light of the gospel" (Lim 2014: 298). In the Corinthian context, it means doing away with identity boundaries such as circumcision and uncircumcision. Such identity boundaries in Paul's view are artificial barriers that affect people's relationships within the community. Being a new creation therefore, means that ethnic groups' identities need to be reconfigured in the light of the Gospel of Christ which has a universal nature. Lim argues that "any rejection of the uncircumcised group by the circumcised group or vice versa would be tantamount to the rejection of the gospel" (Lim 2014: 298). The ultimate aim for Paul then is to

create a distinct community that is united in Christ the most important Christian symbol in Tillich's view. In that way, "the old is gone and the new has come".

5.6.2 The symbol 'Ambassador' in II Corinthians 5: 16-21

In the text, Paul understands himself as the ambassador of Christ and with the role of calling people to the reconciliation that has been initiated by God. He first identifies himself as a minister of a new creation and then moves on to present himself as the ambassador of Christ. But what does it mean to be an ambassador of Christ? The Greek phrase Paul uses is *ὑπερ Χριστοῦ* and Bash argues that its possible meaning is "for or about Christ, referring not to Christ as the person on whose behalf the embassy was undertaken but to Christ as the subject of the embassy" (Bash 1997: 88). The ambassadorial language for Paul should be understood in the context of his relations with the Corinthian church. Bash argues that "Paul was making a statement about his own standing in the Christian community, that he was commissioned by Christ to present the message of the gospel to those who received him" (Bash 1997: 105).

Paul is therefore, positioning himself above his opponents. He represents the sender who is Christ, and this implicitly means that his opponents are pseudo-ambassadors. This is an important metaphor for Paul because an ambassador does not represent himself but the sender and to reject the ambassador means rejecting the sender. Ambassadors were known for travelling from one place to another and they were always in danger of being killed or persecuted. Paul's credentials of being an itinerant preacher connect himself to the role of an ambassador. In the text, Paul applies this symbol to persuade the Corinthian church to accept his apostolic authority. He is coming to them not as an individual but as a representative of Christ since ambassadors were known for mediating peace and Paul was doing the same. The peace he is meditating is not his won but Christ's. Those who accepted him are co-ambassadors of Christ and this implies that their role is also mediation for peace. They no longer represent their ethnic identities but Christ's identity.

5.7 Conclusion

Proponents of the CCT assumes that the philosophical questions asked in the human situation should find answers in theology. In the Zimbabwean context, there are philosophical questions of ethnic relations and in the Corinthian correspondence, Paul was also responding to the philosophical questions of relations among Christians. Through CCT the researcher has established

the 'Common Human Experience of the Zimbabwean context and has also investigated the message of two texts (I Cor 1:10–17/ II Cor 5:16–21) and came up with the following conclusion; It has been established that conflict was present in the Corinthian Church regardless of the preaching of the gospel. The source of conflict is not clear but through Paul's responses, it has been established that fellow mission workers were the instigators of the conflict. Paul has demonstrated the need for reconciliation as a God given gift. Reconciliation, therefore, is the central ministry of the Christian faith. Christians are ambassadors of Christ; therefore, they should take the responsibility for reconciliation. God is the initiator of reconciliation, Christ the medium of reconciliation and human beings are also given the ministry of reconciliation. Okure argues that "this is a serious challenge for us as it reminds us that one cannot be God's minister of reconciliation merely from the armchair" (Okure 2006: 117). This means that the church should take seriously the ministry of reconciliation. A church that is not involved in the ministry of reconciliation in a practical way, is not fulfilling the God given mandate since the church should be the embodiment of God's reconciliation on earth. In Paul's doctrine of reconciliation, four dimensions came out which are, individual, cosmic, corporate, and eschatological (Turner 1989: 77).

Okure argues that;

> Paul's two letters are designed to meet the concrete life situation of this complex community of "the church of God", "with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia" This community is located in the complex socio-cultural, religious, economic and political reality earlier examined. It is within this total context, not very different from ours today, that Paul proclaims his gospel and ministry of reconciliation, as something to be received and lived. (Okure 2006:110)

From Okure's argument, we conclude that the 'Common Human Experience' of the Corinthians in both letters was characterized by conflicts between Christians themselves, Christians and Paul, and Paul and his opponents. Conflict is the key background that prompted the occasion of these two passages. It is such a background that prompted the choice for these texts for the Critical Correlation of the Zimbabwean ethnic situations since one can draw some parallels between the Corinthian context and the Zimbabwean context. This is not to argue that either context influenced the other, but that the Zimbabwean ethnic context can draw some inspiration from the Corinthian one. The two contexts remain independent from each other regardless of some parallels. I agree

with Teresa Okure's observation that the Corinthian context is "not very different from ours." (Okure 2006:110). In the two texts, five symbols that can bring about social cohesion to conflicting parties have been extracted for our use in chapter five. These symbols are; Christ, Baptism, New Creation, Ambassadors and Cross.

Chapter Six: A critical correlation of past (Pauline) and present (Zimbabwe) experiences

6.0 Introduction

The chapter uses CCT to create a dialogue between Paul and Zimbabwe. As a perspective, CCT is based on the assumptions that the philosophical questions asked in the human situation should find answers in the Christian Message. The human situation is referred to by Tracy as the 'Common Human Experience' and the Christian Message as 'The Christian Texts'. Tracy's terminology will be used since he represents the advanced level of CCT. The 'Common Human Experience' for this Critical Correlation task is the Zimbabwean Shona-Ndebele relations and the Christian Tetxs are I Corinthians 1: 10–17 and II Corinthians 5: 16–21.

The interest is on the symbols that are used by Paul in I Corinthians 1: 10–17 and II Corinthians 5: 16–21 and how they help in building alternative identity categories for the shona and ndebele people. In following Tillich's approach of correlation, there is an attempt to establish the relationship between religion and culture. According to Roger Haight, "a method of correlation entails bringing together the present and the past, bringing into conjunction our present situation and the traditions about Jesus from a past extends right up to the present" (Haight 1999: 45). The past in this situation is the Corinthian situation of factionalism and the present situation is ethnicity in Zimbabwe. The thrust of the chapter is looking at the questions that have been raised by the situation of ethnicity in Zimbabwe and demonstrates how the symbols used in Christian message can be the answers to the questions.

Haight defines a symbol as, "that through which something other than itself is known" (Haight 1999: 8). Deacon argues that "the term symbol derives from the Greek stem of '*ballein*' "to throw" and '*syn*' "together" characterizes the way that words are forced into correspondence with ideas and their physical referents irrespective of any natural affinities." (Deacon 2012: 393) Does religion need some symbols and are they any helpful? Haight further argues that "religious symbols are analogous, and they point to and mediate transcendent realities in response to religious questioning. The kind of knowledge mediated by symbols may be called engaged participatory knowledge" (Haight 1999: 9). What is the question that is arising out of the Zimbabwean situation

of ethnicity? The main question is; how can one foster social cohesion between the Shona and Ndebele people in Zimbabwe? The second question then is; how can religion respond or answer that question? Five symbols from our texts; Christ, Baptism, New Creation, Ambassadors, and Cross will try to respond to the question. In such a correlative exercise, we are demonstrating how Paul's past experiences in the texts are an inspiration in addressing the present Zimbabwean experiences.

6.1 Christ as the symbol for Social Cohesion

The task of this section is threefold; first, is the unpacking of Christ as a symbol. Second, how Paul evoked the symbol 'Christ' in the Corinthian correspondence, and third, what inspiration can the Zimbabwean situation draw from Paul's use of the symbol 'Christ' in the Corinthian correspondence?

6.1.1 Unpacking 'Christ' as a symbol

The symbol 'Christ' appears in both texts suggesting that it is an important symbol for this discussion and correlation task. Christ is regarded by Tillich as the most important symbol of the Christian faith. The same sentiments are shared by Haight who argued that "Jesus Christ is the concrete symbol of God" (Haight 1999:14). However, to label Christ, as a symbol appears problematic for many Christians. One student in a dialogue with Tillich at the University of Chicago expressed his concern with Tillich's designation of Christ as a symbol (Brown 1965). Are we not making Christ an object? What was Tillich's response to the student's concern? Tillich argues that "Christianity was born, not with the birth of the man who is called 'Jesus', but in the moment in which one of his followers was driven to say to him, 'thou art the Christ'" (Tillich 1957: 97). The words, "you are the Messiah" in Mark 8: 29 were said by Peter responding to Jesus' question, "But, who do you say that I am?" Importantly, Jesus did not deny that He was Christ, but he simply ordered the disciples not to tell anyone about it.

Therefore, the issue is not about whether Jesus is Christ or not since he openly accepted it before his apostles. Is Tillich not committing the heresy of adoptionism? Donald K. McKim defines adoptionism as, "a view of Jesus Christ that sees him as a human who was adopted or chosen by God to be elevated into being God's divine Son or a member of the trinity" (McKim 1996: 4). However, Tillich is not being heretic, and his discourse is different from adoptionism. Adoptionism

is mainly based on Jesus' baptismal experience in Matthew 3:17 and Luke 3:22, "this is my Son, the beloved, with whom I am well pleased". The proponents of this view argue that Jesus was born an ordinary man in Nazareth but adopted by God at His baptism. The view, however, was condemned as heresy because in the words themselves, there is no evidence that Jesus was born an ordinary man, but it was just a confirmation that he is God's son in a unique way. Tillich is different in that he argues that "Christianity is what it is the affirmation that Jesus of Nazareth, who has been called 'the Christ,' is actually the Christ. Wherever, the assertion that Jesus is the Christ is maintained, there is the Christian message, wherever, this assertion is denied, the Christian message is not affirmed" (Tillich 1957: 97). Therefore, there are two sides of Jesus; the Jesus of Nazareth as a historical figure and the reception of Jesus as the Christ.

For Tillich, it is the name Christ that is symbolic. Brown asserts that "we must make it clear that the name Jesus Christ combines a historical statement with a symbolic name. The symbolic name, of course, is the *christos,* meaning 'anointed'" (Brown 1965: 133). The name 'Christ' is symbolic in that it predates the birth of Jesus in Nazareth. It even predates Judaism (Messiah) as it is known in the Semitic and Egyptian cosmologies. According to Tillich, "the history of the symbol 'Christ' shows that its origin transcends both Christianity and Judaism, thus confirming the universal human expectation of a new reality" (Tillich 1957: 88). The symbol 'Christ' therefore is the central event in history. In this symbol, one sees the figure of a king who conquers his enemies and establishes justice and peace in the world. Tillich proffers that, "the more the political meaning of the idea was transcended, the more symbolic the figure of the king became" (Tillich 1957: 88). Tillich suggests the pronouncement that, "Jesus who is called Christ or Jesus who is Christ" (Tillich 1957: 98) since it is in Jesus that people encounter God.

In the symbol 'Christ' what concepts do we draw for our correlation task? First, we find the concept of mediation. Haight argues that "for Christianity, Jesus is the central mediation of God in history. The whole Christianity revolves around Jesus of Nazareth as the constitutive mediation of God's revelation of God in history" (Haight 1999: 7). In Jesus, one sees a mediator and such a task is associated with reconciling conflicting parties. Thomas F. Torrence argues that "Jesus Christ is a mediator in such a way that in his incarnate person he embraces both sides of the mediating relationship" (Torrence 1983: 66). Torrence is however, quick to point out that in Jesus Christ, we are not confronted with two realities joined together but one reality. This reality confronts us as

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both God and man. The concept of mediation is not unique to Jesus as it was also prominent in ancient religions that were characterised by a pantheon of gods. Conflicts and wars were common in these family gods hence the need for mediation. According to Tillich, "the concept of mediator gods in paganism as well as in Judaism give expression of man's desire to experience his ultimate concern in a concrete manifestation" (Tillich 1951: 93). The phrase 'ultimate concern' is at the centre of Tillich's definition of faith. It encompasses a cluster of Tillich's theological concepts such as; "unconditional seriousness, unconditional concern, infinite concern, directedness toward the Unconditional, the state of being grasped by the power of being itself, and the dimension of depth" (Smith 2003). These are deeper concepts that demand an independent research.

However, Tillich's concept of 'ultimate concern' refers to, "both the act of faith and the content of faith" (Smith 2003). Mediation in the person of Christ is then an issue of reunion. It is the reunion between God who is the infinite; and human beings who are the finite. It is the union between God; who is unconditional and human beings who are conditional. The mediator is the one with some saving functions. In the mediator, humanity encounters the saviour who happens to be Christ. This is simply pointing us to God as the saviour and mediator. Tillich further argues that "God is the subject, not the object of meditation and salvation" (Tillich 1957: 93). Christ as the mediator reconciles man to God by the way of showing man what is God's expectation of man. It is in Christ that one sees the face of God and experiences reconciliation. In the Christian mind, the name 'Christ' is synonymous with the term 'reconciliation'.

6.2 'Christ' as a symbol of inspiration for social cohesion between the Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe

Like the Corinthian church, the Zimbabwean situation is also characterised by division. In the Corinthian situation, the divisions were based on mere patronage on individuals while in the Zimbabwean situation the divisions are based on ethnicity. This makes the two contexts different but common to both is a situation of conflict. The depth of conflict of the Corinthian situation might have been shallow compared to the Zimbabwean one. Common to both contexts are the need for mediation. Can the use of the symbol Jesus Christ be helpful in the mediation of the Zimbabwean situation?

First, the symbol Jesus Christ as has been argued by Tillich has some universal qualities. In the Zimbabwean context, it is a well-accepted symbol across ethnic identities. It is a symbol that is accepted by both shona and ndebele people. The symbol Christ was very useful in the researcher's experience as the Diocesan Youth Chaplain for the Anglican Diocese of Harare. Whenever the youths gathered together from all over the country, some problems were encountered; particularly between the youths of Harare and Bulawayo. This symbol was applied through the organisation of three national Anglican gatherings every year. These gatherings are in form of the annual Zimbabwe Anglican Youth Association Conference. The conference is hosted on a rotational basis by the five different dioceses. In those conferences, guest preachers are invited locally and internationally to preach Christ and deliberately, the theme of love and reconciliation has dominated the conferences since the inauguration of the first one in 2000 at St Augustine Penhalonga in Manicaland Diocese.

The second gathering has been the annual youth games again hosted on a rotational basis. The third one has been the annual youth musical choir competitions. In all these gatherings, the symbol Christ has been the central one and this has helped to bring about social cohesion among the youths. The symbol Christ is the most acceptable one compared to the other symbols that have been used before. For example, all the political symbols such as 1980 Reconciliation, 1986 Unity Accord, 2008 Government of National Unity, and the Organ on Reconciliation and National Healing have fallen short of the desired results. They have achieved results for a certain period but were not comprehensive enough to foster unity. Some people are not comfortable with the names that are involved in these symbols. Therefore, in the symbol Christ, there is common ground between the ndebele and shona people.

Not everyone accepts this symbol, but it is the most acceptable one given the percentage of Christians in the country. It will be difficult to apply the symbol in countries that are dominated by other religions like most countries in the Middle East and Asia where other symbols like Allah, Buddha, Confucius, and Mahavira dominate. Some would want to argue that the symbol African Traditional Religion should be used in the Zimbabwean situation, but that symbol has been weak of late and its syncretistic in nature allows it to work with other symbols. The propagation of the symbol Christ had been associated with the colonialism, an evil machinery of the past but, regardless of that, people have accepted it with the course of history. Other identity symbols such

as 'shona' or 'ndebele' play a subservient role to the symbol 'christ'. Therefore, following Paul's approach of focusing on what unites the conflicting parties rather than what divide them, it is possible to focus on the symbol 'christ' as the common denominator of both. Social cohesion will not be achieved by what divides the two but what can potentially unite ethnicities in Zimbabwe.

In II Corinthians 5:16–21, Paul reminds the Corinthian church it was by grace and not merit that they were saved. Christ who knew no sin became sinful for the sake of reconciling humanity to God. Therefore, all have fallen short of the glory of God, so no one is superior to the another. This helped all the conflicting parties to do a self-introspection rather than focusing on the other party's sins. Such a concept helps in the mediation of the Zimbabwean situation because there are always accusations and counter-accusations between these two ethnic groups. No group is prepared to do a thorough introspection of their past conduct. Instead, each group selectively focus on a specific period when they were offended. The Shona people always focus on the pre-colonial period; particularly the stories of the raids. They accuse the Ndebele people of committing genocide against the Shona, raiding livestock, women and children. In return, the Ndebele accuse the Shona of committing genocide against the Ndebele in the post-colonial period especially with the *Gukurahundi* atrocities.

Therefore, the subject of mediation is becoming more and more complex because the question is starting point and end point. The Ndebele would not want the Shona to go back to raids and Entumbane stories where they are portrayed as violent. The Shona would want the whole story to end with the Entumbane story and not the *Gukurahundi* story. This is an illustration that both ethnic groups have an unrepented evil past to deal with. Therefore, by employing Paul's concept, both parties are equally guilty of a violent past. This means that no party should come to the negotiating table with its head up. It is only the symbol Jesus Christ that makes the two parties realise their evil past, otherwise other possible parties are equally sinful. It was the symbol Jesus Christ that asked the Scribes and the Pharisees the question, "let anyone among you who is without sin be the first to throw a stone at her" (Jn 8:7b). This was after they had brought to Him, the woman whom they had caught in adultery. They wanted Jesus Christ to help them execute their selected justice of stoning one part in a sin that involves two people. The mediation process demands all the parties to own up their past in an honest and humble manner.

6.3 'Baptism' as a symbol of inspiration for social cohesion between the Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe

In Paul's writings, they are many references to baptism (Gal 3:27; I Cor 12:13; 15:29; Rom 6:3-11;). In this section, baptism is considered as a symbol of cohesion in fractured societies. The starting point, however, is a working definition of baptism, then how it was used by Paul as a symbol of Social Cohesion and finally how it can serve as a symbol of cohesion between the ndebele and shona people.

6.3.1 The meaning of 'Baptism'

According to Everett Ferguson, "the common Greek word used to describe dipping in water for the purpose of purification $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\upsilon\grave{\varsigma}$ occurs in the gospels only in Mark 7:4" (Ferguson 2013: 66). What is frequently used in the gospels and letters is the verb '$\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$' which means 'I baptise'. This usage was not limited to Judaism or Christianity, but it was also common in other religions of the Ancient Near East. The meaning of the word in all its usage was linked with dipping in water, sinking, drenching, or overwhelming. This comes from James Rowe Adams' argument that, "in non-Christian literature it could mean plunge, sink, drench or overwhelm" (Adams 2005: 39).

However, this word (baptism) has been understood in various ways and even today the way baptism is understood in different churches is different. For example, John the Baptist came preaching the baptism of repentance of sins. Luke 3: 3, "And he (John) went into all the region around the Jordan, proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins- *καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν [τὴν] περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*). In this context, baptism was associated with purification of sins. Today, other denominations understand baptism in terms of repentance only and in some of those denominations baptism is performed more than once on one person. Adams argues that "by the time of Jesus, Jews were apparently welcoming Gentile converts through a ritual washing, a baptism" (Adams 2005: 40). Even lapsed Jews were required to take this ritual washing before being admitted back into the community.

The forgiven person was therefore reconciled to God. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor argues that "the believers are reconciled with God through faith because they have been baptised" (Murphy-O'Connor 1982: 174). Therefore, baptism has some reconciliatory effects. Scholars like Murphy-

O'Connor see baptism as inseparable from faith. The forgiveness of sins would not just come by the dipping of someone in water, but the first important thing is the belief in God and then the confession of sins. This explains why in the liturgical rites of baptism, the first part has to do with the confession of sins, then the expression of faith mainly through the vows and citation of the apostle's creed. Murphy-O'Connor emphasize the point that, "faith and baptism are two moments of a single act; neither is complete without the other" (Murphy-O'Connor 1982: 174).

Baptism is also defined metaphorically. For example, Jesus refers to baptism in a metaphorical way in Mark 10: 38-39 and Luke 12: 50. Luke 12:50, "I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how great is my distress until it is accomplished- *βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ*). Ferguson argues that "words from the 'bapt' root had several metaphorical uses about being overwhelmed by something" (Ferguson 2013: 68). Therefore, baptism in this context refers to being overwhelmed by suffering and it was such usage that led the early church to see martyrdom as a form of baptism. Paul even used the word baptism metaphorically referring to conversion. The above argument is raised by Banks who writes that "despite the general assumption that Paul always has water baptism in mind in many of his passages, he may sometimes be employing the word metaphorically to refer to conversion" (Banks 1980: 81).

In mainline churches like Anglican, baptism is commonly understood as a sacrament of initiation. According to Murphy-O'Connor, "baptism is a rite of initiation. It is the solemn entrance into the community of believers" (Murphy-O'Connor 1982: 158). He further argues that "to be baptised in Christ for Paul simply means to be admitted into the sacramental rite of initiation" (Murphy-O'Connor 1982: 185). The question then is; what does it mean to be initiated in the community of believers? Thomas A. Marsh postulates that "Christian initiation is an initiation into membership of the church and into participation in its life and mission" (Marsh 1984: 70). This means that in baptism, there are two aspects joined together which are; individual and community. One repents as an individual but is initiated into the community of believers. This initiation then demands one to carry the community's duties which are the mission of the church. Arnold van Gennep argues that "initiation rites of religious organisations and secret societies, or marriages and funeral rites exhibited the same tripartite structure; separation, transition, and incorporation" (Gennep 1960: 11). He further argues that "the purpose of these ceremonies is to enable the individual to pass from one well-defined position to another which is well-defined" (Gennep 1960: 2-3). In some

churches, for example, the Anglican Church, the newly baptized members are presented to the congregation and in turn, the congregation welcomes them. For example, in the Anglican Prayer Book of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, the Bishop presenting the newly baptized to the congregation says;

God has received you by baptism into his church
The Congregation replies;
We welcome you into the Lord's family.
We are members together of the Body of Christ;
We are children of the same heavenly Father;
We are inheritors together of the kingdom of God
We welcome you (An Anglican Prayer Book 1989: 374).

This is the reason why Eugene L. Brand argues that "the practice of 'private baptism' should be discouraged, especially if they are not administered in the church. They tend conceptually to connect baptism with family celebrations" (Brand 1998: 133). Eugene's argument is anchored on baptism as a public or communal event. The question, however, is, how public were household baptisms that were recorded in the book of Acts?

Among many understandings of baptism, one of the most important ones is it as a rite of initiation. This is important as Brand argues that "rites of initiation are signs of unity when they are themselves and their use reinforced" (Brand 1998: 131). Rites of initiation play a significant role in Africa as symbols of unity. When someone is joining a new family as a baby, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law, certain rituals are performed as rites of initiation. For example, at a marriage ceremony, the bride is presented to the groom by the father but that is not initiation into the family. Real initiation takes place after the wedding at the groom's home where the bride is oriented into the family system. These initiation ceremonies are a source of unity and acceptance into the family and once initiated into the family the bride is now expected to participate fully in the life of the family. First, the bride is expected to participate in the religious life of the new family. If the bride was Lutheran and now married to a Methodist husband, the societal expectations are that she changes her church affiliation to the husband's church. However, the possibilities of conflicts particularly in settings where the groom's family is not Christian are high. The bride is also expected to participate in socio-economic and cultural activities of the groom's family. Her biggest

participation is family growth through procreation. Among the shona and ndebele people, rites of initiation are symbols of unity.

At baptism, one is baptized in the name of Christ, not in the name of a denomination. These sentiments are shared by Eugene as he says, "one is not baptized Lutheran or baptised Catholic, one can only be baptised Christian because that is the only confessionally neutral term which remains" (Brand 1998: 131). This means that at baptism, one is initiated into the name Christ. To be initiated into Christ means to be initiated into His body which is the church. The image of the church as the body of Christ is common in the Bible and the church is depicted as the bride of Christ (Eph 5: 24-27). "One cannot love God and hate the neighbour, one cannot be with Jesus without also being one body with all those who are also one with him in baptism" (Institute of Ecumenical Research, 1998: 13). The church as the bride of Christ should participate in the life of Christ. This participation is in the form of missionary work. Walter Cardinal Kasper argues that;

> The mission of the church is, therefore, universal, and the church is missionary by its very essence. The church is not bound to a specific people, culture, language, or political or economic system. With the Vatican II, the church has come to understand itself as the universal sacrament of salvation and as a sign and instrument of unity. It transcends all ethnic, national, and cultural differences in the wish to unite all peoples, languages, and cultures in praise of the one God (Kasper 2001: 8).

The church's universal character comes from Jesus Himself who is a universal symbol. The church's membership is universal in the sense that people of different ethnic backgrounds, languages, social status and cultures are all baptized into one name Jesus Christ. Baptism, therefore becomes an inspiration for social cohesion between the shona and ndebele people in the sense that all of them were baptized into one name Jesus Christ. Christ becomes the common identity between the two where in Christ, a shona person sees a neighbour in a ndebele person. Through baptism in Christ, both the Shona and Ndebele people have a common mission of bringing peace, love, and unity in the world. Through the initiation of baptism, one becomes a new creature, and this is the next symbol to be discussed.

6.4 'New Creation' as a symbol for Social Cohesion

This symbol is found in II Corinthians 5: 17, where Paul narrates that "so then, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; what is old has passed away, look, what is new has come-ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά·". Hubbard writes that "it is difficult to ignore Paul's fondness for birth metaphors" (Hubbard, 2002: 87). There are many references to Paul's use of birth metaphors in his letters and some of them are; I Corinthians 3: 1–3; 4: 15, II Corinthians 4: 19; 6: 13, and I Thessalonians 2: 7–12. Though Paul is fond of birth metaphors, the concept of the 'New Creation' is not frequently mentioned in his letters. They are only two cases where one finds the explicit reference to this concept and this is in II Corinthians 5: 17 and Galatians 6: 15. Paul is not the inventor of this concept and some scholars agree that this concept has its roots in the Second Temple Judaism. For example, Hubbard argues that "the motif of the new creation as encountered in the literature of Second Temple Judaism had its ultimate origin in the eschatological hopes of later prophets" (Hubbard 2002: 11). Lim has discussed this concept in contemporary understanding where it is classified into three categories (anthropological, cosmological and Jewish apocalypticism) and they are worthy of consideration for this thesis. However, these categories will be reduced to two and the justification for that is that the cosmological understanding and the Jewish apocalypticism are closely intertwined.

6.4.1 The anthropological understanding of 'New Creation' as a concept

According Lim, "Paul's understanding of New Creation incorporates the anthropologically focussed promises of the New Heart and New Spirit" (Lim 2014: 296). Such promises are found in prophets such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah 31: 31–34;

> Indeed, a time is coming," says the Lord, "when I will make a new covenant with the people of Israel and Judah.32. It will not be like the old covenant that I made with their ancestors when I delivered them from Egypt. For they violated that covenant, even though I was like a faithful husband to them," says the Lord. 33. "But I will make a new covenant with the whole nation of Israel after I plant them back in the land," says the Lord. "I will put my law within them and write it on their hearts and minds. I will be their God and they will be my people. 34. "People will no longer need to teach their neighbours and relatives to know me. For all of them, from the least important to the most important, will know me," says the Lord. "For I will forgive their sin and will no longer call to mind the wrong they have done."

In this context 'newness' refers to the altered nature of those converted people. Such newness comes from God's work alone and no other human being can bring such newness. Lim argues that "such similarities are drawn from the motif of conversion in Hellenistic Judaism such as Jubilees 1: 7–29, 23: 11–32" (Lim 2014: 296). The gentile proselytes after their baptism were reckoned as new-born children. Such language has its setting as the Rabbinic Schools of the Second Temple Judaism. It such usage it had a depiction of a complete break of the gentile proselyte with his former life. Schnackenburg, however, argues that "the Rabbinic concept of the 'New Creation' remains a kind of theological juristic fiction which stands in no closer relation to the immersion rite" (Schnackenburg 1964: 15). What Schnackenburg is saying is that the concept of the New Creation has nothing to do with baptism in the Jewish setting. The newness came with the initiation rite of circumcision while baptism served as a removal of the uncleanness of the heathen.

6.4.2 The cosmological understanding of 'New Creation'

According to Lim, "the understanding of New Creation is also drawn from a cosmological perspective" (Lim 2014: 297). These cosmological perspectives are mainly drawn from passages such as; Isaiah 42: 9; 43: 18–19; 45: 17; 48: 6; 65: 17–18 and 66: 22. For example, Isaiah 43:18–19 reads, "Don't remember these earlier events; don't recall these former events. "Look, I am about to do something new. Now it begins to happen! Do you not recognise it? Yes, I will make a road in the desert and paths in the wilderness". In the context of the text, New Creation implies the renewal of the cosmos and the ushering of the new age. The New Creation as contained in the prophecy of Trito-Isaiah should be understood as the dawning of the new age which replaces the present age characterised by evil. The question then is, was Paul ever influenced by these understandings in bargaining for new identity markers for the Corinthians?

6.5 The symbol 'New Creation' as an inspiration for Social Cohesion between the Ndebele and Shona people

The concept of the New Creation is not foreign in the Zimbabwean religious discourse though it is not explicitly stated. The common phrase in the Zimbabwean context is 'born again'. Though the two phrases are different in terms of verbatim, they both point to the same concept of newness. The phrase 'born again' is derived from John 3: 1ff and this is the text that is used frequently in the Anglican Church's baptismal rite. Taking into consideration the higher percentage of Christians

in Zimbabwe, the symbol 'New Creation' is easily acceptable between the ndebele and shona people. At the centre of this symbol is its transformative function. The starting point is reminding both the Shona and Ndebele Christians of their baptismal vows. What is the meaning of their baptism in Christ? The moment they were baptised in Christ they became new creatures meaning breaking away with their past identities. This means breaking away with their ethnic identities and embracing a new universal identity- Jesus Christ.

Is this a suggestion that people should cease to be Ndebele or Shona? This is not the case but breaking away with their past identities means allowing their ethnic identities to be reconfigured by the Gospel of Christ. What does reconfiguring of identities mean? First, it means subjecting their ethnic identities to the supreme identity-Jesus Christ. Therefore, hating the person of the other ethnic identity means rejecting the Gospel of Christ. Becoming a new creation means that the old age is gone and the new one has come. What is this old age in terms of the Shona-Ndebele relations? The Ndebele-Shona relations have been characterised by negative emotions, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, prejudice, polarisation, dominance, and violence. Therefore, by becoming a new creation this old age should pass away and new one characterized by; love, mercy, forgiveness, respect for one another, tolerance, and repentance. The symbol New Creation is not a biblical version of amnesia which is forced forgetting. Amnesia has to be cited earlier on as the concept that has impacted negatively on Zimbabwe's reconciliation efforts. Being a new creation does not mean carrying your baggage with you in the new age. It means confessing your past and a commitment to leave it. In our Zimbabwean context, it means confession of the past ethnic sins by both sides and commitment to live in harmony with one another.

6.6 The concept of 'Ambassador' as a symbol for Social Cohesion

The concept of 'ambassador' is a familiar one in the contemporary world especially to those involved in politics or travelling abroad. Paul also employs this concept in his letters, but the question is; was the understanding of the concept of 'ambassador' the same with this contemporary world? So, before exploring this concept one needs to go back to the ANE context.

6.6.1 The concept of 'Ambassador' in the ANE

According to Bash, "communication by ambassadors and embassies was a long-established practice in the areas comprising the Greek east of the Roman empire" (Bash 1997: 3). The Greek words used to refer to ambassador are; *πρέσβείς* and *πρέσβευται*. Bash argues that "*πρεσβεια* meaning embassy refers to both the concept of sending ambassadors, the message sent, and the persons who took it" (Bash 1997: 3). Bash further defines an embassy as;

> Consisting of an individual or an ad hoc group of representatives (send by an individual, organisation, town, city or state) (the sender) to travel to another individual, organisation, town, city or state (the receiver) to mediate or to promote the interests of the sender. Such an individual or group was usually sent by the sender in circumstances of need or dependence either of the sender or of others to whom the sender was obligated. An ambassador was a member of such an embassy (Bash 1997: 40).

In the contemporary setting, an ambassador normally refers to one send to a foreign country as a diplomat to represent the interests of his/her country. The word embassy is then used to refer either to the place of residence for the ambassador or the place where the ambassador carries his/her duties. The word-group *πρεσβ* in the Roman empire, Bash argues, "include those who were appointed to undertake international diplomatic duties, but such people acted in an ad hoc capacity and were not permanently appointed to a diplomatic post" (Bash 1997: 4).

What Bash is bringing from his argument is that the concept of the ambassador was not as institutionalised as it is today. In many instances, embassies are permanent features, but the ambassadors are appointed on a term and political basis. For example, when the government changes, the new leader appoints new ambassadors. The withdrawal of an embassy from a certain country is normally an indication of sour relationships. It seems from Bash's argument that ambassadors in the Roman empire were appointed for a specific purpose and if that task is carried over then the appointment is terminated. What was the real duty of these ambassadors?

Bash posits that, "communication with the emperor and provincial governors was primarily and vigorously by way of embassies" (Bash 1997: 6). This means that the embassies were there to regulate relations between the emperor and provinces or city states. This is the similar role that

embassies are playing in contemporary diplomatic relations. However, they were not the only means of communication, but they were other means of communications. Bash lists five forms of communication such as;

> βιβλιαφοροι and γραμματοφοροι, these were responsible for carrying letters. θεωροι, these were envoys who were sent on a religious business to a god. Θεοπροποι, these were sent as public messengers to enquire of an oracle. Ἱεροπομποι, these were the people who conveyed sacred texts to Jerusalem for the Jews. And lastly, κηρυκες, these were heralds, a special form of the public messenger (Bash 1997: 7).

Importantly, all these five forms of ancient communication were distinguished from ambassadors thereby giving ambassadors some special roles. Bash further argues for four types of ambassadors in the ancient world and these were;

> Personal embassies, these were concerned with personal interests. Public embassies, these were governing authorities communicating with the other governing authorities. Mediatorial embassies, this was mainly a third party whose duty was to mediate between the conflicting parties. And lastly, the pseudo-mediatorial embassies, these have been incorrectly described as mediatorial, but in fact, it was the other conflicting party who send his own ambassador to negotiate his interests in the disguise of being a third and neutral party (Bash 1997: 42-43).

Importantly, in the ancient Roman Empire, they were no groups of professionally trained ambassadors who worked as civil servants like what is happening in the contemporary world. There were also no fixed diplomatic arrangements of ambassadors. This background helps us to interpret Paul's view of an ambassador of Christ. This argument is in line with Bash's view that, "the proper context for understanding Paul's view of reconciliation was secular diplomatic sources which concerned personal relationships and frequently, in particular, the peace mediated by πρεσβεις between groups at war with each other" (Bash 1997: 21).

6.6.2 The symbol 'Ambassador' as an inspiration for Social Cohesion between the Ndebele and Shona people

The symbol 'ambassador' provides both the Shona and Ndebele people with a common purpose and identity. They have been made members of one family through baptism. They are now a new creation and the old is gone; they no longer represent their ethnic identities but Christ. Christ's main purpose was to reconcile humanity to God. Therefore, mediation became his main concern.

As ambassadors of Christ, the purpose of both the ndebele and shona people is mediation for peace. Pursuing long-term grudges is no longer the central occupation of both. A Zimbabwean ambassador to the United Kingdom represents the interests of Zimbabwe no matter how strained the relations between the two new nations are. Therefore, the ambassador stands with his president and sending government no matter what situation or conditions. Failure to do so results in him/her being recalled from duty. Therefore, Christians who fail to represent their master (Jesus) sever their relationships with God. Ambassadors bear the title of the head of state they represent and are called "His/Her Excellency" and in the same way, Christians are named after Christ (Christians) and this means their ethnic identities now play a subordination role. Such a symbol helps to draw away attention on ethnic identities as it gives Christians of both ethnic backgrounds the duty to promote peace and unity.

Therefore, it means one is initiated into Christianity for a service and Christianity ceases to be a passive identity but an active one in the positive sense. They are risks associated with being an ambassador as we argued above. Ambassadors are not afraid of threats that are associated with their duties. They can provoke the government of the country they are serving in the pretext of serving the interest of their government. The Christian populations in both ethnic groups should not be afraid of the dangers they are likely to encounter as they attempt to play their mediation role.

6.7 The 'Cross of Christ' as a symbol for Social Cohesion

According to Hubbard, "Paul's symbolic landscape was dominated by the cross, so his favourite physiomorphic imagery (death-life symbolism) has this event at its centre" (Hubbard 2002: 88). The symbol of the cross did not originate with Christianity and it was already a symbol in other traditions. This sentiment is shared by George Willard Benson who argued that "the cross is a symbol more universal in its use and more important in its significance than any other in the world" (Benson 1934: 15). This symbol is among some of the oldest symbols in the world and was in use as a pagan emblem; centuries before used in Christianity. Its origins are not clear and this is supported by Benson's argument that, "the origin of the cross is in the mists of antiquity" (Benson 1934: 16). The universality of the cross makes it one of the most important symbols across different cultures. In the Roman empire, the cross was used as an instrument for the execution of criminals. This means it was a bad symbol associated with capital punishment. According to Benson, "no

Roman citizen could be crucified, but slaves and other despised races were put to death, either upon a single stake driven through their bodies or by being bound or nailed to the cross" (Benson 1934: 24). How can a symbol of condemnation of criminals can inspire social cohesion? The issue is not about any cross as Tillich argues that "it is not the cross, but the cross of Christ that is the symbol" (Tillich 1965: 135). Therefore, our focus for this section is the cross of Christ, not anybody's cross. What is special or unique about the cross of Christ? Elizabeth Gerhardt argues that;

> The cross and resurrection of Jesus constitute the central event that gives power and meaning to the work of justice building and peace-making. The way of God, hidden and known only through suffering and the cross, is an invitation to join Christ's mission to heal, to bind up, the broken-hearted and to free those who are oppressed (Gerhardt 2014: 84).

The cross of Christ symbolizes redemption and forgiveness of sins. At the cross, Christ offered Himself as a sacrifice meant to redeem humanity from the powers of evil. It was through the cross that humanity was reconciled to God. This sacrificial act facilitated the forgiveness of sins and the amending of relationships that were broken by the sins of humanity. The subject of sacrifices as amending relations is a common one in the African cosmologies. Animals were sacrificed as a way of appeasing ancestral spirits. Sometimes, even human beings were sacrificed in other cultures. The notion of sacrifice is easily acceptable in the African worldview. Christ is coming as a seal of all sacrifices and this means that it is no longer necessary to sacrifice other creatures since Christ offered that sacrifice once for all. Christ paid all the price needed to redeem humanity through His blood.

Therefore, in the Cross of Christ, we encounter the notion of forgiveness in a situation that had seemed irreparable. This can be an inspiration for the Shona-Ndebele relations that appears irreparable. The Cross of Christ amended relations that were broken for almost two millennia and that can inspire the Shona-Ndebele relations that are broken for almost two centuries. In the symbol 'Cross of Christ', there is hope in what seems to be a hopeless situation. One of the sticking issues in any reconciliation effort is the issue of reparation which the symbol Cross of Christ addresses. There is no longer any need for the price since Christ paid the full price by the cross. No human price is adequate to redeem the broken relationships except the blood of Christ. However, this does not replace truth telling and confessions of past sins. On the cross, Christ offered an unconditional

forgiveness as He pronounced that, "Father, forgive them as they do not know what they are doing". The phase of not knowing what we are doing had gone past since the gift of the Holy Spirit now enlightened us. Therefore, whatever sins human beings are committing against each other are now intentional. The blood of Christ is the adequate price needed for achieving social cohesion between the shona and ndebele people. No other material price can redeem the lost lives and wealth during the periods of raids, *Entumbane,* and *Gukurahundi*. Not even the blood of Mugabe, Emmerson Mnangagwa, and Perence Shiri as prominent figures in Zimbabwe's corridors of power can bring about social cohesion. However, the Cross of Christ does not exonerate them from confessing their past actions since Christ commanded that as a requirement for proper reconciliation. Matthew 5: 23–26 reads;

> 23. So then, if you bring your gift to the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, 24. leave your gift there in front of the altar. First, go and be reconciled to your brother and then come and present your gift. 25. Reach agreement quickly with your accuser while on the way to court, or he may hand you over to the judge, and the judge hand you over to the warden, and you will be thrown into prison. 26. I tell you the truth, you will never get out of there until you have paid the last penny!

Therefore, acknowledgement of wrongdoing is a necessary step in achieving reconciliation and this is not in contradiction with the Cross of Christ. The Cross of Christ created safe platforms for the conflicting parties to meet and mend their broken relationships. The symbol 'Cross of Christ' destroyed all evil forces like hate, prejudice, and violence that separate people.

6.8 Conclusion

The symbol 'Christ' as argued earlier on is the most important and all the other symbols discussed in this chapter are built on the symbol 'Christ'. What these symbols are doing is contesting for a new Christian identity that transcends all ethnic and social boundaries that divide people instead of uniting them. Paul by using these symbols in the Corinthian conflicts, was trying to overcome the Graeco-Roman symbols of honour and status that dominated the period. According to Sheffield Pickett, "Paul is rejecting the secular values which were esteemed by certain Corinthian believers of high social standing and which were the source of quarrelling, jealousy, anger, selfishness, slander, gossip, conceit, and disorder" (Pickett 1997: 208). However, in evoking these symbols the researcher is not claiming that they are entirely effective in bringing about social cohesion. Not

everyone is a Christian among the Shona and Ndebele people. Some belong to other religious traditions such as African Traditional Religion, and Islam. However, as argued earlier on that Christianity commands more than 90% following among these people, these symbols can go a long way in bringing about social cohesion.

Chapter Seven: Findings, Recommendations, Conclusion

7.0 Findings

First, both Ndebele and Shona people are immigrants in Zimbabwe and the only difference is that of a senior and junior immigrant. Therefore, the claim for ownership of Zimbabwe by any of the two is not justified. Both the Shona and Ndebele people invaded the country of Zimbabwe but at different timeline. The claim by the Shona people that they are the original owners of Zimbabwe is misguided. The Shona should see themselves as equally invaders of Zimbabwe like the Ndebele people. Second, though ethnic boundaries exist, they are not as fixed as they appear in public and political discourses. People cross boundaries mainly on grounds of intermarriages and professional occupations. This subject of ethnic boundaries is sometimes drawn out proportion. This thesis has demonstrated that boundaries are not as fixed as the other identity theories such as SIC and primordialism would want to perpetuate. Third, ethnicity is a reality in Zimbabwe and has its roots from the pre-colonial era. This research therefore, is not investigating a white elephant. So, to pretend that is there is no ethnicity Zimbabwe is a denial of reality and an undoing for progress. Fourth, the major contributors to ethnicity are prejudice, stereotypes, political discourses, and unequal distribution of the country's resources. Fifth, the major identity markers between the Shona and Ndebele people are language and provincial boundaries. Sixth, the colonial legacy of naming provinces and registration of people on ethnic lines fuelled ethnicity. It follows therefore that the provincial names ended up creating a mindset of segregation between people of ethnic backgrounds. So, the government of Zimbabwe by preserving these names they are embodying ethnicity. Seventh, the government of Mugabe tried to address the issue of ethnicity through 1980 Reconciliation, 1986 Unity Accord, and the deployment of civil servants to work the areas where they do not ethnically belong. However, these efforts have ignored the roots of ethnicity hence the continued presence of ethnicity in Zimbabwe. Eighth, the ministry of reconciliation is not an option for the church, but the key purpose of the church. Therefore, the church has not done enough to prioritize the ministry of reconciliation. In fact, at other times the church has fallen in the same trap as the government in promoting ethnicity. For example, in the Anglican Church three dioceses have ethnic names and these are Masvingo, Manicaland, and Matabeleland. So, some of the Anglicans in Zimbabwe then claim their allegiance to Manicaland, some to Matabeleland, some

to Mashonaland and some to Masvingo along ethnic lines. This is a similar situation with that of the Corinthian church when people were aligning themselves to certain names. Ninth, sustainable social cohesion in Zimbabwe is possible. What is lacking is the commitment to achieve it. Ethnicity will remain a reality if no neutral facilitators of reconciliation are given a chance. Tenth, a critical correlation of Pauline ethics on reconciliation can go a long way in achieving the desired results. The church who is the custodian of Christianity should take a leading role in promoting social cohesion through using sacred gift of Holy Scriptures.

7.1 Recommendations

Having made the above findings, the researcher makes the following recommendations; first, the government should change the identity card registration system based on areas of origin to neutral ones. Neutral in the sense that the numbering will not be based on areas of origins. This is the system that is used with passports and birth certificates. This will solve the problem of what Gatsheni has earlier labelled as 'ethnic citizenship'. Ndebele and Shona languages should be made compulsory from primary school to high school in the areas dominated by both the Shona and Ndebele people. Language has been discovered as the primary identity marker of the two ethnic tribes. The moment both the Shona and Ndebele people begin to speak both languages, tension lessen. The government, media, churches, and all stakeholders should refrain from using abusive language when referring to one another. Since, 85% of Zimbabweans are Christians, this thesis recommends the use of Pauline ethics regarding reconciliation in the Corinthian correspondence in fostering ethnic cohesion. Ethnic neutral symbols such as christ, cross of christ, baptism, new creation, and ambassador help in promoting social cohesion by contesting for new identity symbols while subduing ethnic ones.

7.2 Conclusion

The use of the CCT has demonstrated how the contexts, Paul in Corinth and Zimbabwe have similarities. The Corinthian context was multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and had competing identities. Such characteristics shed more light to the current Zimbabwean context which is also multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and with competing identities. CCT's analysis of the conflict in the Corinthian correspondence and Paul's response helped in the analysis of the Zimbabwean ethnic context and possible answers to it. CCT's findings of Christ, Baptism,

New Creation, Ambassador, and Cross of Christ as the symbols that were used by Paul in attempting to reconcile the Corinthians helped in the appropriation of them in the Zimbabwean ethnic context. What the researcher has done with CCT is to identify the symbols that Paul used in both texts and how he used them to foster reconciliation between the conflicting parties. These are symbols with universal qualities and then correlate them to the similar context in Zimbabwe. Paul used these symbols to destroy those identity boundaries that shut other people out. CCT then has taken those same symbols and used them in a similar manner to destroy the identity boundaries that are creating conflict between ndebele and shona people in Zimbabwe.

For example, people have built their identity walls on the spiritual gifts and credentials of core missionaries in the church. Now they were walls dividing four constituencies (Paul, Peter, Apollos, Jesus, and probably super apostles in II Cor) and this was not healthy for the church. Paul then brings the five symbols mentioned earlier to do two functions, that is to destroy the identity partitions that divide people and then stretched the walls to accommodate other people. CCT has then actualized Paul in the Zimbabwean context. With the CCT, the function of these five symbols is to destroy the identity partition (ethnicity) that separates people, while contesting for a broader and inclusive wall that subverts other ethnic partitions. CCT takes Paul's approach of destroying particularistic categories and promoting universalistic ones. The five symbols mentioned earlier have acquired universal status over a long period. The CCT facilitated dialogue between two independent situations, with the Zimbabwean situation being inspired by the Corinthian one. CCT managed this using proper exegetical tools for Christian Texts, and other identity theories for analyzing human relations. The future of Zimbabwe depends on how the ethnic tensions currently bedevilling the country will be resolved. Archbishop Desmond Tutu wants wrote a book titled; *There is No Future Without Forgiveness* and I agree with him that there is no Zimbabwe in the future without forgiveness. The way forward is to face the challenge head on and find ways to overcome it before it overwhelms the country. In the symbol 'Christ' it is never too late to reconcile these two ethnic groups.

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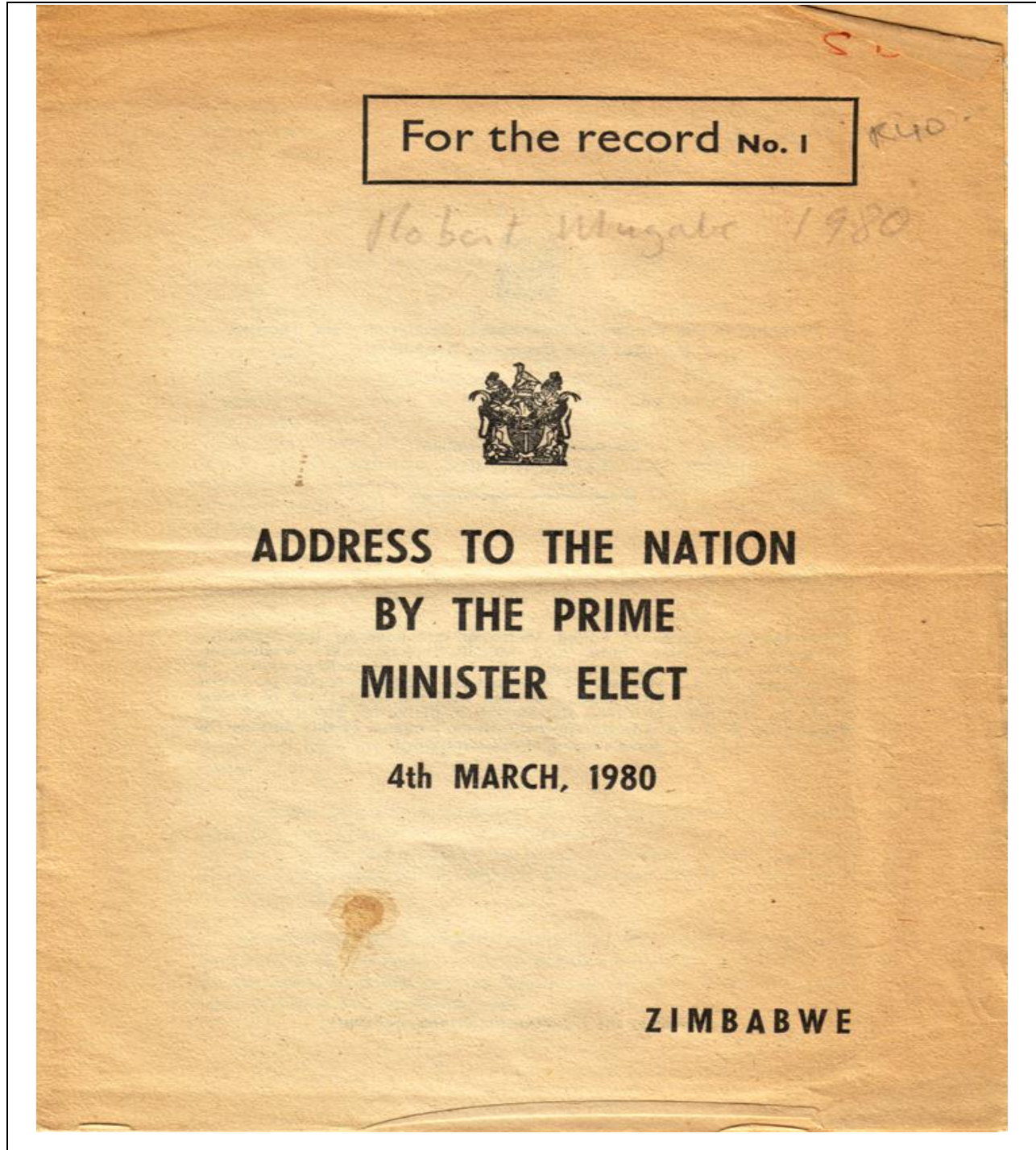
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Address by Prime Minister Elect after electoral victory in March 1980

For the record No. 1

Robert Mugabe 1980

ADDRESS TO THE NATION
BY THE PRIME
MINISTER ELECT

4th MARCH, 1980

ZIMBABWE

The following is the text of an address to the nation by the Prime Minister Elect, Mr. Robert Mugabe, on radio and television on 4th March, 1980.

Greetings in the name of freedom.

May I thank you most heartily for your votes and support.

I feel overwhelmed as at the same time I feel humbled.

I wish to address you tonight on the significance of the election victory you awarded my Party, ZANU (PF). In doing so, I would like to thank all those who, either by their direct vote as our supporters or by their efficient campaigning as our organisers, have contributed to this favourable result. In addition, may I also thank all officials who participated in the mechanical exercise of handling the elections, without whose organisational and administrative efforts the whole election process would have been a failure.

Soon, a new government will come into being and lead our country to independence. In constituting this government my main concern, and that of my party, is to create an instrument capable of achieving peace and stability as it strives to bring about progress.

Peace and stability can only be achieved if all of us, first as individuals and secondly as part of the whole Zimbabwean national community, feel a definite sense of individual security on the one hand and have an assurance of national peace and security on the other.

It must be realised, however, that a state of peace and security can only be achieved by our determination, all of us, to be bound by the explicit requirements of peace contained in the Lancaster House Agreement, which express the general desire of the people of Zimbabwe.

In this regard, I wish to assure you that there can never be any return to the state of armed conflict which existed before our commitment to peace and the democratic process of election under the Lancaster House Agreement.

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Surely this is now time to beat our swords into ploughshares so we can attend to the problems of developing our economy and our society.

My party recognises the fundamental principle that in constituting a government it is necessary to be guided by the national interest rather than by strictly party considerations. Accordingly, I am holding consultations with the leader of ZAPU (PF), Comrade Joshua Nkomo, so we can enter into a coalition. What I envisage, however, is a coalition which, in the interests of reconciliation, can include, by co-option, members of other communities whom the Constitution has denied the right of featuring as our candidates by virtue of their being given parliamentary representation. We should certainly work to achieve a national front.

Whatever government I succeed in creating will certainly adhere to the letter and spirit of our Constitution, since that government will itself have been the product of such Constitution.

Only a government that subjects itself to the rule of law has any moral right to demand of its citizens obedience to the rule of law.

Our Constitution equally circumscribes the powers of the government by declaring certain civil rights and freedoms as fundamental. We intend to uphold these fundamental rights and freedoms to the full.

Similarly, it is not our intention to interfere with pension rights and other accrued benefits of the civil servants. I may mention here that I have now held discussions with chiefs of Joint Operations Command, as well as with heads of Ministries, and all of them have given me their assurance of their preparedness to work under my government. I, in turn, have assured them of our concern about their position and the position of the civil servants.

We have assured them that it is not the intention of our government, when it comes into being, to deprive the civil servants of their pension rights and accrued benefits; nor do we want to drive anybody out of this country; nor do we intend to interfere unconstitutionally with the property rights of individuals.

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I urge you, whether you are black or white, to join me in a new pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity, and together, as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism, and work hard to reconstruct and rehabilitate our society as we reinvigorate our economic machinery.

The need for peace demands that our forces be integrated as soon as possible so we can emerge with a single national army. Accordingly, I shall authorise General Walls, working in conjunction with the ZANLA and ZPRA commanders, to preside over the integration process. We shall also happily continue to enjoy the assistance of the British military instructors.

Finally, I wish to assure all the people that my government will strive to bring about meaningful change to their lives. But everyone should exercise patience, for change cannot occur overnight. For now, let us be united in our endeavour to lead the country to independence. Let us constitute a oneness derived from our common objectives and total commitment to build a great Zimbabwe that will be the pride of all Africa.

Let us deepen our sense of belonging and engender a common interest that knows no race, colour or creed. Let us truly become Zimbabweans with a single loyalty.

Long live our freedom!

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Adam Welz**,** https://adamwelz.wordpress.com/2009/06/04/robert-mugabes-first-speech-in-the-parliament-of-zimbabwe-4-march-1980/

Appendix 2: Robert Mugabe's Independence Day address, April 1980

<u>Robert Mugabe's Independence Day address, April 1980</u>

Posted: April 16th, 2010 | By Ray Hartley

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's address to the Zimbabwean nation in April 1980

Long live our Freedom!...
The final countdown before the launching of the new State of Zimbabwe has now begun. Only a few hours from now, Zimbabwe will have become a free, independent and sovereign state, free to choose its own flight path and chart its own course to its chosen destiny...........
.........The march to our national independence has been a long, arduous and hazardous one. On this march, countless lives have been lost and many sacrifices made. Death and suffering have been the prize we have been called upon to pay for the final priceless reward of freedom and national independence. May I thank all of you who have had to suffer and sacrifice for the reward we are now getting...
Tomorrow we shall be celebrating the historic event, which our people have striven for nearly a century to achieve. Our people, young and old, men and women, black and white, living and dead, are, on this occasion, being brought together in a new form of national unity that makes them all Zimbabweans. Independence will bestow on us a new personality, a new sovereignty, a new future and perspective, and indeed a new history and a new past. Tomorrow we are being born again; born again not as individuals but collectively as a people, nay, as a viable nation of Zimbabweans. Tomorrow is thus our birthday, the birth of a great Zimbabwe, and the birth of its nation. Tomorrow we shall cease to be men and women of the past and become men and women of the future. It's tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny. As we become a new people we are called to be constructive, progressive and forever forward looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward-looking, retrogressive and destructive. Our new nation requires of every one of us to be a new man, with a new mind, a new heart and a new spirit. Our new mind must have a new vision and our new hearts a new love that spurns hate, and a new spirit that must unite and not divide...
This to me is the human essence that must form the core of our political change and national independence. Henceforth, you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship. If yesterday I fought as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequities that must never again find scope in our political and social system. It could never be a correct

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justification that because whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil whether practised by white against black or by black against white. Our majority rule could easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us. Democracy is never mob-rule. It is and should remain disciplined rule requiring compliance with the law and social rules. Our independence must thus not be construed as an instrument vesting individuals or groups with the right to harass and intimidate others into acting against their will…………………………………………

I, therefore, wish to appeal to all of you to respect each other and act in promotion of national unity rather than negation of that unity. On Independence Day, our integrated security forces will, in spite of their having only recently fought each other, be marching in step together to herald the new era of national unity and togetherness……………………………………….

Let this be an example of us all to follow. Indeed, let this enjoin the whole of our nation to march in perfect unison from year to year and decade to decade towards its destiny. We have abundant mineral, agricultural and human resources to exploit and develop for which we need perfect peace. Given such peace, our endeavours to transform our society and raise our standard of living are bound to succeed. Now that we have peace, we must go fully out to exploit them. We already have a sophisticated infrastructure. My Government will certainly do its best to meet the existing needs in these areas. But you have to assist us by being patient and peaceful.

I wish to thank Her Majesty the Queen for having sent His Royal Highness, Prince Charles, and the Prince of Wales to represent her and officiate at our Independence ceremony, where he will perform the symbolic act of severing our colonial ties with Britain. As you are aware, this historic ceremony will be witnessed by Heads of State and Government and representatives of nearly 100 countries plus representatives of several international, political and voluntary organisations………………………………………………………………

Forward with the Year of the People's Power! Long live our Freedom! Long live our Sovereignty! Long live our Independence! (Hartely, 2010)

Appendix 3: **The 1987 Agreement for Unity between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU**

PREAMBLE

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 the 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.

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

THE AGREEMENT

1. That Zanu PF and PF Zapu have irrevocably committed themselves to unite under one political Party;

2. That the unity of the two political Parties shall be achieved under the name Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) in short Zanu PF ;

3. That Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe shall be the First Secretary and President of Zanu PF;

4. That Zanu PF shall have two Second Secretaries and Vice Presidents who shall be appointed by the First Secretary and President of the Party;

5. That Zanu PF shall seek to establish a socialist society in Zimbabwe on the guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles;

6. That Zanu PF shall seek to establish a ONE-PARTY STATE in Zimbabwe;

7. That the leadership of Zanu PF shall abide by the Leadership Code;

8. That the existing structures of Zanu PF and PF Zapu shall be merged in accordance with the letter and spirit of this Agreement;

9. That both parties shall, in the interim, take immediate vigorous steps to eliminate and end the insecurity and violence prevalent in Matabeleland.

10. That Zanu PF and PF Zapu shall convene their respective Congresses to give effect to this Agreement within the shortest possible time;

11. That, in the interim, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe is vested with full powers to prepare for the implementation of this Agreement and to act in the name and authority of Zanu PF.

Signed……. (NewsDay, 7/08/2014).

Appendix 4: An Abridged version of the Global Political Agreement, 15 September 2008

Global Political Agreement (Government of National Unity), 15 September 2008.
AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION-PATRIOTIC
FRONT (ZANU-PF) AND THE TWO MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC)
FORMATIONS, ON RESOLVING THE CHALLENGES FACING ZIMBABWE
PREAMBLE
We, the Parties to this Agreement;

> CONCERNED about the recent challenges that we have faced as a country and the multiple threats to the well-being of our people and, therefore, determined to resolve these permanently.

> CONSIDERING our shared determination to uphold, defend and sustain Zimbabwe's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity, as a respected member of the international community, a nation where all citizens respect and, therefore, enjoy equal protection of the law and have equal opportunity to compete and prosper in all spheres of life.

> ACKNOWLEDGING the sacrifices made by thousands of Zimbabwe's gallant sons and daughters in the fight against colonialism and racial discrimination and determined to accept, cherish and recognise the significance of the Liberation Struggle as the foundation of our sovereign independence, freedoms and human rights.

> DEDICATING ourselves to putting an end to the polarisation, divisions, conflict and intolerance that has characterised Zimbabwean politics and society in recent times.

> COMMITTING ourselves to putting our people and our country first by arresting the fall in living standards and reversing the decline of our economy.

> RECOGNISING, accepting and acknowledging that the values of justice, fairness, openness, tolerance, equality, non-discrimination and respect of all persons without regard to race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, religion, political opinion, place of origin or birth are the bedrock of our democracy and good governance.

> DETERMINED to build a society free of violence, fear, intimidation, hatred, patronage, corruption and founded on justice, fairness, openness, transparency, dignity and equality.

> RECOGNISING and accepting that the Land Question has been at the core of the contestation in Zimbabwe and acknowledging the centrality of issues relating to the rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and governance.

> COMMITTED to act in a manner that demonstrates loyalty to Zimbabwe, patriotism and commitment to Zimbabwe's national purpose, core values, interests and aspirations.

> SUBMITTING ourselves to the mandate of the Extraordinary Summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) held in Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, on 29th March 2007 and endorsed in Lusaka on 12th April 2008 and in the AU Summit held in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt from 30th June to 1 July 2008.

> RECOGNISING the centrality and importance of African institutions in dealing with African problems, we agreed to seek solutions to our differences, challenges and problems through dialogue.

> ACKNOWLEDGING that pursuant to the Dar-es-Salaam SADC resolution, the Parties negotiated and agreed on a draft Constitution, initialled by the Parties on 30 September 2007, and further agreed and cosponsored the enactment of the Constitution of Zimbabwe

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Amendment Number 18 Act, amendments to the Electoral Act, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act, Public Order and Security Act, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act and Broadcasting Services Act.

APPRECIATING the historical obligation and need to reach a solution that will allow us to put Zimbabwe first and give the people a genuine chance of rebuilding and reconstructing their livelihoods.

PURSUANT to the common desire of working together, the Parties agreed to and executed a Memorandum of Understanding on 21 July 2008, attached hereto as Annexure "A".

NOW THEREFORE AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE II

DECLARATION OF COMMITMENT

2.   Declaration of Commitment

The Parties hereby declare and agree to work together to create a genuine, viable, permanent, sustainable and nationally acceptable solution to the Zimbabwe situation and in particular to implement the following agreement with the aims of resolving once and for all the current political and economic situations and charting a new political direction for the country.

ARTICLE VII

PROMOTION OF EQUALITY, NATIONAL HEALING, COHESION AND UNITY

7.   Equality, National Healing, Cohesion and Unity

7.1   The Parties hereby agree that the new Government:

a)   Will ensure equal treatment of all regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin and will work towards equal access to development for all;

b)   Will ensure equal and fair development of all regions of the country and in particular to correct historical imbalances in the development of regions;

c)   shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre-and post-independence political conflicts; and

d)   will strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation.

e)   Will formulate policies and put measures in place to attract the return and repatriation of all Zimbabweans in the Diaspora and in particular will work towards the return of all skilled personnel.

ARTICLE XVIII

SECURITY OF PERSONS AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

18.   Security of persons and prevention of violence

18.1   Noting the easy resort to violence by political parties, State actors, Non-State actors and others in order to resolve political differences and achieve political ends.

18.2   Gravely concerned by the displacement of scores of people after the election of March 29, 2008 as a result of politically motivated violence.

18.3   Recognising that violence dehumanises and engenders feelings of hatred and polarisation within the country.

18.4   Further recognising that violence undermines our collective independence as a people and our capacity to exercise our free will in making political choices.

18.5 The Parties hereby agree:

(a)   To promote the values and practices of tolerance, respect, non-violence and dialogue as means of resolving political differences;

(b)   To renounce and desist from the promotion and use of violence, under whatever name called, as a means of attaining political ends;

(c)   That the Government shall apply the laws of the country fully and impartially in bringing all perpetrators of politically motivated violence to book;

(d)   that all political parties, other organisations and their leaders shall commit themselves to do everything to stop and prevent all forms of political violence, including by non-State actors and shall consistently appeal to their members to desist from violence;

(e)   To take all measures necessary to ensure that the structures and institutions they control are not engaged in the perpetration of violence.

(f)   that all civil society organisations of whatever description whether affiliated to a political party or not shall not promote or advocate for or use violence or any other form of intimidation or coercion to canvass or mobilise for or oppose any political party or to achieve any political end;

(g)   To work together to ensure the security of all persons and property;

(h)   To work together to ensure the safety of any displaced persons, their safe return home and their enjoyment of the full protection of the law.

(i)   To refrain from using abusive language that may incite hostility, political intolerance and ethnic hatred or unfairly undermine each other.

(j)   that while having due regard to the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the principles of the rule of law, the prosecuting authorities will expedite the determination as to whether or not there is sufficient evidence to warrant the prosecution or keeping on remand of all persons accused of politically related offences arising out of or connected with the March and June 2008 elections.

DONE AT HARARE, ON THIS 15th DAY OF September 2008

ROBERT G MUGABE

PRESIDENT, ZANU-PF

MORGAN R TSVANGIRAI

PRESIDENT, MDC

ARTHUR G O MUTAMBARA

PRESIDENT, MDC

In WITNESS THEREOF the Facilitator:

THABO MBEKI

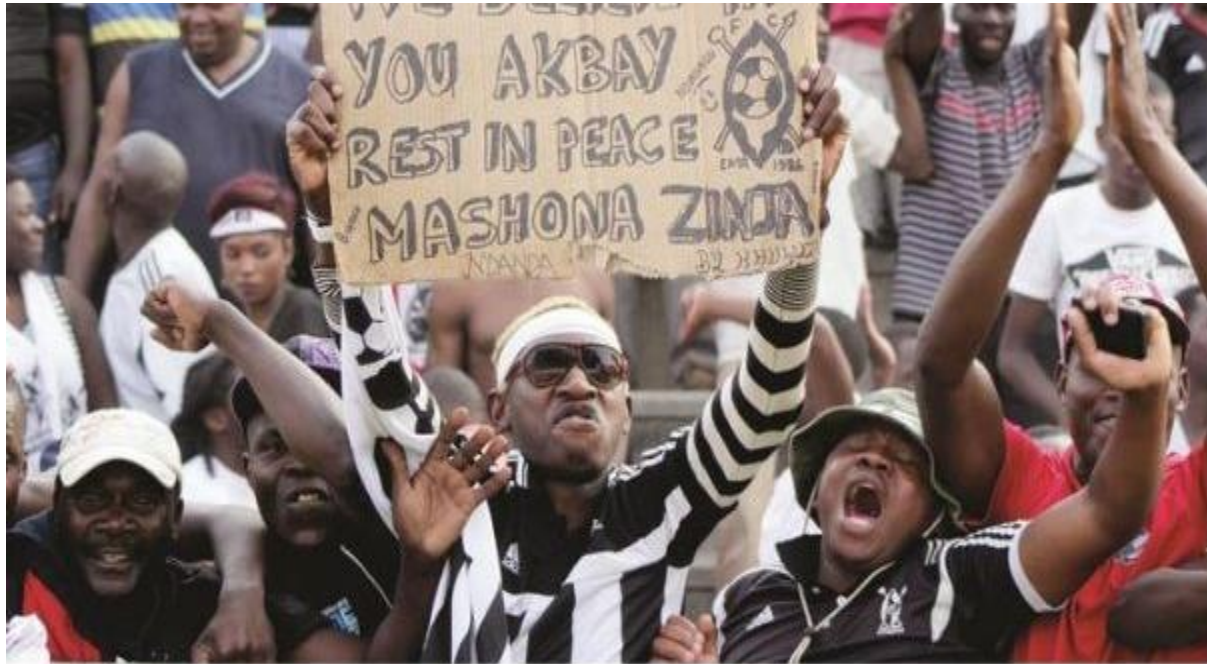SADC   FACILITATOR

http://www.lcil.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/LCIL/documents/transitions/Zimbabwe_Global_Political_Agreement.pdf

Appendix 5: A Highlanders soccer fan at Barbourfields Stadium, Bulawayo

The photo was extracted from the ZimNews.net (https://zimnews.net/bosso-fan-defends-mesaage

Appendix 6: The Lancaster House Agreement, December 1979

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px">

<p align="center">Lancaster House Agreement, 21 December 1979.</p>

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE HELD AT LANCASTER HOUSE, LONDON SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 1979

REPORT

1. Following the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government held in Lusaka from 1 to 7 August, Her Majesty's Government issued invitations to Bishop Muzorewa and the leaders of the Patriotic Front to participate in a Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House. The purpose of the Conference was to discuss and reach agreement on the terms of an Independence Constitution, and that elections should be supervised under British authority to enable Rhodesia to proceed to legal independence and the parties to settle their differences by political means.

2. The Conference opened on 10 September under the chairmanship of Lord Carrington, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. The Conference concluded on 15 December, after 47 plenary sessions. A list of the official delegates to the Conference is at Annex A. The text of Lord Carrington's opening address is at Annex B, together with statements made by Mr. Nkomo on behalf of his and Mr. Mugabe's delegation and by Bishop Muzorewa on behalf of his delegation.

3. In the course of its proceedings the Conference reached agreement on the following issues:

— Summary of the Independence Constitution (attached as Annex C to this report) *

—arrangements for the pre-independence period (Annex D)

—a cease-fire agreement signed by the parties (Annex E)

4. In concluding this agreement and signing this report the parties undertake:

(a) To accept the authority of the Governor;

(b) To abide by the Independence Constitution;

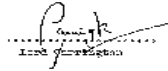(c) To comply with the pre-independence arrangements;

(d) To abide by the cease-fire agreement;

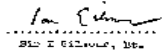(e) To campaign peacefully and without intimidation;

(f) To renounce the use of force for political ends;

(g) To accept the outcome of the elections and instruct any forces under their authority to do the same.
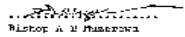
*The Constitution, which was enacted by Order in Council on 6 December 1979, gives full effect to this Summary.
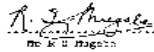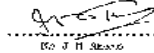
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ANNEX A
LIST OF DELEGATES
UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION
Lord Carrington (Chairman) Sir I Gilmour Bt Sir M Havers* Lord Harlech* Mr. R Luce Sir M Palliser Sir A Duff* Mr D M Day Mr R A C Byatt* Mr R W Renwick Mr P R N Fifoot Mr N M Fenn Mr G G H Walden Mr C D Powell Mr P J Barlow Mr R D Wilkinson Mr A M Layden Mr R M J Lyne Mr M J Richardson* Mr C R L de Chassiron* Mrs A J Phillips* Mr M C Wood
*Replaced by Sir J Graham, Mr S J Gomersall, Gen M Farndale, Mr R Jackling, Col A Gurdon, Col C Dunphie and Mr B Watkins for some sessions of the Conference.
MR MUGABE, MR NKOMO AND DELEGATION
Mr J M Nkomo Mr J M Chinamano Mr E Z Tekere Gen J M Tongogara Mr E R Kadungure Dr H Ushewokunze Mr D Mutumbuka Mr J Tungamirai Mr E Zvobgo Mr S Mubako* Mr W Kamba Mr J W Msika Mr T G Silundika* Mr A M Chambati Mr John Nkomo* Mr L Baron* Mr S K Sibanda* Mr E Mlambo* Mr C Ndlovu* Miss E Siziba
*Replaced by Mr W Musarurwa, Mr D Dabengwa, Mr A Ndlovu, Mr R Austin, Mr R Mpoko, Mr R Manyika and Mr L Mafela for some sessions of the Conference.
BISHOP MUZOREWA AND DELEGATION
Bishop A T Muzorewa Dr S C Mundawarara Mr E L Bulle Mr F Zindoga Mr D C Mukome* Mr G B Nyandoro* Rev N Sithole Mr L Nyemba* Chief K Ndiweni Mr Z M Bafanah* Mr I D Smith Mr D C Smith Mr R Cronje Mr C Andersen Dr J Kamusikiri Mr G Pincus* Mr L G Smith Air Vice Marshal H Hawkins Mr D Zamchiya Mr S V Mutambanengwe Mr M A Adam Mr P Claypole
*Replaced by Mr A R McMillan, Mr D V M Bradley, Gen P Walls, Mr K Flower and Mr P K Allum for some sessions of the Conference.
SECRETARIAT

Mr J M Willson Mr R S Dewar Mr R P Ralph Mr N E Sheinwald
 An Extract of The Lancaster House 1979 Agreement) (J M Wilson, 1979)

http://www.rhodesia.nl/lanc1.html