

**An historical analysis of the Presbyterian Church of
Southern Africa's socio-political and economical influence
on Zimbabwe (1890-1990)**

By

David Mushayavanhu

***Student Number* u10507664**

**Submitted in Fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Philosophiae Doctor - (Ph.D.)**

in

Church History and Polity

At the

University of Pretoria

South Africa

2017

Promoter: Professor Jerry Pillay

Dedication

This study is dedicated to my late mother, Makandipei Mushayavanhu (Nee Vandirai), who struggled with my studies alone after the passing on of my father. She was a principled woman who inspired me to cultivate a critical and analytical approach to life.

It is also dedicated to my spiritual father the late Rev. Donovan Brian Enslin, minister of Masvingo Congregation of the former Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa of Zimbabwe, who mentored me and encouraged me to value academic pursuit as an excellent and effective mission strategy.

Acknowledgments

A research study of this magnitude could not be successful without a supportive community with which one identifies. It was through the zeal for an improved life for the UPCSA community in Zimbabwe that enabled the researcher to realize the importance of studying the church's contribution to socio-political and economic life in the country. The topic on, “An historical analysis of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa’s socio-political and economic effects on Zimbabwe (1890-1990)”, could not have made sense to the researcher had he not been exposed to the church's social gospel.

My profound thanks go to my wife Pauline, whose questions, insights and criticisms shaped the line of thought for this study. I am also grateful for the support and encouragement which I received from my children Tatenda, Victor, and Tanyaradzwa Valery as well as my nephew, Innocent during the research process.

I am indebted to my promoter, Professor Jerry Pillay, whose feedback challenged my analysis of issues at stake and re-directed my reflection and presentation in this study. He coaxed me to progress with the research when I felt discouraged. He was both a mentor and model for me.

I thank the archivists at the National Archives of Zimbabwe who assisted me to find the sources I needed for this study. I thank the interviewees whose responses provided the researcher with his contemporary understanding of PSCSA’s socio-political and economic activities during Zimbabwe's pre and post-colonial period.

Finally, I want to thank God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit for providing inspiration, understanding, strength and protection during the study

Declaration

I **David Mushayavanhu** do hereby declare that this dissertation on, “An historical analysis of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa’s socio-political and economical influence on Zimbabwe (1890 - 1990)”, is my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Signed:

David Mushayavanhu

Date: *8th April 2017*

Abstract

The PCSA has its roots in the Reformed Tradition, is embedded in the reformed culture, and, as such, it imparted reformed flavour into the community of service in Zimbabwe. This thesis offers a historical analysis and reformed theological perspective and inquiry relating to the issues of socio-politics and economics and the role of the PCSA in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1990. It raised pertinent questions on the relevance, implications of, and work of, the PCSA; as to whether the celebration of the 100 year of mission work in Zimbabwe was of any relevance *to* the country.

The study traced, the bearing of socio-political and economic influence as they were imparted through reformed perspectives, and interpreted the teachings and practices from a third world perspective. Four themes were used namely:

1. Exploring the Zimbabwean society before Presbyterianism;
2. Examining the missionary Presbyterianism's impact on politics during the period under review;
3. Delineating the Presbyterian teachings on politics and economics and,
4. Evaluating its influence in reconstructing the Zimbabwean society.

A theoretical statement was also tested: “PCSA outlines a basis for constructive involvement in socio-politics and economics of Zimbabwe.”

Successes and failures to develop the socio-political and economic context of Zimbabwe by PCSA were unearthed, presented and analysed. The study exposed the historical significance of the PCSA's influence in the developments on Zimbabwean history and presents an historical account of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, a virgin ground to trade on. The methodology employed mainly included oral history and the southern approach to Church history with the intention to engage African perspectives. The study utilized archival and oral data as primary sources, the interpretation form of contextual theology, and the holistic framework for analyzing history.

The study revealed that the PCSA had a special relationship with the colonial government from the Pioneer Column era, which determined how the PCSA responded and made demands on government until the country's independence in 1980. It also uncovered how the PCSA moved from acceptance and collaboration to acceptance and selective rejection of colonial policies, and how the PCSA contributed to the politics and the role played by the mission-educated group in Zimbabwe. The study showed how reformed theology enabled the PCSA to respond to the socio-political and economic situation in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1990. Extracting from this the study further indicated what role the PCSA can play today as a reformed church in Zimbabwe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Declaration.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
Abbreviations.....	xi
The Map of Zimbabwe.....	xiv

Chapter 1: General Introduction

1.0 Staging.....	1
1.1 Motivation.....	5
1.2 Study Goal.....	7
1.3 Literature Review.....	8
1.4 The Gap.....	14
1.5 Limitations.....	15
1.6 Study Design.....	17
1.6.1 Missionary Approach.....	18
1.6.2 Nationalistic Approach.....	19
1.6.3 Southern Approach.....	20
1.6.4 Interpretation.....	21
1.7 Delimitation.....	22

1.8 Conclusion.....	23
Chapter 2: Further exploration of Methodology	
2.0 Introduction.....	25
2.1 Nature of history.....	26
2.1.1 Importance of history.....	36
2.1.2 Purpose of history.....	37
2.1.2.1 Writing history.....	39
2.1.2.2 Studying Church history.....	42
2.2 Methods of Data Collection.....	52
2.2.1 Interviews.....	55
2.2.2 Qualitative data collection method.....	56
2.3 Sources of history.....	57
2.3.1 Oral Sources in the study of Church History.....	59
2.3.2 Oral traditions.....	61
2.3.3 The diva and the understudy.....	63
2.4 Significance of Oral Tradition.....	67
2.5 Value of Oral History in the study of the PCSA in Zimbabwe	68
2.5.1 Use of interviews to research the PCSA’s ethnic history.....	69
2.5.2 Interpreting oral history	69
2.6 Combined Approach.....	75
2.7 Conclusion.....	76

Chapter 3: A Reformed understanding of socio-political and economical teachings within the PCSA in Zimbabwe

3.0	Introduction.....	78
3.1	The PCSA and the State of Zimbabwean	79
3.1.1	Church State Relations.....	82
3.1.2	Evaluation.....	88
3.2	Effects of Reformed Theology on the Socio-Politics and Economic context of Zimbabwe.....	90
3.2.1	The PCSA members in leadership positions in Zimbabwean history.....	91
3.3	Conclusion.....	101

Chapter 4: Presbyterianism and Socio-Politics and Economics of Zimbabwe

4.0	Introduction.....	102
4.1	A historical survey of the period.....	102
4.2	Politics of the land.....	107
4.3	Race relations.....	122
4.4	War.....	155
4.5	Federation.....	161
4.6	Conclusion.....	170

Chapter 5: Specific involvement and influence of the PCSA on the Socio–Political and Economic context of Zimbabwe

5.0	Introduction.....	172
5.1	The Sacred land.....	173

5.1.1 The PCSA and the Politics of land in Zimbabwe.....	175
5.1.2 The PCSA responses to the land question during the colonial period.....	179
5.1.3 The Fast Track Resettlement Program.....	183
5.1.4 The survival Church land, an analysis.....	186
5.1.5 The impact of the PCSA over Nationalist leaders.....	188
5.1.6 PCSA’s public endorsement of the Land Reform Program.....	191
5.1.7 The PCSA’s success in the provision of social services.....	192
5.2 Gukurahundi 1983 – 1987.....	193
5.3 The Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP).....	196
5.4 Declines in Health Services.....	199
5.5 Declines in Educational Services.....	200
5.6 The Democratic Republic of Congo War.....	205
5.7 Conclusion.....	206
Chapter 6: Analysis and Concluding Summary	
6.0 Introduction.....	208
6.1 Main Findings.....	208
6.2 Reform tradition and socio-politics and economics of Zimbabwe.....	209
6.2.1 The PCSA and Colonists strange associates.....	210
6.3 The PCSA’s Socio-Political and Economic influence in Zimbabwe.....	215

6.3.1 Zimbabwean Land Politics	215
6.3.2 Race Relationships.....	221
6.3.3 The PCSA and Federation.....	225
6.3.4 The PCSA and war in Zimbabwe.....	227
6.4 Summary.....	231
6.5 Future prospects of the PCSA’s socio-political and economic teachings and practicesin Zimbabwe.....	232
6.6 Research gaps and recommendations for future researches.....	238
6.7 Conclusion.....	238
BIBLIOGRAPHY	240
Internet and electronic data.....	264
(U)PCSA Archives.....	264
National Archives of Zimbabwe.....	267
Oral Interviews.....	269
Appendix 1: Interview questions	272

Acronyms

- AICs:** African Initiated Churches
- ATR:** African Traditional Religion
- BSAC:** British South African Company
- BSAP:** British South African Police
- CCJP:** Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace
- CDE:** Church Development Evangelist
- Clerk:** An elected member of each court or council to take and keep the minutes of that body.
- Elder:** An ordained lay-person of the church to rule the church; taking part in various courts / councils of the church.
- ESAP:** Economic Structural Adjustment Program
- Full member:** One who is admitted to the church through baptism into the name of the Father, Son and of the Holy Spirit or through public profession of faith or by producing a satisfactory proof of membership in any branch of the one catholic Church (Manual of Faith and Order 2012: Chap 1.3-5).
- General Assembly:** This is the supreme council / court of the Presbyterian Church; which exercises oversight generally over all inferior courts / councils of the church.
- Minister:** An ordained clergy of the denomination in the word and sacrament.

- Moderator:** An elected member of the council to chair meetings. To regulate the flow of the meetings; making sure that in the proceedings of the meeting decisions are taken procedurally.
- NAZ:** National Archives of Zimbabwe
- NDB:** Native Development Board
- NLHA:** National Land Husbandry Act of 1951
- NPTC:** Native Production and Trade Commission.
- PCSA:** The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa
- PoMas:** Presbytery of Mashonaland
- PoMat:** Presbytery of Matabeleland
- PoR:** Presbytery of Rhodesia
- PoZ:** Presbytery of Zimbabwe
- Presbytery:** A decision-making board held regularly by the congregations within its bounds. It is a council just above the Session with responsibility of spiritual oversight of the congregations within its bounds.
- Session:** A most inferior court of the church, to exercise spiritual affairs of the congregation, comprised of the minister (teaching elder) and ruling elders elected by the congregation and inducted to serve that congregation.

Synod: A council above the Presbytery and just below the General Assembly; were two or more Presbyteries come together. It supervises the work of the Presbyteries within its bounds.

WMFC Western Mission Founded Churches

ZANU PF Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZAPU PF Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic Front

ZCC Zimbabwe Council of Churches

Figure 1: *The Map of Zimbabwe which shows the PCSA's sphere of influence.*



The map modified from the Zimbabwe Information Centre-maps¹.

<http://www.worldatlas.com> (accessed on 04/04/2016)

¹ I am aware that the country was formally called Rhodesia and it was changed to Zimbabwe in 1980 when the country attained its independence and was called Zimbabwe Rhodesia an unrecognized state that existed from 1 June 1979 to 12 December 1979. In fact, with the coming of colonialism, the country was named Southern Rhodesia. The name changed to Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953. With the break of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland the country then became known as Rhodesia until 1979. It was briefly named Zimbabwe Rhodesia in 1979 and finally Zimbabwe in April 1980. However, this thesis will use the name Zimbabwe in general reference to the country but will also use colonial names to keep up with the context. In addition, colonial names will be retained in respect of quotations from archives and interviews. This means colonial names and post-colonial names will be used interchangeably.

Chapter 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Staging

The central drive for historical studies in Zimbabwe must deal with how to investigate and read the country's socio-political and economic havoc and resolve inspiring historical claims to the country: “Missionaries played an essential role in the socio-political and economic situation in Zimbabwe and in many ways; they were the futurists of Zimbabwe's modern history. They left written accounts and other suggestions of their views and actions which continue to attract the attention of historians who live intensely through archival research. Their (historians') views on the meaning of missionary visions are divided” (Robert, 2008:1).

The reference above has influenced greatly the shaping of the problem investigated in this study. The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa came to Rhodesia in the 1890s and contributed significantly to the public life and modern history of the country now known as Zimbabwe. This study focuses on exploring the influence of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa - Zimbabwe's (hereinafter referred to as PCSA) teaching on economics and politics in the country up to 1990. The study reflects on how the PCSA addressed economic and socio-political challenges encountered by the nation. In other words, the problem can be put as follows: what role did the PCSA play in Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political field and how was that contribution related to Presbyterianism?

This study focuses on getting a closer look and clearer picture of the localisation process of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe. Also, important in this study is to show the contribution of the local Presbyterians to the church's development and

their impact on the socio-economics and politics of Zimbabwe; The PCSA's efforts in the developments of Zimbabwean society. Local members populated the scene throughout the history of the church, though they were overshadowed by expatriate missionaries.

Carino (2005:105) states that religion is not just a private matter, but also a public faith. Religion infiltrates the public arena through definitions and proposals for a good life and the good of society (Bourdillon 1990:65). Presbyterianism impacted on the legitimacy of political and social organisations, the nature and form of governance, the character and structure of the economy and state in Zimbabwe either absolutely or undesirably. As such the intent of this study is to investigate and assess the PCSA's impetus in Zimbabwean society and politics during the period from 1890 till 1990. This thesis surveys the intricate facets of the politics of the nation, the war in Zimbabwe, with special attention to the contribution of the PCSA in the country.

In the early 1890s the PCSA was among other sister denominations in calling for the invasion of both Mashonaland and Matabeleland. This resulted in the Ndebele war of resistance in 1893 and the Ndebele and Shona uprising of 1896 (Sundkler & Steed 2000:448). Presbyterians warranted the demolition of the Ndebele Kingdom. I propose to question and evaluate the rapport between PCSA and the settler government at that time.

During the ten-year period of 1920 and 1930, the Zimbabwean situation was characterised by the land question which resulted in the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act. Ian Douglas Smith a Presbyterian was in the realm of the Rhodesian government (Andrews 1935:118-122). The same period saw determined efforts by local natives of Zimbabwe to readdress the situation. These early political efforts prepared the way for subsequent large-scale political organisations led by John Nkomo and others among them Dr. Chikerema, a PCSA lay preacher (Sundkler & Steed 2000:801).

In the 1960s the Presbyterian Church, like any other missionary church, faced a new challenge in respect of the armed struggle. The World Council of Churches (WCC) introduced the program to Combat Racism which had to be implemented in Zimbabwe as well as other countries (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). Armed struggle was used as one of the strategies to combat racism (Chikomo, pers. comm., 16 June 2014). This split the PCSA in Zimbabwe which was a full member of the WCC. Much of the white members of the church opposed the use of arms to correct racial imbalances, but, however they supported the use of arms to defend minority rule in Zimbabwe. The political tension within the PCSA continued until the country's independence in 1980.

In 1980, the first cabinet of the independent Zimbabwe saw the inclusion of some PCSA members, for example, Timothy Stamps. After the independence of Zimbabwe, there emerged political disturbances that deteriorated into civil war. The PCSA, through its denominational board (General Assembly), appealed for tolerance and supported unity talks between major political parties, namely the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) (Assembly papers 1984:311). A unity agreement was signed in 1987.

The Zimbabwe Council of Churches, born out of the desire to fraternize (Encourage) the Christian arena, to speak with one voice in a war-struck and politically torn country, was formed with the Rev. Herbert P. Chikomo as its first General Secretary. He spearheaded the parleys between the church and the government. The late Rev. Max Tichaona Chigwida became a shadow minister of education in the Bishop Abel Tendekai Muzorewa's United Democratic People's Party (UDPP) in 1978-80.

The late Rev. Donovan Brain Enslin, who later died in cold blood, advocated for political change in Zimbabwe in the 1990s. The Church offices at Lomagundi were destroyed

by an inferno following an attack by the Zanu P.F militias (Presbytery of Zimbabwe, 2001).

All the above is a clear indication of the PCSA's involvement in the national politics of Zimbabwe; it is this that has prompted this study as shall be shown in chapters four and five below.

The Presbyterian system of government is intended not only to enable life together in the church but also to facilitate the church's mission in the world. Each governing body has a unique role to play in determining the overall mission of the church as well as in developing its own form of service in the place in which it finds itself. Because of the corporate nature of the church, what is done by one is done in the name of all. This has led, to be sure, to significant differences of opinion in the church, but it has also enabled the PCSA in Zimbabwe to act and speak as one in a world hungry for peace and tranquility (Gray & Tucker 1986: vi). This line of thinking enabled this study to assess the PCSA's mission work; by those called to serve in Zimbabwean soil; and its involvement in response to Zimbabwean socio-politics and economics.

All these issues pointed out that historical research can be instituted to find out what inspired Presbyterians in Zimbabwe to have such an enthusiasm in the political developments of the country. This apparent interest in Zimbabwean politics triggered my academic quest for a critical historical study of the subject under investigation, for the following reasons:

Firstly, PCSA's involvement in politics needed to be analysed and evaluated in relation to Calvinistic teaching on politics and activities to find out how much they contextualised scriptures and Church tradition. To analyse and interpret the PCSA's economic and political teaching and its bearing in Zimbabwe. It is worthwhile to consider Calvin's economic and political teachings and their impression on Geneva citizens and to interpret his teachings from

a third world point of view using the translation models. The results will be used in assessing the influence of the PCSA on Zimbabwean socio-economics and politics.

Secondly to find out how much is drawn from PCSA's teaching on socio-economics and politics. The scope of this study is limited to evaluating the contextualization of scriptures and church tradition in Zimbabwe in the light of John Calvin's socio-political and economic encounters.

More-so, the soil in which the PCSA - Zimbabwe was trading, was a fertile ground. In 1870, the Ndebele king Lobengula was quoted by Elizabeth Isichei in her book *The Religious Traditions of Africa*, saying that:

"...he believed in God, he believed God had made all things as He wanted them. He had made all people, and He had made every country and tribe just as He wished them to remain. He believed God made the AmaNdebele as He wished them to be, and it was wrong for everyone to seek to alter them", (Quoted in Bhebe, N. (1979:53), *Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe 1859 – 1923*: London: Longman).

Christianity (PCSA) did not find resistance from the natives of Zimbabwe when it brought new faith into the country. The declaration of faith by the king will be pursued in a way to analyse how the PCSA evangelised the nation, related to socio-economic and political issues in Zimbabwe.

1.1 Motivation

Zimbabwe is presently in a phase of political pandemonium, yet there is an affluence or preponderance of information about the church's involvement in the political showground of the country. Information of proceedings is like an untapped seam of ore which will only benefit people when it is mined and processed. The chapters in this study aim at discussing,

analysing and interpreting the socio-political and economic influence of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe and how it influenced the developments of Zimbabwe over the years under review. The following are important factors which motivated the researcher to undertake this study:

The involvement of the Presbytery of Zimbabwe (hereinafter referred to as PoZ) in the socio-political areas gave me an impression that inquiry is possible. The researcher embarked on this study to find out how much of the contribution is interrelated to local members of the Presbyterian Church in Zimbabwe; an important area to probe into which a few, if any, have sought to explore and document. The history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe is still at the oral stage where little if any documentation is available. A gap this research sought to fill was to portray accurately the PCSA's influence on religio-politics and socio-economics in Zimbabwe. As a member of the PoZ, the researcher sought to evaluate the denomination's influence in the domestic developments of the country. Lessons were drawn and proposals made for consideration by the denomination in its future work in this field.

The study is an attempt to contribute to the history of Zimbabwe by offering an accurate history of the Presbyterian Church in the development of Zimbabwe and to seriously evaluate its work in this regard. The church in a developing country needs her history to be able to shape its future. This research will act as a mirror to Zimbabwe, to take an introspection of herself, in order for her to know where and who can help her in times of need.

There are four important factors which motivated the researcher to undertake this study which were:

1.1.1 The involvement of PCSA in politics gave me an impression that an inquiry is possible. The study delved into research to find out how much of the involvement was related to the Presbyterian ethos.

1.1.2 As one of the clergy in the PCSA in Zimbabwe, the researcher wanted to assess the denomination's contribution to nation building. Lessons were drawn and proposals made for consideration by the denomination in its future work in this field.

1.1.3 Presbyterian economics and politics in Zimbabwe is an important subject that has not yet been given attention by historians.

1.1.4 I want to contribute to understanding the history of Zimbabwe through offering a history of the PCSA and its role in Zimbabwe.

1.2 Study goal

The goal of this study is to portray accurately the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe's influence on the socio-politics and economics of Zimbabwe. The researcher, because he writes as an insider, has been mindful of the need to give conscious attention to the substance and method of his work in a bid to achieve the goal of this study.

The objective of this study is to explore and present clearly the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa's effects on socio-politics and economics in its growth in Zimbabwe. The specific objective of this study is to explore and present vividly the historical PCSA and how it interacted within the political arena of Zimbabwe thereby impacting on the socio-economic situations therein. In broad terms, the objectives include the following:

- To delineate the Reformed understanding of socio-politics and economic teachings within the PCSA.

- To investigate the Presbyterianism missionary impact on the socio-politics and economics between 1890 and 1990 in Zimbabwe.
- To evaluate the influence of Presbyterianism in reconstructing Zimbabwean society.

1.3 Literature review

This section reviews a few writers who have examined missionary activities in Zimbabwe. More literature will be reviewed in advancing the argument in the thesis. The writers who are reviewed presently are Biecler (1959) Zvobgo (1973), Daneel (1987), Mukonyora (1993), Thorpe (1951), and Bourdillon (1977).

Of the authors mentioned above, and many others who have written on missionary activities in Zimbabwe, none has yet produced an account of their ambiguous role in relation to the work and life of the PCSA and its influence in the politics and economics of Zimbabwe. This study attempts to address this gap in the literature as it pertains to the PCSA.

The literature review serves to:

1. identify other scholars on the same subject of mission work on Zimbabwean soil.
2. add value to the research learning showing how other scholars studied the church mission in Zimbabwe although they were researching other denominations.
3. help bring out the various perspectives on the subject.
4. show the various research findings already available, and
5. The review will, among other things, identify some of the limitations in previous formulations on the question of Presbyterianism in Zimbabwe.

There is a significant inquiry which has been undertaken in the history of the church in Zimbabwe in general and practically none on the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in

particular. In this study, the researcher did not review every book written on the history of Christianity in Zimbabwe, only those I deemed to be significant for this study were considered. The literature review helped in narrowing the scope of this study. It also enabled the researcher to point out clearly the gap the researcher desired to address through this research. It demonstrated why the projected inquiry plan was adopted, by bringing out various viewpoints on the subject at hand, as displayed by other several supporting study results previously in the literature.

Gray J. S. and Tucker J. C. (1986) in their book “Presbyterian Polity for Church Officers” believe the law made a life together just, humane, and possible. To be sure, the law was abused: not only was it violated, but also the keeping of the law was used to ensure individuals of their worthiness or righteousness. Teaching on politics, John Calvin asserts that human beings were made righteous (or set in right relationship with God) by God's grace alone and not by any human works, even keeping God's law (De Gruchy, J. W, 2009). John Calvin's teaching on the law is positive indicating that people must uphold God's law (Gray J. S. and Tucker J. C, 1986 and George T, 1990). Down all generations, the Calvinists lived by his influence that grace is a gift from God which provides an orderly means for people to live together under God. This view will be pursued in this study in showing how and why the PCSA teaching worked for peace in Zimbabwe whether it was or not due influence from its founding father John Calvin. In other words, it seeks to show that the order of law provided the environment in which people could grow together in grace.

Margaret M. Donaldson's article in the book; A history of Christianity in South Africa Vol. 1 ed. by J. W. Hofmeyr and Gerald J. Pillay (1994: 67-68), gives a brief narration of the beginning of Presbyterianism in Southern Africa; its teachings, values and norms. Her study will help show the connections between the PCSA and Zimbabwe, thereby shedding light on the church that is researched in this study and help in the analysis and deductions on whether

PCSA influenced the developments of Zimbabwe in the process of its mission work. There are others sources that should be mentioned, e.g. John De Gruchy, (2009) and other short books written on Presbyterianism in Southern Africa.

By the same token, Andre Biecler (1959) examines the economic and social thoughts of the 16th-century reformer John Calvin as a turning point in western history that transformed European understanding of wealth and poverty, work and productivity, civil government and the responsibility of citizens. This view will be pursued in this study by viewing how and why the PCSA teaching worked in a Zimbabwean context and whether it was or not due to the influence of its founding father, John Calvin.

Furthermore, during the spread of Christianity in Zimbabwe, African-ness was ignored by the expatriates. Bourdillon M.F.C, in his book, *Christianity South of Zambezi Volume 2*, argues, "They (missionaries) refused to understand Africans and characterised their religion as non-existent or at least devilish" (Bourdillon 1977:25). In the propagation of Christianity, African culture was not considered argues J. Comby in *How to Read Church History Volume 2*. "It seems as if the concern for civilisation was meant to force Africans to accept the western culture, norms, values and lifestyle" (Comby 1984:172). These points helped me to understand the way the Gospel was disseminated in Zimbabwe and why and how Presbyterians were involved in the Christian development of Zimbabwe.

Whilst, per my knowledge, no author has comprehensively written on the Presbyterian mission work in Zimbabwe, many authors have dealt with the various aspects of the subject regarding other denominations in Zimbabwe. This researcher has drawn from a good number of them, for example, C. Thorpe (1951), in his book, *Limpopo to the Zambezi, Sixty Years of Methodism in Southern Rhodesia*. Thorpe concentrated on the missionaries' efforts and contributions from an expatriate missionary's perspective. This is the point where I part ways

with Thorpe. This thesis contends that PCSA influenced the history of the Zimbabwe, whereas, Thorpe's thrust was to unveil how missionaries succeeded in planting Christianity in Zimbabwe. This study focuses on presenting a balanced account on the participation of the PCSA in Zimbabwe's history from an African missionary perspective.

This study engages the perspectives and involvement of the local members in the development of the church and the socio-political and economic arena. It is an attempt to write the PCSA's history and involvement with the people as the information is taped from unspoken words to include expression through body language.

Isichei Elizabeth (2004:6), in her book; "The religious traditions of Africa: A history" argues that:

In 1870, in Zimbabwe, the Ndebele king Lobengula said; he believed God made all things as he wanted them. He had made all people, and he had made every country and tribe just as He wished them to remain. He believed God made the AmaNdebele as He wished them to be, and it was wrong for anyone to seek to alter them. This being the same period when PCSA crossed the Limpopo River into Zimbabwe helps to support the argument that the PCSA found the soil of Zimbabwe fertile for mission work.

In an article "*The influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Southern Rhodesia, 1891-1923*", C. J. M. Zvobgo (1973) presented how the Methodist Church work spread throughout the country. Zvobgo outlined a detailed account of the Methodist church's mission endeavours in Zimbabwe. His major goal was to draw up a sound historical narration of the church's developments. However, Zvobgo did not proceed to unveil the influence or involvement of the local people; which is the focus of this thesis.

Graham Duncan (1997) in a dissertation outlined the UPCSA work in South Africa. He pointed out that missionaries brought a totally contextualised European worldview to South Africa, as part of wider ideologically based perspective on life and all its implications - social, political and economic. He did not go further to examine whether this was true within the Zimbabwean context. This thesis pays attention to the PCSA in Zimbabwe.

In an article "*The weaknesses of Western Missionary founded Church as a cause of the proliferation of AICs in Zimbabwe*", Mushayavanhu D (2014), raised two important points of study. First, he discussed the ways in which Western Missionaries used to evangelize Zimbabwe. He did not go further to examine whether there was an involvement of local people in the process as well as its impact on the development of Christianity in Zimbabwe. Weaknesses of the UPCSA were his foci, whereas this thesis goes further to focus on the effect of the PCSA in developing Zimbabwe in the period of 1890 to 1990.

Secondly, Mushayavanhu raised the question of the mission field. The mission field was Zimbabwean soil. He also exposed the weaknesses of the PCSA as the causes of the mushrooming of the African Initiated Churches in Zimbabwean soil. This thesis adds on to his previous work which was mainly concerned with the church's evangelism weaknesses, this thesis focuses on the church's involvement of local people in the socio-economic and political development in Zimbabwe. The intent is to find out how far the local people from the PCSA influenced the development of Christianity in Zimbabwe.

I would pursue Hood's (1990) idea in his book *Must God remain Greek*, in trying to bring home the areas where the PCSA interpreted or contextualized the gospel, putting it into the language of the native blacks in Zimbabwe, which is an important cultural aspect, and was not considered in the propagation of Christianity in Africa - Zimbabwe, and as such the PCSA remained urban oriented, with little or no influence in rural Zimbabwe up until 1990.

In the book, *Quest for Belonging*, I. Daneel (1987:78) stresses that the Christian religion is for Sundays only and has little bearing on Monday events. This suggests that a daily religious world-view of Africans was ignored and unfortunately continues to a certain extent, to be taken for granted currently. It is in this mind that this thesis intended to address the issue of participation of the local people in the mission work in Zimbabwe, which Daneel did not address.

John Mbiti is in favour of falling back on to the truths found in African religions and using them for spreading the Gospel. He is of the view that God prepared the Africans in their religions; the Gospel is a fulfilment, a completion of their beliefs. The gospel is "that final completing element that crowns their traditional religion, and brings its flickering light to full brilliance" (in Bediako 1988:10). For Mbiti, the Gospel is a continuation of African religions. It can be grasped by the Africans without the illumination of whites. The difference between Mbiti's objective and that of this thesis is that the thesis aimed at investigating how much the local people were involved in the propagation of Presbyterianism in Zimbabwe. What needs to be done in complementing Mbiti's work is to expose how much of the various positions advocated was based on Presbyterian ethos, values and norms.

It is against this background that I. Mukonyora in his book *Rewriting the Bible* declares: "Release the word of God from its timeless neutrality and ideological perception" (Mukonyora 1993:147). This argument suggests that the word of God is bound and there is the need for it to be preached in its multifaceted magnitudes. G.G. Hunter when writing the book, "Church for the unchurched", stated that we are called to unwrap the Gospel's meaning from the cultural form in which we received it and rewrap it in the cultural forms of the targeted population (Hunter 1996:65). These assert that local culture is the locus that the Gospel should be preached in, making it speak to, with and through the recipient. This idea I will develop showing the effects of culture in preaching the gospel.

C.F. Steward emphasises in African American Church Growth, "The importance of prophetic ministry - the process of calling the people of God into an awareness of individuals and communities in spiritual, social and personal transformation" (Steward 1994:22). This clearly reflects the strength of the Church to influence the cause of events by offering prophetic ministry in a practical context; in this case, the impression made by PCSA in its life and work in Zimbabwe.

Steven Paas when writing, *The Faith Moves South: A History of the Church in Africa* 2006 says that in the 19th century the circumstances for spreading the Gospel in Africa (Presbyterians North of Limpopo river); were much more favourable than before. Sundkler emphasised also that "there was preparedness on the part of marginal people of leading men and women to break with the guardians of the ancient cult". These two authors assert that during the 19th century mission work began in Zimbabwe. That helps this research zoom in from that period onwards in assessing the life and work of PCSA and its socio-political and economic influence in Zimbabwe. Their works help this research in answering questions related to the nature of the environment in which the PCSA evangelised, to engage reform teaching on socio-political and economics in Zimbabwe. An analysis of this would enable the researcher to assess the impression made by the PCSA in Zimbabwe.

1.4 The gap

As noted above, there exist very few published works about the PCSA in Zimbabwe and of these; the socio-political and economic impact of the PCSA has not been investigated. It is patent that there has been an enlightened study on Calvinism in general in Southern Africa. Calvinism's involvement in economics and politics in Zimbabwe is virgin ground to trade on. Worse still there exist a gap in terms of how; PCSA teachings impacted the developments of Zimbabwean Christianity. It became apparent that there is need to find out

the influence of Presbyterianism in the developments of Zimbabwe. The thesis intended to make a historical analysis on the influence of the PCSA on socio-politics and economics in Zimbabwe.

The history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe is yet to be recorded. This study resorted to tapping the data from the surviving witnesses to gather the most needed information about the life and work of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. Oral traditions were used as the research methodology to bridge the mentioned gap in this thesis. Questions were raised to guide the interviews and the next chapter will explore the methodology.

For this study, oral traditional consultations were valued as sources of new awareness about the past PCSA and as new informative viewpoints on it. Interviews enriched this work, providing information about everyday life and insights into the involvement of the local people – Zimbabweans, what is sometimes termed "ordinary people" that are simply unavailable from more traditional sources. Oral history opened new views of the past, with the voices of the interviewees helping shape this research.

1.5 Limitations

The rationale of oral tradition as sources of history has been interrogated due to several weaknesses intrinsic in them. Nevertheless, the limitations can be overcome. The most profound limitation pointed out by T. Spear is that they don't extend more than four or five hundred years into the past (Spear, 1981: xix). To counteract such limitation, this researcher supplemented the historical information supplied by oral traditions with information from ancillary disciplines such as national archives, PCSA archives and secondary documents.

Functionalists understand oral traditions as historical charters which helped to legalise current political, economic and social traditions. Oral traditions can be manipulated and twisted to reflect changing circumstances and support current socio-political interests (Spear, 1981:47); as such their value, as historical sources become very questionable. To deal with that problem, this study analysed oral traditions in relation to small groups such as families, congregations or regions to cross check the reliability of official traditions (Ki-Zerbo, 1989:56). Different traditions can be used to check one another. Recourse to outside sources is another way employed to check the authenticity of oral traditions in this thesis.

The rationality of oral traditions as a source of history is critically interrogated based on its lack of chronology (Clarence-Smith, 1977). The researcher was conscious of the need to observe chronology; its essentiality to history as it makes it possible to distinguish what proceeds from what follows. Without defined chronology, there can be no history (Renfrew, 1991). Therefore, an event that happened in the very recent past (like yesterday, or last week) isn't generally going to be considered "historical" not enough time has elapsed for it to be analysed for context, cause, and effect.

Interpretation of oral traditions is one of the limitations in the study of the PCSA. Oral traditions often have specific socio-political functions; their transmission can be influenced by their functional importance (Vansina, 1967:58). The researcher is writing as an insider and as such this limitation was easily overcome. Interpretation of oral traditions was extensively analysed by use of the knowledge of the PCSA's culture. The researcher also took note of who was giving oral tradition in terms of age and position.

In some cases, I detected some unease among some members of the missionary culture under study. Some were not calm to see me go through their documents or friendly for oral interviews. It was as if they felt I was invading their privacy. As such this means that there

was some information that I was not able to access which may have data that could have led to conclusions that are different from the ones made now on the information that I accessed.

1.6 Study design

This study is descriptive and exploration of how much of PCSA's socio- economic and political teachings and practices were evident in the Zimbabwean developments during the period under study. The methods appropriate for the study are historical and theological. The theological aspect of the analysis came from the use of the translation model of contextual theology when interpreting the PCSA's teaching in its mission work in Zimbabwean. A critical analysis and reinterpretation of texts were carried out using evidence from oral sources.

Primary data for this study was collected through an examination of official church records and documents, such as council minutes, addresses, statements, magazines, correspondences, songs, and newspapers. Oral sources were also used to collect primary data. The researcher gathered oral data through interviewing people who served and or were members of the PCSA during the time. The ministers were selected because they served during the period and are now retired or they served during the post-colonial era. A collection of secondary data was done through published and unpublished sources.

Published data comprised of books, and articles. Unpublished data included keynote addresses at Assembly and Presbytery and Committee reports. Secondary sources were used to illuminate analysis and interpretation. Data was discussed and analysed within the framework of the historiography of African Christianity. There are several approaches employed by historians in writing about the history of Christianity in Africa (Ki-Zerbo, 1981), to include missionary, nationalistic and southern (*see notes on sections below*) sociological, philosophical, theological, and comparative and historical approaches, amongst

others. History of Christianity in Africa infers that Christianity is foreign to Africa. It invades and causes disturbances for better or for worse in the religious life of Africans. This does not offer a balanced analysis of African Christianity.

This study approached the subject from a history of African Christianity perspective. History of African Christianity was presented from an African point of view. It offers a point of view whereby Christianity is an important component of African development processes. African Christianity can be compared with Christianity from other continents. African Christianity is not an extension of Western Christianity. The problem this research ran into immediately was the fact that African Christianity, as we have it today, is a product of Western missionary activities, besides the Coptic Church and Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The translatability of the Christian message solves this problem. When Africans accepted, the Christian message a new form of Christianity was born. African Christians, in turn, displayed African Christianity.

1.6.1 Missionary approach²

Missionary efforts made Christianity accepted and developed into the new form of worship. Missionary method as such produces a history of missions written by missionaries and their apprentices. The approach is coloured by missionary dogma based on missionary sources such as personal collections and archival materials. Emphasis is on the activities of missionaries and the planting of Christianity. The missionary is portrayed as the planter of Christianity in Africa.

² The concept of Missionary approach was adopted for this study as the researcher is studying the mission work of denomination as advocated by Pursion, A. T. (1925), in the book "The market for missions" Missionary Sermons: A selection from the histories Delivered on behalf of the Baptist Missionary Society.

This approach ignores the people-centered faith in God and downplays the roots of African Christianity, such as in Egypt and Ethiopia (Altschal, et. al 1998). It tells of how particular missionaries or groups of missionaries crossed the cultural barriers with the Gospel. African agents are not highlighted in this approach. In Zimbabwe, we do not hear about Timothy Kanyowa (the first black minister of the PCSA in Zimbabwe), Johanne Masowe, Johanne Marange (Apostolic sect founders in Zimbabwe) and others who made significant contributions to the development of Christianity. In the analysis and discussion of data, the researcher sought to correct the imbalance caused by this approach on the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe.

1.6.2 Nationalistic approach³

This approach is a direct reaction to the missionary approach. It came into being in the 1950's when African nationalism reached its peak. This approach spotlighted missionary failures and paid little or no attention to negative contributions made by local people. The missionary is portrayed as a predecessor of colonialism. As the colonizer was supposed to go, so was the missionary. The approach blamed missionaries for promoting a sense of self-rejection among Africans (Banana 1991:124). Per the nationalistic approach, missionaries were guilty of destroying African culture and heritage.

This approach fails to see that some African agents were pathfinders for colonialism (Porter, A. 1999). For instances, whites who were in the Pioneer Column were led by

³ Some of the scholars in the sociological school of thought who have written extensively and carried out various researches on Christianity in Africa are D.B. Barrett; J.D.Y. Peel; R.J. Hackett; J.K. Olupona and J.W. Fernandez. Scholars who have adopted the historical methodology in their research work on African Christianity included the following, among others: J.F. Ade Ajayi, John Baur, E.A. Ayandel, Akin Omoyajowo, C.O. Oshun, Elizabeth Isichei, David Olayiwola, Adrian Hastings, C. Steed, Ishola Olomola, Modupe Oduyoye, Mathews Ojo, among others.

Africans who knew both the geographical and religious terrain of Zimbabwean people. Another example is that Bernard Mozaki, one of the first African Christian martyrs in Zimbabwe, was killed by Mangwende for selling out, which is, providing important and secret information to the whites. It is worthy to note who led the whites to Mazowe where Nehanda was hiding, certainly, some Africans did.

The nationalistic approach to history over-glorifies African agents. As human beings, Africans had their shortcomings. The aim of this study is to expose and discuss merits and demerits of both missionaries and nationalists in the history of African Christianity in Zimbabwe with a special reference to the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

1.6.3 Southern approach⁴

The southern approach is history written from the Third World perspective, a history written from below or underside, referred to as history from the perspective of the poor in Latin America. In Africa, the emphasis is on African initiatives in the development of Christianity. It is crucial to note that this approach is written history from the perspective of the continent, the point of view of its people and their contributions to world history (Verstraelen-Gilhuis 1992:77); an approach this study adhered to. In this approach the role and importance of African agents was paramount. Christianity spread like a field fire because of the work of African agents of the Gospel. In this approach, Western and African missionaries were equal co-workers (Manala, M J. 2005). In Zimbabwe, African agents included ministers, evangelists, lay-preachers and ruling elders, catechists, teachers and associations.

⁴ The approach was coined by Bradley S. Epps, Luis Fernandez Cifuentes (2005) and became instrumental in studying the history of PCSA in Zimbabwe, from below. In this case, data was collected from the generality of the populace in Zimbabwe mainly the PCSA members without observing their leadership positions.

There are three important things the study intended to achieve through this approach.

1. Firstly, it was to reveal the effects of the life and work of the PCSA, in the development of economics and politics in Zimbabwean society.
2. Secondly, to show the historical significance and influence of PCSA's teachings that impacted the economics and politics of Zimbabwe.
3. Lastly, it was to present a socio-historical account of PCSA in Zimbabwe.

To achieve these, the researcher asked afresh the question: what was the authentic Christian message for the Zimbabwean context? Vital to note is the move to interpret the historical data from a theological perspective as we are dealing with a history of a Church's practices or teachings.

1.6.4 Interpretation

Methods of interpretation⁵ of scripture in a Zimbabwean context are at the core of the discussion (Mukonyora, 1993). The values, norms and ethos of Presbyterianism on economics and politics addressed a context. They could not be simply transferred to the Zimbabwean context without critical analysis. It is naive and unfair to the teachers of John Calvin's theology to expect his teachings to respond directly to the Zimbabwean context. The Zimbabwean situation demands interpretation of same scripture differently. The context raises peculiar questions and such responses to the questions should come from contextual theological reflections.

⁵ Rapoport, A. (1977). *Human Aspects of Urban Form, towards a main -Environment approach to urban form and design*. New York: Pergamo Press and Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion

This approach seeks to prove that church history is a history of 'theological contextualization' (Pillay, 1994 and Thorpe, 1951). Theological reflections produce the authoritative interpretation of scripture for contexts. In most cases, theological reflections in Africa are presented as merely a propagation of authoritative interpretations for the Western contexts. This is a bone of contention in this approach: a history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe is not a mere propagation of Western orthodoxies. It is a history of theological contextualization in the country, Zimbabwe.

In the second part of the study the researcher aimed at reinterpreting events more vividly so that the PCSA in Zimbabwe was enabled to critique her faithfulness in witness. The researcher examined critically the accounts of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwean history to produce a clearer picture. It also widened the scope of comprehending and appreciating the positive and negative contributions of the natives (Africans) to the missions of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. Chapter three of this study delves into the interpretation of John Calvin's socio-political teachings at great length.

1.7 Delimitation of study

There are several other issues this thesis did not delve into, such as the relationship between religion and politics in pre-Christian Zimbabwe. Bourdillon (1990:65-113) adequately dealt with the political functions of religion in Zimbabwe. This study referred to Bourdillon's work to establish whether there was continuity with the advent of Christianity.

Another area is the PCSA and education in Zimbabwe. An exploration of this area needs urgent attention. This study refers and captures any work in appreciation of the role played by mission schools in raising the mission education elite in Zimbabwe. This is a vital area to pursue nevertheless it does not have a direct bearing on this study. More-so, the scope

of this study and time limitation does not allow the researcher to include it in the proposed study. This is left for future study.

The PCSA in Zimbabwe's involvement in human rights campaigns is another area that this study could have focused on. This prime area requires a separate study. The research referred to it only when it was necessary for the proposed study, especially on issues relating to justice and the abuse of humanity. The scope is too wide to embark upon in this study since our focus is on the involvement of the PCSA in bringing about change in Zimbabwe through its efforts in the life and work and politics of the country.

1.8 Conclusion

The focus of chapter one was to provide an overall outline to the discussion that is presented in this proposal. It defined the area that was investigated, set the context of the discussion and provided the objectives of the study. In addition, the chapter provided a review of relevant literature as well as summarized the chapters of this thesis.

The thrust of chapter two was to outline the methodologies used for this study. It showed how history is understood; its sources and the importance of using oral sources in the study of history. The discussion on the significance and value of oral history in the study of the PCSA in Zimbabwe and the discussion of data were presented in this chapter. Thus, it was argued that, in circumstances where no written data could be presented, a historian could depend on oral sources to preserve the events of the past.

In chapter three of this study is an analysis of reformed understanding of socio-politics and economic teachings with the PCSA in Zimbabwe. An investigation on how the teachings of “Calvin” on politics and economics within the context of Zimbabwean society were viewed for the period before and during Presbyterianism up till 1990. A survey of this era

revealed the missionary attitudes and works in the black communities and as such the influence of the PCSA in the development of Zimbabwe.

Chapter four discusses the characterization of missionary Presbyterians in Zimbabwe's activities, including the politics of the land, racial relations and war. It explored the historical developments of reformed teachings on politics and economics. In short, it is a historical survey of the PCSA's attitude towards the native religions and its effects on political and economic dimensions. This then necessitated an analysis of the PCSA's influence on the socio-political and economic history of Zimbabwe as well as assessing how it affected the Zimbabwean law-making process.

Chapter five examines the mission work of the PCSA between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers. Its focus was to scrutinise PCSA's socio - economic influence on Zimbabwe e.g. how Church land survived the land invasion. It assessed the Zimbabwean society as it was influenced by reform theology in its developments politically and economically. Also at great length, most politicians of all times were past students of the Presbyterian mission schools, who had been influenced by reformed theology.

The final chapter six is an assessment of whether Zimbabwean politics and economics were affected by the presence of The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa. It is an analysis of the influences caused by the PCSA in the Zimbabwean socio-economics and politics, during its mission work in Zimbabwe.

A brief discussion of two major approaches used in the history of Christianity in Africa is necessary. This is followed by an elaborate discussion of the southern approach, which was chosen for this study.

Chapter 2

FURTHER EXPLORATION OF METHODOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on a survey of the method of writing and studying the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe (the then Rhodesia) from 1890 to 1990, using oral and written sources. The written sources include archival and published materials. From both written and oral sources, this study will use a qualitative analysis of the data. This is because qualitative approaches are overall more open and broader in the way they tackle problems than quantitative approaches⁶ (Johann and Marais, 1990:163). It is important to note that the result of a study depends on the methodology used. Emphasis is on what history is, its nature and significance and how humanity can peep into the future of a community without written documents through the use of oral sources.

The written sources include archival and published materials. In both written and oral sources, the researcher used qualitative analysis of the data. This was because qualitative approaches² are overall more open and broader in the way they tackle problems than quantitative approaches (Johann and Marais, 1990:163). An assessment of the merits and demerits of each of the chosen methodologies was carried out. It is noteworthy that the

⁶ I used a qualitative research paradigm as a way of enabling participants to share their narratives. The interviews were conducted in different settings that suited each participant's needs. The interviews took place between January 2013 and January 2016. I used open ended guiding questions to direct the discussions; as set in Appendix 1.

outcome of a study depends on the methodology used. The history of Christianity in Africa has been largely written from the Euro-centric perspective using such methodologies and terminologies, hence the observation by J. Ki-Zerbo:

The history of Africa needs rewriting, for up till now it has been often masked, faked, distorted, damaged, by "force of circumstance" - that is through ignorance or self-interest. Crushed by centuries of oppression, Africa has seen generations of travelers, slave traders, explorers, missionaries, governors, and scholars of all kinds give out its image as one of nothing but poverty, barbarism, irresponsibility, and chaos (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:2).

Although the observation by Ki-Zerbo above is valuable for this study, there is today, in the field of the study of religion, a general appreciation of all the categories of Western writers mentioned by Ki-Zerbo. It is vital to acknowledge that every author is a product of his or her age and everyone will be biased but I must be quick and point out that these authors did a wonderful job by preserving the material and my task in this study will be to sift the material in a bid to analyze the socio-political and economic impact of reformed theology through the involvement of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, during the period under study.

What is history? This is a very old question which historians in every generation have grappled with. No conclusive definition can be given because of the developments in human capacity of understanding and the progressive nature of history. So, every generation must find out what history is in the light of previous generations' discussions and of the contemporary experiences and insights. History is "the bridge between the past and the present." It is the experience of mankind" (Webster 1981:14) This can be understood through studying written documents on the present and past events as they unfold (Vansina, 2009); and the historical treasures of such happenings orally kept. In this context, in out carrying this

research, three things were essential as we attempt to answer the questions relating to the history of PCSA in Zimbabwe concerning its nature, significance and meaning of history.

2.1 Nature of history

It is fundamental to mention that the nature of history used in this study is linear⁷ (Tillich, 1936). Three views are important in this view. First, God guides history in a straight line. Through providence, God permits the historical process to take place per God's grace and foreknowledge. Second, God intervenes in history (Prete, 2005). This accounts for the divine redemptive acts experienced in human history. Third, God will bring history to its consummation (Tillich, 1936). This view of the nature of history demands a historical understanding comprising the whole of humanity and referring to the ways people relate to the world, which is the ecumenical outlook. This will be elaborated below under the section on analysing historical data.

It was also necessary at this stage to explore briefly the paradigm shift in historical understanding which has provided parameters in investigating how the PCSA influenced the sociopolitical and economic situation of the Zimbabwean land. This paradigm shift is from the old history to the new history (Burke, 1991:3-6). The main facets of old history are as follows:

First, history is essentially concerned with politics (Tosh, 1984:73). Politics in this sense relates to the state and refers to national and international levels. Local communities are excluded. The PCSA is included only as an institution in this perspective. Other types of history, such as the history of art, are viewed as peripheral to the interests of historians.

⁷ Most of the Western society has a linear view of history, a view founded on the Judeo-Christian perspective. Prior to this Christian description of history, a classical thought supported a cyclical view in which historical events were repeated over and over by consecutive societies. Thus, the directional view of history given by Christians created a unique conception of the movement of humanity through time.

Second, history is naturally a narrative of events (Tosh, 1984). The purpose of history is to interpret past events and to present the interpretations to understand what happened and why in the context of past environmental forces. However, the researcher employed such techniques to locate or place PCSA in its context, analyzing, evaluating, interpreting and critiquing its past evidence and creating a narrative of its existence in Zimbabwe (cf. Munslow, 1997; Tosh, 2000).

Third, old history paradigm offers history from above. History is presented as dealing with deeds of noble people, generals and occasionally churchmen. The rest of humanity is allocated marginal roles in the drama of history (Black and MacRaild, 2007:113; Thompson, 1966).

Fourth, historical sources are mainly documents. The historian's task is a struggle with documents (Bloch 1954:86). Historians base their work on official records, proceeding from government departments and other corporate bodies, which are preserved in archives and libraries.

Fifth, any historical explanation of events is based on individuals rather than collective movements (Jasper, 1997:341-344). Sixth, history is objective (Blake, 1955). The historian's task is to present facts for the reader or to tell the story as it happened. Historical facts are indisputable and universal. Seventh, history is the territory of a professional, whose task is to produce an objective account of the event(s) (Little, 2016).

The old history paradigm marginalises the majority. In most cases, it justifies the inhumane treatment of the majority in the name of great deeds of great people. It also presents certain nations or races as superior to others, which leads to exploitation and segregation. The old paradigm is not suitable for this study because of the consequences clarified previously in the text.

The new historical paradigm has the following features:

First, history is concerned with virtually every human activity. The underlying assumption is that reality is culturally or socially constructed (Sharpe 1991:22-42). So, the reality is relative as opposed to old history which views reality as unchanging. It was as such necessary to embrace such philosophy in order to comprehend the historical PCSA and its impact in Zimbabwe.

Second, studying the PCSA gave the drive to be concerned with an inquiry of structures in relation to events (Rotenstreich, 2012), and in this case the church and state of the PCSA and pre-and post-independent Zimbabwe. Third, the new history paradigm presents history from below (Morton, 2008; Sharpe 1991:25-42); Cone, 2013. This contemplates on views of ordinary people and the experience of social change. History from below is an attempt to present a balanced account of historical evidence through striking some balance between great books or ideas and history of collective memories (Tuck 1991:218-232). This is very important when writing African history where the voices of marginalised people like children, women and the inferior blacks within the PCSA, are to be heard as well (Gundani 2004:75).

Fourth, the new history paradigm exposes the limitations of using documents as exclusive historical sources. Official records express the official point of view only. Other forms of sources present the other side of the story. The new historical paradigm employs other kinds of sources like oral (Prins 1991:120-156, Verstraelen-Gilhuis 1992:84) or visual (Gaskell 1991:87-117). Oral sources include oral history and oral tradition (Becken 1993:84-85, Vansina 1985:27-3). This was very instrumental in this study, especially where the researcher studied a community without written documents but relied on individual memories to construct the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe.

Fifth, history is concerned with collective movements and individual's actions, with developments as well as proceedings, and hence the history of the PCSA, how its individuals and or collective actions affected Zimbabwean society. Chapters three and four will deal with such issues in detail.

Sixth, historians cannot escape biases (Mbiti, 2004). Each piece of history has prejudices associated with creed, colour, class or gender. Whenever a historian looks at the past, he or she does so from a point of view. The historian cannot reflect on reality or the past directly but through conventions, outlines and stereotypes (Mukonyora, 1993; Mbiti, 2004). With this, we cannot talk of the voice of the PCSA history but voices of history (Burke 1991:289) that of the researcher includes. This study employed phenomenological tools, to allow the occurrences to speak and avoided pejorative and premature inferences⁸.

Seventh, new historians are professionals who are anxious about the whole range of human activity (Burke 1991:283). This encouraged this researcher to be inter-disciplinary, learning from and collaborating with counterparts from other social sciences, in order to record, and analytically critique so as to draw up recommendations.

The new history epitome is the framework in which the history of the PCSA was studied. This study attempts to present a balanced account of the PCSA in Zimbabwe's past. As the researcher delved into the PCSA in Zimbabwe's past he was mindful of the fact that Christianity is a historical faith (Bosch 2004:181), and that the church has testified to the event of Jesus, as its mission, in different historical contexts.

⁸ Phenomenological **research** a causative, descriptive research approach developed from phenomenological philosophy; its aim is to describe an experience as it is actually lived by the person.

In discussing the way, the Christian Church has, through the ages, interpreted and carried out its mission, this study followed the historic-theological subdivisions suggested by Hans Küng (1984:25; 1987:157). Küng submits that the entire history of Christianity can be subdivided into six major "paradigms." These are the paradigm of primitive Christianity, the Hellenistic paradigm of the patristic period, Medieval Roman Catholic paradigm, Protestant or Reformation paradigm, Modern Enlightenment paradigm and the emerging ecumenical paradigm (Bosch, 1991).

Each of the six models revealed a rare kind of the Christian faith, offered a distinctive understanding of the mission of the PCSA and an understanding of its history. The researcher did not discuss each paradigm as Bosch (2004: 190-507) presented an elaborate discussion and analysis of the paradigms. Bosch was concerned with developments in the history of theology of mission yet his work provides comprehensive and enlightening insights into Christian historiography. This study falls under the emerging ecumenical paradigm which takes into consideration rediscovering the role of the PCSA working together with and among other denominations in the historical process, the liberating effect of the PCSA message and its mission for justice and social responsibility in Zimbabwe.

The study is mindful of the observance of "...a growing understanding between institutional or social church history and the history of doctrine," (Bradley & Muller 1995:1; Daneel, 1987, Isichei, 2004), which resulted from an employment of new methods of research, as social sciences, in church history. The understanding influenced the study of the socio-economic and political developments of Zimbabwe as they were affected by the PCSA till 1990.

In the emerging ecumenical paradigm, more insights have come from the consideration of issues of justice and equality. This demand high levels of sensitivity to a multiplicity of

ideas, opinions and approaches as we discuss, analyse and interpret historicity of the PCSA's life and work as it brought political and economic variance into the Zimbabwean society.

Another important issue to consider as we seek to understand the nature of church history is the relationship between methods of study and the subject matter. Bradley and Muller (1995:2) put the issue as follows:

The methods, as well as the subject matters of church history, will, of course, continue to be contested, because conceptualizations of the past bear so directly upon matters of our self-understanding, including our individual, social, and ecclesiastical identity. But the older arguments concerning the proper subjects and methods of the church historian, and the relationship of social sciences to the study of history, seem increasingly irrelevant. The important question for the church historian today is the suitability of the technique to the specific task of research, which in turn is determined by the overall goal of the project and the nature of evidence at hand.

The extract above shows that this researcher needed to be aware that while the method and subject matter have been of great concern for this study, there has arisen a shift towards the suitable technique for the proper task. The aims of this thesis determined the techniques to be employed. As a historical researcher, I was aware of the need to adopt a method that would deliver intended results and a different approach that taps from more than one method of data discussion and scrutiny. The researcher's aim in this study, as far as understanding history is concerned, was to re-evaluate traditional divisions and methods in PCSA history in Zimbabwe by testing their compatibility with their contemporary needs and outlook.

There is a fundamental assumption which forms the basis of this study, the PCSA (as an institutional church) and its doctrine demand a more holistic approach that takes full cognizance of the refined social, political and philosophical influences on theology. But

recognising the social location of ideas does not, in my view, necessitate the social determination of knowledge, nor does it lead inevitably to operational belief (Bradley & Muller 1995:3).

In short, the aim of this study was objectivity, even though the task was difficult and demanded a broad and comprehensive perspective in the analysis of historical data. Bradley & Muller (1995:48) pointed out that there are "...several barriers to total objectivity, or might be called impartiality". In other words, "...the historian's narrative cannot possibly be a faithful and total reproduction of a section of the past" (Renier 1950:249). What stood in the way of total objectivity in this study was the selective nature of traces of the past PCSA and this researcher's reconstruction. Hence history continues to be re-written based on newly discovered or previously neglected sources, and in this case, the use of oral sources was paramount.

Per Renier (1950:250) postulates that, "...no story can be told till a selection has been made among available events, and ...the selection of facts is a judgment passed upon their importance." The selection process and individual judgment involved in the historian's task result in partiality. However, objectivity is still crucial in historical research. As Bradley and Muller (1995:49) point out, "Objectivity arises out of a willingness to let the materials of history speak in their own terms while the historian, at the same time, exercises a combination of critical judgment and careful self-restraint."

From this perspective, objectivity arises as a standard of the relationship between data and its interpretation (Carr 1961:158). So, objectivity does not emanate from an absence of opinions, presuppositions, existential involvement nor the historian's capability to set aside such biases, but "... results from an honest and methodologically coherent recognition and use of the resident bias as a basis for pending and analysing the differences between one's own

situation and the situation of a given document or concept" (Bradley & Muller 1995:49).

Hence objectivity can be attained and the historian must strive to be as objective as possible.

This study understood and presented history in its linear nature (Erickson, 1990). It has a beginning (creation) and an end (consummation of history). What happens in between the beginning and end is a progression of events and activities towards the end of history. The progression of events and activities take place within God's providence.

Historians have come up with various natures of history (Bebbington, 1990 and Erickson, 1990), however, in this study, only two are discussed to come up with an understanding that is most appealing. The two are cyclical and linear.

Firstly; the cyclical nature or shape of history; in this, the historical process is viewed as a revolving wheel (Bebbington 1990:18). The underlying philosophical principle is that history repeats itself. There is nothing new in the historical process. History is understood as a revolving wheel because of certain patterns exposed in life. One of the patterns is the human life cycle. The researcher is quite aware that there is no evidence that human life is cyclical. Those who hold the view believe that history really does seem to repeat itself. Nevertheless, it cannot be used to describe the shape of the PCSA's history as such.

Another pattern used to advocate history as cyclical is the rotation of seasons. In agrarian communities following seasonal changes closely is very important for human existence. Some historians have used the rotation of seasons to try and describe the shape of history. While it is true that seasons rotate, this is not evident in the historical process (Bebbington, 1990:11-13). To say history repeats itself; rules out any possibilities of new developments. How can we know that we are revolving on a cycle like that of seasons? The argument does not hold water (Ross, 1988).

The rise and fall of dynasties are another patterns used to depict history as a revolving wheel (Erickson, 1990). In the ancient world, there seemed to be a pattern in the rise and fall of nations and civilisations. There seems to be some truth in the rise and fall of nations and civilisations in the ancient world but there are no consistent similarities in the rise and fall of dynasties, nations and civilisations. We cannot come up with a regular pattern either can it be used to depict history as cyclical (Bebbington, 1990). As such, this method or pattern cannot be followed in this research work.

The whole earth is believed to be passing through a circle which extends over a vast period. The end of the circle will be the beginning of a new one.

Also, there is nothing better to expect in the future (Bebbington, 1990:15-16). This argument is founded on shaky grounds; for there are a lot of better things we experience presently than in the past. For instance, in moral standards, the present is far better than the past which was full of revenge and butchery, which is minimal in this age.

Secondly, the linear shape is pictured in history as progressing in the form of a straight line (Bebbington, 1990:18). It has a beginning and an end, unlike in the cyclical view where there is neither a beginning nor an end. In this shape, the beginning may not be known but human experience shows that they are moving from one point to another. This is seen in the developments that have and are still taking place, technologically, materially, intellectually, morally and spiritually (Bebbington, 1990 and Erickson, 1990). There is a forward movement historically. In this sense history is an account of the improvements of human conditions from the beginning to the present as we move on towards the end of the historical process.

From this explanation of history, there are high expectations of a better future in Zimbabwe. History is not the master of people but people make history. It inspires to note that the people of Zimbabwe work towards a better future and to prepare for that future, with

each person encouraged contributing positively to the forward movement to attain a better historical future as shown in the next chapters. It is in this vein that oral tradition was instrumental in this research. The study investigated the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe from below (Cone, 2013).

2.1.1 Importance of history

This section analyses the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, paying attention to the importance of researching the influence of the denomination to the Zimbabwean socio-politics and economics. This is solely through God's providence, that is, God permits things to happen as they do in his grace and foreknowledge. God intervenes where he so wishes and divine participation is part of the ordinary stuff of history (Bebbington 1990:43). The divine participation is for a purpose, to give history its proper place and meaning.

The history of the PCSA is a story about its past that is significant and true. It is the view of those in the PCSA who are the shapers of its history and yet also the victims of history (Bebbington 1990:168). The PCSA, coming from a reformed tradition, could not avoid imparting the reformed principle of transforming the community wherever it is in operation. Studying the history of the PCSA as such would enable amassing such vital information to understand the players in the Zimbabwean development and place them rightly in any national endeavours.

The history of the PCSA is an account of what its members did and the consequence of their actions, the socio-political and economic influences necessitated, in Zimbabwe with PCSA bearings. People shape history but they are victims of what they shape (Bebbington 1990:168). Thus, the PCSA like any other people shaped history in a way which helped them to have confidence in themselves and to have hopes for a better future. In shaping history,

people must remember that God is guiding history forward and at the appropriate time God will bring history to its end or its final goal. John Calvin called this belief predestination⁹.

From the discussion above, history outlines two things, of importance, which are, what the historian writes about the past and the historical process, that is, the actual experiences of people (Marwick, 2001: xvi, 334), and what they did and what they suffered in their actual life. The two are closely knitted together. What the historian writes about the past corresponds to the historical process; otherwise, it would not be history. For that reason, this researcher depended much on the written documents about the PCSA, so that he could confirm his facts as much as possible, thus, the importance of using oral sources in the study of history to cross check the facts gathered.

2.1.2 Purpose of History

Studying history is embedded in our society; there are countless museums, castles, and heritage sites around the country (Vansina, 1985; Hudson, 1981). This must imply that there is a value to studying history (Trigger, 1990). This is a broad question that could cover anything from the monetary value of studying history to the impact it has on the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean community at large, from its inception till 1990. I will briefly analyse three of the values which studying history gives. These are the skills that the subject teaches people, the decisions people can make with the skills gained and how studying history can create a social identity.

⁹. Predestination, in Christian theology, refers to the doctrine that God has ordained all that will happen, and not others. It has been particularly associated with the teachings of St. Augustine of Hippo and of John Calvin. Calvin interpreted predestination to mean that God willed eternal damnation for some people and salvation for others (Calvin, Inst. III, 21, 4).

History as a subject teaches not only the stories of the past but unlike other subjects, it aims to teach people how to critically evaluate sources, analyse them and create interpretations based upon those evaluations (Vansina, 1985). This is done every day by people who read the newspaper and create an opinion based on the article. The historically trained will be able to question several things about the article before creating the interpretation.

1. Having a deeper critical view on the piece itself, for example, is it written with an agenda in mind?
2. Can the sources used be thought of as reliable, or even relevant?
3. If it claims to be news, how much is an opinion?
4. But what is the value of this skill, other than being able to criticise journalists?

The study of PCSA history is significant in creating knowledgeable and engaging people in Zimbabwe. It was through historical understanding that this researcher could analyse the social, political, and economic threads of the past. The study of PCSA history gives us the skills to analyse those threads in the contemporary environs of Zimbabwe and as such can shape the future of both the PCSA and Zimbabwe.

This researcher could not take interviewees' understanding of the PCSA in Zimbabwe history as a fact. All their understanding of PCSA history was interpreted (Prins, 1991 and Comby, 1984) all history is from the perspective and understanding of the author. This infers that all history is discerning and usually from the viewpoint of those in power. Secondly, for this cause, we need to study history from as many outlooks as possible, especially from the perspective of those without power and hence the inevitability to use oral traditions in the study of history (Woodward & Lewis, 1998). When we do this, we will be able to use history to create a more humane society.

History is about analysing people and societies and interpreting (Prins, 1991) the decisions that were made so that we can understand the big events of such people's time. There is a need to learn from the PCSA's past and to understand its environment so its members and surroundings can live in it properly. It is important because we learn from the PCSA's mistakes of the past and learn to avoid those same mistakes made in the past. By learning from the mistakes that have been made by (PCSA) others, we can avoid the same mistakes and make more progress in politics, economics, government and technology, among many others.

In summary, history is important because it helps us to read and understand the present (Daneel, 1987). If the PCSA and Zimbabwe will listen to what history must say, she can come to a sound understanding of the past that will tell Zimbabweans much about the problems confronting Zimbabwe now. If we refuse to listen to history, we will find ourselves fabricating the past that reinforces our understanding of current problems (Crabtree, 1993:49-50). In other words, history teaches values. True PCSA-Zimbabwean history, teaches true values of both the PCSA and Zimbabwe and the opposite is true. The history teachings to this generation are playing a role in shaping its values and beliefs; a much greater role than we may suspect.

2.1.2.1 Writing History

Writing history is a reconstruction of the past using historical facts. The process of reconstruction calls for selection and interpretation of the facts (Car 1990:29). As a historian writes the selection of facts is determined by the type of history to be produced. There are various types of history which are based on the selection of facts and interpretation. This includes a history aimed at justifying a certain undertaking, boosts one's support or corrects previous works.

Historical facts never present themselves to the historian in their final form (Hood, 1990). It was the duty of this researcher to refract the facts as they were recorded in the mind and select suitable ones for this study. The researcher did not document or make use of all the data given but sampled that which was relevant to the hypothesis.

Historians build an imaginative comprehension of the people being written about (Bebbington, 1990:21). This enabled this researcher to reflect on the historical process in the work written. Like any other historian, this researcher was confronted with some problems and limitations. Facts belonged to the past while the researcher belongs to the present. There was a time limit in this issue. The historian relies on what is exposed or made available to him or/her. In some cases, the historian cannot hold an opinion poll on the subject because the people who are supposed to be interviewed are all dead. In such cases, important facts may be left out (Car, 1990:29). As such, in history, there is possibility rather than certainty in most cases.

Knowing the importance of a contact between what happened and what was to be written this researcher mastered and understood the past and aimed to display all the known and knowable facts which were relevant to PCSA in Zimbabwe. This historical work is a continuous process of interaction between the researcher and the selected facts (Carr, 1990). History is “an unending dialogue” (Carr, 1990:131-2) between the present and the past, a dialogue between the events of the past and progressively emerging future ends. History, therefore, “acquires meaning and objectivity only when it establishes a coherent relation between past and future” (Carr, 1990:132)

The link between the historical process and the written work leads to the issue of sources. The researcher had various sources from which to draw the facts. The sources are

divided into two categories, namely the primary and secondary sources. Let us look at the sources, especially as they relate to the PCSA (African history).

Firstly, the primary sources which gave the researcher primary or first-hand information. In writing this thesis these were used more than the secondary sources. Primary sources include the oral form or tradition (Ki-Zerbo 1989:71). Most of what happens in African communities, including the PCSA-Zimbabwe, is not written down but written in people's hearts and minds. This is passed on from one generation to another through oral tradition. To find out what happened to people, that is, the historical process, this researcher conducted as many interviews as possible. Interviews and questionnaires are a form of primary source, as are minutes of meetings, reports, correspondences etc.

This research was written from an African perspective. The thesis took into consideration the viewpoint of Africans and their contribution to world history and moved away from a Euro-centric approach to African history to an Afrocentric one (Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1992:78). This study appreciated all the categories of Western writers mentioned by Verstraelen-Gilhuis. It acknowledged that every author is a product of his or her age and everyone will be biased but I must be quick and point out that these authors did a wonderful job by preserving the material. The task in this study was to sift the material and purify it, basing the study on the oral traditions.

Secondly, the secondary sources are sources which give the historian information about the past as it has been interpreted by others. In this category, we have all the books on history. These help to give various perspectives (Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1992:78-9). This study guarded against the fallacy of documentation, lest we fall into the trap of writing false accounts about the PCSA's past.

Africa has been viewed as not a historically significant part of the world. For example, Hugh Trevor Roper made the claim that "Africa has no history, merely the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes" (Evans, 1997:307). As one can imagine, such provocative statements have elicited strong responses both in Europe and in Africa. African history has now become a respected academic discipline (Car 1990:30 -31). But the point remains. How does one write the history of a continent with virtually no written records - at least until the colonial times - and very little archaeological remains?

The answer, until recently, has been to write the history of Africa based on the only written documents that were available, that is, documents produced by Westerners or, at best, by Westernized Africans. This explains why, so often, the history of Africa reflects "the view from the district commissioner's veranda or the mission compound" (Prins, 1992, 217-218).

African church history and the PCSA alike are faced with the same problem. A relevant, accurate and all-embracing history of the Christian communities in Africa, particularly in Southern Africa, still needs to be written. One could summarise the limitations of the existing church history literature as an overemphasis on institutional aspects of Christian life and as such an outsider's, versus insider's, point of view of domination and resistance. Paying attention only to the public text may lead to missing half the story. Like any social group, the Christian communities experienced situations of supremacy. The use of oral tradition in the methodology of this research helped the researcher reach the defiant voices thereby deducing how the PCSA impacted on the socio-political and economic aspects of Zimbabwe.

2.1.2.2 Studying Church History

One's past defines his/her present; his/her present defines his/her future. In other words, your past defines your future (Bebbington, 1990:22). Unless one wants to learn by making the same mistakes time and again, it is better to know the past. A basic knowledge of the past

gives a better insight into the present, possibly helping chart a course into the future (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). The study of history teaches analysis of the social, political, and economic threads of the past. The study of history gives us the skills to analyse those threads in the present. It both helps to develop thinking skills and gives meaningful material or knowledge with which to think.

First, we must not take a person's understanding of history as a fact. All understanding of history is interpreted and all history is from the perspective and understanding of the author (Vansina, 1985). This means that all history is selective and usually from the perspective of those in power (Prins, 1992). Secondly, for this reason, we need to study history from as many perspectives as possible, especially from the perspective of those without power. When we do this, we will be able to use history to create a more humane society (Vansina, Wright and Tonkin, 2006), or at least there is a hope; and in this case the need to use oral traditions to listen to the powerless society of the Zimbabwean Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa. The important aspect of studying history is that it suggests to humanity that it is only through understanding the past that humanity has the chance to survive.

Studying the history of the PCSA helped answer the question of why the PCSA and the nation of Zimbabwe are where they are; and, why they were where they were. It led this researcher to critically discern the relationship between the PCSA and Zimbabwe, notably how the PCSA has influenced the Zimbabwean developments socially, politically and economically.

Studying the history of the PCSA makes it easy to understand its present (Vansina, 1985). This research allows us to learn how events from the past affected 'us,' the PCSA today, and from that, we can guess how the things we do now can and will affect the future.

More so, studying PCSA history is not to avoid making the same mistakes of the past. We need to learn from our past mistakes. As we look at church history we can see the trials and the errors humans have made throughout the church's mission life in this world. From this, we recognise what things wouldn't work if we try it because it already failed in the past. Church history also provides a unique understanding of human nature and human civilisation. Without a study of Christian history, we would not be able to find out the past about the PCSA and Zimbabwe.

History is not about memorising facts and knowing everything on a timeline, it's about analysing people and societies, and interpreting the decisions that were made so that we can understand the big events of our time. We must learn from the past and understand and plan for the future so as to live properly (Keiper, 2011:5)

Another reason that I feel church history is studied is to enrich the mind and appreciate the past. In his article, *Why study history?* Peter Stearns (1998) states that in most types of history classes, you learn about previous cultures and their ways of life (Stearn, 1998). Often, when a culture is presented that is much different from the current way of life, people are in shock or even disgusted at the way other groups lived. The purpose of historical findings and inquiries is not simply to present facts but to search for an interpretation of the past issues (Schlabach, 1996). In this regard, the history of the PCSA is an attempt to provide examples that reflect key people, places, and events that helped shape the Zimbabwe we know today.

The last reason why we study history is that we must preserve the events of the past. Without church history, a church would lose its identity, its culture. We study history for a purpose, to see how we are progressing from the beginning towards the end of the historical process (Little, 2016). It is a Christian conviction that God acts in history, hence we study it to see how God leads people at different times. In other words, how God led the PCSA in her

mission work in Zimbabwe, which resulted in her impacting the developments of Zimbabwe's socio-politics and economics. Also, we study history to find out the lessons we get from the past, how the PCSA experienced Jesus Christ in different times. To understand their behaviours in different generations and how mistakes made in the past, amongst others, affected their surrounding environment.

Without history, a society shares no common memory of where it has been, what its core values are, or what decisions of the past account for present circumstances. Without history the PCSA cannot accept any meaningful investigation into the sociopolitical or faith issues in society. And without historical knowledge and inquiry, the PCSA cannot achieve the informed, discriminating citizenship essential to effective participation in the democratic processes of governance and the fulfilment of its entire member's ethics.

History opens to scholars the great record of human experience (Thompson, 1996), revealing the vast range of accommodations individuals and societies have made to the problems confronting them and disclosing the consequences that have followed the various choices that have been made (Lynn, 2006). By studying the choices and decisions of the past, students can confront today's problems and choices with a deeper awareness of the alternatives before them and the likely consequences of each.

Modern challenges do not replicate those of the preceding. Essential to concluding knowledge from history about the issues of today requires yet a further skill; again, dependent upon one's understandings of the past: differentiating between, relevant historical backgrounds that properly inform analyses of current issues and those experiences that are clearly irrelevant (Prins, 1992). Students must be sufficiently grounded in historical understanding to bring sound historical analysis to the service of informed decision making.

Historical memory is the key to self-identity, to seeing one's place in the stream of time, and one's connectedness with all of the humankind. We are part of the past events and the long hand of the past is upon us for good and for ill-just as our hands will rest on our descendants for years to come (Vansina, 1985). Denied knowledge of one's roots and of one's place in the great stream of human history, the individual is deprived of the fullest sense of self and of that sense of shared community on which one's fullest personal development, as well as responsible citizenship, depends. For these purposes, accurate history of The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe must occupy an indispensable role in the life and work of the church in Zimbabwe.

Finally, history opens opportunities to develop a comprehensive consideration of the world and of the many cultures and ways of life different from one's own. From a balanced church history, this researcher appreciated, both, worlds of many peoples and their shared humanity and common problems. This study also helped the researcher acquire the habit of seeing matters through other people's eyes and to come to realise that they can better understand themselves as they study others, as well as the other way around. It also embraces receiving sources in different forms including at the oral stage.

Studying history is an investigation and questioning, an inquiry into whether the given account of the past is based on valid evidence; "It entails calling accepted views into question-based on freshly discovered or freshly interpreted evidence" (Bebbington 1990:4). Studying history is engaging with historians. In short, this study is mindful that there is no historical account which is final, and as such the writer employed a critical and analytic mind in this research.

The researcher was aware of firstly, his framework which was the study of the PCSA mission work and its influence on developments of Zimbabwean socio-politics and

economics. Evidence was arranged per this researcher's own judgments. The concluding judgments were, however, influenced by his cultural, political, economic and religious values, taking into account that he is writing as an insider. He could not escape nor avoid these influences though they were not done deliberately. As such, evidence of the past plus the historian's attitude towards the evidence dictates what is written (Ball and McDonald, 1988). The historian's biases infiltrate into the history written, therefore there is no finality in history. The researcher had the task and aimed at filtering the historian's biases to remain with the evidence (Bebbington, 1990:13 & 14). This was not an easy task but an exercise engaged in to help to accomplish the separation of the historian's biases from the evidence and to identify the intended goal of this research.

Secondly, the researcher knew the nature of history as every piece of history was written in the form of an argument. There is discussion always in history. The researcher wanted to convince the reader that his account of the PCSA's past is the most probable. He, as such, presents substantiation for his account and tries to show that his examples are fair ones and discounts alternative interpretations – in a word (Bebbington 1990:14). He also understands that in the process the researcher gives reasons for adopting a version of the past. This historian persuades the reader to take up his view of the PCSA's past. He thus presents the account of events in a most plausible manner. This study was aware that the more convincing the account the more difficult it is for this research to separate the historian's biases from the evidence used. These two points, however, help this study of the history of the PCSA's socio-politics and economics influence in Zimbabwe to understand and benefit from what was studied.

The difficulty about studying history is that we may be able to get the basic facts of what happened (*it's more difficult than it may appear*), but it is almost impossible to understand the motives of the various individuals involved in what is happening. At best, we

can try to understand them, but this always comes with a "point of view." To rebut this challenge the researcher resorted to the use of oral traditions, thereby tapping from the people's experiences and appealing to their feelings, as they relived the events.

The focus of this study was on the influence of PCSA on the Zimbabwean socio-politics and economic developments. It was as such deemed that the most appropriate approach would be to use a multiple of research methodologies within the qualitative research paradigm. As is argued by Bogdan and Biklen (1992:31), some of the central questions that characterise qualitative research include:

1. "How and why the PCSA came into existence in Zimbabwe?
2. How did the PCSA influence the sociopolitics of Zimbabwe?
3. What consequence has its teachings had on economics and politics on the developments of Zimbabwe?"

Such questions were critical in understanding the work and life of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. They reveal the historicity of practices of the PCSA that is its mission works and influences on the Zimbabwean soil.

Within the qualitative model, the approaches adopted included the historic – inductive method as well as aspects of the comparative approach. While some historians make use of quantitative methods, Borg and Gall (1989:806) endorse Edison's four characteristics that describe historical research methodologies; these being;

- i. Emphasis on the study of context;
- ii. The study of behaviour in natural rather than laboratory settings;
- iii. The appreciation of the wholeness of experience, and

iv. The centrality of interpretation in the research process.

Analysis and synthesis were central aspects of these methodologies, both from the perspectives of the Africans and from those of the Christian missionaries.

The historical method was utilised in the research and in the interpretation of data. The approach that was largely used was inductive. The inductive approach starts with the observations and theories that are formulated towards the end of the research and because of observations (Goddard and Melville, 2004). Inductive research "involves the search for the pattern from observation and the development of explanations; theories; for those patterns through series of hypotheses" (Bernard, 2011:7). In other words, no theories would apply in inductive studies at the beginning of the research and the researcher is free in terms of altering the direction for the study after the research process had commenced.

Neuman (2003:51) affirms inductive research, to require detailed observations of the world, which moves towards more abstract generalisations and ideas. In short, when following an inductive approach, beginning with a topic, a researcher tends to develop empirical generalisations and identify preliminary relationships as he progresses through his research.

The Inductive approach "essentially reverses the process found in deductive research" (Lancaster, 2005:25). Specifically, no theories can be found in the initial stages of the research and the researcher is not sure about the type and nature of the research findings until the study is completed.

In an inductive approach, there is no theory at the beginning point of the research, and theories may evolve because of the research:

Figure No.2

The following outlines the steps involved in an inductive approach to research.



It is noted that “inductive reasoning is often referred to as a “bottom-up” approach to knowing, in which the researcher uses observations to build an abstraction or to describe a picture of the phenomenon that is being studied”¹⁰

(Lodico et al, 2010:10). In other words, in inductive studies, no known patterns need to be tested during the research process. Inductive reasoning is based on learning from experience. Patterns, resemblances and regularities in experience are observed to reach conclusions.

Induction facilitated meaningful interpretation of gathered data. The inductive approach was also appropriate given that there were a few people whose views and attitudes were interrogated in the study of the PCSA in Zimbabwe and its influence in the socio-politics and economic fraternal of Zimbabwe. Primary historical sources in the form of letters; diaries; PCSA reports, addresses and minutes as well as secondary sources in the form of literature by other scholars for other denominations were used. The aim was to arrive at the fundamental understanding of the influence caused by the political and economic teachings of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. In other words; how the works of the PCSA – Zimbabwe influenced the socio-politics and economics of Zimbabwe.

¹⁰ Inductive approach was used in this research pioneered by Dr. Deborah Gabriel; as method, it helped the use of research question to narrow the scope of the study. Also because of its association with qualitative research as opposed to deductive this is associated with quantitative research. This approach necessitated this researcher; to begin with, an open mind without preconceived ideas of what will be found in the PCSA work in Zimbabwe. The aim was to generate new theory based on the findings. (Rubin and Rubin 2006)

The inductive approach was used in the presentation of the material when I focused on the activities of individual PCSA members of the denomination. The inductive method involved the identification of similarities within the PCSA members who were interviewed or observed to fall within the generalised same group; in this case their political drive in Zimbabwe. Jardine (1825:2) puts this more clearly when he states; "It sets upon the principle ... that when we observe, in many individual substances, the same properties and powers, we ascribe these properties and powers to the whole class of which these individuals constitute a part".

In addition to the historic – inductive approach, the study also made use of aspects of the comparative approach that aims at making comparisons across different individual persons in Zimbabwe who were interviewed. Raymond Chan quoted in Hantrian and Mangen (1996:10) describes comparative research as a "comparison of two or more cases of analysis in a piece of work which goes beyond a mere description of each of the cases". Hugo and Adam (1983:4) emphasise that comparative study focuses on 'the study of how, why and to what effect different governments pursue a particular course of action or inaction.

The comparative approach was appropriate to this study as it enabled this researcher to determine what was true of all missionary societies and what was true of one society at one point in time and space (Heidenheimer et al, 1983). This made the task of accounting for the PCSA easier as the forces that influenced the Zimbabwean economy and political context were examined in the context of a historical condition. In short, the researcher used the comparative approach aware that each society being studied is unique.

The proposal was focused on the occurrence that any chronological investigation has a defined view of understanding, assessing and deducing history. It was as such, vital to spell out clearly how history is understood, its meaning and how historical data is handled.

Substantial works exist as to the nature, meaning, purpose and sources of history. This chapter now focuses on how information was gathered with respect to the PCSA in Zimbabwe and how oral sources (oral history and oral tradition) were of great help in the sampling of data in this study regarding the life and work of the PCSA as it influenced the development of Zimbabwe

2.2 Methods of data collection

For this study, the oral historical method was of dire importance. The modern historical method was not able to answer some demands raised in this study adequately. Most of the available written sources produced from either missionary or African nationalist perspective did not address the thrust of this study. They offered limited answers to the subject of this inquest.

First, oral sources were opened to address this discrepancy. The oral data was collected through interviews and questionnaires. An interview had both merits and demerits. Its merits, which were observed through the process, included that the interviewer and interviewee researched together throughout the process; follow up questions were posed and the researcher could observe the interviewee's reactions and emotional attachment to the issue at hand. The interviews provided the study with the invaluable memories of the past from which the PCSA contributed to the socio-economic and political developments in Zimbabwe.

Interviews, however, posed some challenges. First, some of the ministers interviewed are retired and old. They needed time to respond to a question and were not comfortable with long sessions. This was solved through allowing them the time they needed and respecting their levels of concentration. Another challenge encountered was that an interviewee could speak very fast and the interviewer failed to cope with writing every important detail. The

handicap was resolved through engaging a co-researcher who also recorded the proceedings and the two worked jointly to consider the responses.

Second, the research was concerned with both the distant and immediate history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. Oral historical method answers the concern of a historical process that is happening or happened recently. Third, this inquiry raised fundamental questions that could be more adequately answered by an audience; the PCSA in Zimbabwe, shedding light on the theme of our inquiry from within, represents a better source than that which cannot be found. In that sense, oral sources are very important for a balanced and valuable historical investigation of an African context.

Oral history as a method is pyrotechnic of opening oral sources. In this study, an oral historical method is understood as "...the collecting of any individual's spoken memories of his life, of people he has known and events he has witnessed or participated in," (De Jong 2000:36). The memories are recorded. It is also a process of tapping from oral tradition, memories of unlettered oral societies which go back beyond the life time of informants (Vansina 1985:13) to produce intelligible and scientifically relevant records.

The oral historical method provided this research with an edge against a historical research which was based on oral sources only. Through interviews, the researcher participated actively in the creation, or production, of the oral document and had an opportunity to obtain all the needed information.

Another critical area in the oral historical method is transcription (De Jong 2000:37). This is a process of transferring information from one form or medium to another. Oral sources were transcribed from speech to written documents before they could be used for historical research. This had to be done with a pain to detail and meaning to preserve the original meaning. If the process was not done meticulously it would be impossible to

transpose the complete meaning of the spoken word to paper. To deal with this challenge most interviewees were asked to put their ideas on paper. Only those who found writing as a challenge were assisted. Furthermore, a comparison of what was recorded by the researcher to the audio tape of the interview assisted in addressing this challenge. In this study, only the summary of what was considered as containing useful information for our inquiry was included.

Modern historiography demands that historians use documented historical sources. This has led to a study of the PCSA history that is almost exclusively based on what the historians can read in documents. Thus, the claim, "...ever since the historical research was placed on a professional footing during Ranke's lifetime, the emphasis has fallen almost exclusively on written rather than the spoken word" (Tosh 1984:31). The reason for this concentration on written sources is not that oral sources are inferior. For Western history, the period from the Middle Ages onwards witnessed an excess of documentary sources. (Denis, 2008:64). This came up because of a marked growth in record keeping by states and other corporate bodies (Nketia, 2008). The invention of the printing press and instantaneous spread of printing in the Western world resulted in the abundance of written sources at the historians' disposal (Tosh 1984:31). Written sources were viewed in this study as more meticulous in terms of authorship, place and time.

A twofold criterion was employed in this study to determine the reliability of oral sources in scientific research. First, there was a testing of the internal validity (De Jong 2000:39). This was used to develop the investigated factual accuracy of an oral source through looking for contradictions, conflicts and anachronisms in interviews carried out. Where these were evident the whole interview was discarded. However, in cases where subjective feelings and motives were in question, too strict uniformity was not demanded,

since mixed or even contradictory feelings about an experience or event in one's life are normal and can be sincere and reliable.

The second was external validation (De Jong 2000:39), which was prepared through a cross checking progression. The oral source was compared with other sources, which were other oral sources, written sources and background information within the PCSA and or other denominations. These helped the researcher to ascertain the overall reliability of an oral source.

The method produced results that were easy to summarise, compare, and generalise in the study of the PCSA. Qualitative research was used to test the hypotheses derived from the theory and to estimate its impact on the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. Interviewees were randomly sampled during the research. Where this was not feasible, the researcher collected data on participant and situational characteristics to statistically control for their influence on the dependent, or outcome, variable. The researcher did not generalise since he was dealing with a manageable population. The process administered surveys with closed-ended questions in a face-to face and or telephone interviews and questionnaires among others (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

Through the data process analysis, the researcher uncovered and or understood the big picture by using the data to describe the phenomenon and what it meant. The process involved labelling and coding all the data in order that similarities and differences could be recognised and tested against other sources. Responses were coded, counted and analysed. The process of analysis helped coding and classification of data, aiming at making sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages, features or findings.

2.2.1 Interviews

The researcher asked a standard set of question as guidelines as shown in Appendix 1.

Face -to -face interviews were a distinct advantage in enabling the researcher to establish rapport with potential participants and therefore gained their cooperation. These interviews yielded highest response rates in the survey of the socio-economic and political influence of Zimbabwe's developments. They also allowed the researcher to clarify ambiguous answers and when appropriate, sought follow-up information orally (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001:14, 157-8)

2.2.2 Qualitative data collection methods

The Qualitative research method played an important role by providing information useful to understand the processes behind observed results and allowed one to assess changes in people's perceptions of their well-being. Furthermore, the qualitative method was used to improve the quality of this research, strengthening the designed survey questionnaires and expanding or clarifying quantitative evaluation findings of the PCSA in Zimbabwe's influence on the socioeconomic and politics of the country. These methods were found to be characterised by the following attributes:

- they relied more heavily on interactive interviews; respondents were interviewed several times to follow up on an issue, and clarified concepts or checked the reliability of data;
- they used triangulation to increase the credibility of the findings (i.e., the researchers relied on multiple data collection methods to check the authenticity of their results) generally the findings were not generalizable to any specific population, rather each case study produced a single piece of evidence that

could be used to seek general patterns among different studies of the same issue (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001:157).

Regardless of the kinds of data involved, data collection in this study took a great deal of time. The researcher recorded any potentially useful data thoroughly, accurately, and systematically, as called for in the use of qualitative methodology, using field notes, sketches, audiotapes and photographs. The data collection methods observed the ethical principles of the research (Vansina, 1985 and Rubin and Rubin, 2006). The qualitative methods used in evaluation can be classified into three broad categories mainly, in-depth interview, observation methods and document review (Rubin and Rubin, 2006), and all these were used in this study.

2.3 Sources of history

As far as possible all documents consulted in this study were found at the following archives and church offices; UPCSA General Assembly Offices, Wits University (RSA) Archives, Archives of Zimbabwe – Harare, Presbytery of Zimbabwe Offices. The researcher discovered in the Wits University Archives complete sets of minutes of the PCSA – Zimbabwe bearing extracts of the Presbytery of Rhodesia, Synod of Rhodesia and its two Presbyteries namely Mashonaland and Matebeleland. This is valuable to all those who need to do research on the PCSA in Zimbabwe. Copies of various constitutions of the Rhodesian Synod and Presbyteries of Matebeleland and Mashonaland are also kept with this collection.

The following primary sources, in so far as they relate to the topic under discussion: reports, agendas and minutes (of the PCSA, General Assembly and Rhodesian Synod), consultations of the PCSA (before 1999) received attention. In addition, correspondence by contemporaries, related to the PCSA – Zimbabwe, found in the archives and church offices were consulted.

Historical sources are fundamental for every historical research. Like any historian, this researcher was mindful of the fact that “...historical study consists in the examination and evaluations of sources...they contain the traces of the human story in all the remaining detail” (Bradley & Muller, 1995:39 and Obenga, 1989:29). Sources were categorised to emphasise the significance assigned to each of the sources and the importance of cultivating a critical attitude towards source materials. The historical sources, as in any other scientific research, were divided into three categories, primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary data (oral sources) being those collected fresh and for the first time, while secondary data comes from presentations made by other researchers in the form of documents (Kathari, 2004). Historical sources here refer to all types of evidence which PCSA members had preserved of their past activities. These included written materials, the spoken word, the shape of the landscape, for instance church buildings and schools of older works, and other beacons useful in understanding the past of the PCSA in Zimbabwe

Oral history was used to record and preserve memories of PCSA’s past events, in relation to its work and life, and assess its impact on the socio-political and economic developments in Zimbabwe. Oral interviews, in written transcribed form, offered important sources of historical information and new perspectives about the PCSA in Zimbabwe's past.

Oral history was an essential source in this research because it presented the insights and recollections of the PCSA in Zimbabwe as it had effect politically, economically and ethnically. These provided new information about people who may have been excluded from other documentary sources, or they could contradict, enrich, and or illuminate details available in the written record.

Despite its strengths as a source, oral history presented interpretive challenges. We know that memories are fallible, and there are other factors that shape the interview: the

narrator's relationship with the interviewer, the interviewer's questions, the interviewer's cultural assumptions, and the physical condition of the narrator (Scheff, 1997:48) and the influence of intervening years and experiences on how the narrator remembers the past. Although the oral historical voice was immediate, cogent, and compelling, this study scrutinised an interview just as carefully as any other historical source, to sift data to answer the putative question under study.

2.3.1 Oral Sources in the study of Church History

To begin with, both to establish a framework for what follows and to raise at the outset key issues in thinking about and doing oral history that will resurface later in this thesis. “Oral history,” like the term “history,” has both several popular or vernacular meanings, as well as a more precise disciplinary meaning. In common phrasing, oral history sometimes refers to recorded speech of any kind; or to talk about the past in ways ranging from casual recollecting among family members, neighbour or co-workers to ritualised accounts presented by culturally sanctioned tradition-bearers in a formal setting (Ritchie, 2003:19). Most typically, it refers to what we might call personal experience stories about a time or place or event; a form of rekindling interest in the storied quality of everyday life. Commonly, the term registers a certain democratic or populist meaning; oral history implies recognition of the heroics of everyday life, a celebration of the quotidian, and an appeal to the prehistoric (Ritchie, 2003:24).

These definitions suggest characteristics of oral history as a professional disciplined practice. It is an interview, an exchange between someone who asks questions, that is, an interviewer, and someone who answers them, variously referred to as the interviewee, narrator, or informant (Scheff, 1997:48-9). It is not simply someone telling a story; it is someone telling a story in response to the inquiries of another. Also, oral history is recorded,

preserved for the record, and made accessible to others for a variety of uses. Ritchie (2003:19) goes so far as to say that "an interview becomes an oral history only when it has been recorded, processed in some way, made available in an archive, library, or another repository, or reproduced in a relatively verbatim form for publication. Availability for general research, reinterpretation, and verification defines oral history."

The characterization of oral history is grounded in the history of the field and establishes its significance and value as both method and source. For now, suffice to say that it is what distinguishes academic from popular notions; and within the academy, defines a kind of interview. There is, however, a frequent blurring of boundaries, sometimes an uncomfortable divide. Scholarly practitioners (Ritchie, 2014 and Vansina, 1985) of oral history working with local groups frequently find that enthusiasm for recording local stories is not matched by an even fundamental understanding of the methodology involved and that vernacular understanding of what merits recording and preserving are often at variance with scholarly understandings of the relevant historical questions.

Oral history affords the historian a way to negotiate this paradox and perhaps helps surmount the barrier separating the analytic work of the professional historian from vernacular efforts at history-making (Shopes, 2012). For oral history, interviews are often quite simply good stories.

In short: oral history can be viewed as a disciplined conversation between two people about some aspect of the past reflected by them to be of historical importance and deliberately documented for the record (Shopes, 2002:1&2 and Paul, 1988). Although the conversation takes the form of an interview, in which one person—the interviewer—asks questions of another person—variously referred to as the interviewee or narrator—oral history is, at its heart, a dialogue. The questions probed seek to derive from a historical interest, calls

for certain responses from the narrator (Shopes, 2002:2), deriving from that person's frame of reference, that person's sense of what is important or what he or she thinks is important to tell the interviewer. The narrator's response, in turn, shapes the interviewer's subsequent questions, and on and on. The researcher taped the oral information to answer the pressing question of this thesis which was:

“How much did the PCSA influence the socio-political and economic development of Zimbabwe?”

The next section turns to look at the use of oral traditions and how it assisted this study.

2.3.2 Oral traditions

Oral traditions are historical sources of a distinct nature (Henige, 1988:229-38). Their special nature develops from the fact that they are "unwritten" sources understood in a form suitable for oral transmission, and that their preservation depends on the powers of the memory of successive generations of human beings. In many parts of the world inhabited by peoples without writing, oral tradition forms the main available source for a reconstruction of the past (Vansina, 1972:227). Professor Vansina (1985:27) shows in *Oral Tradition* that with knowledge of the language and of the society, the historian can extract or deduce the historical content of oral testimonies (Ki-Zerbo, 1990:54-61), a praxis which was employed in the study of the PCSA and its impact on the development of Zimbabwe.

Oral tradition as a term applies to a process of transmission of facts from one individual to the other through oral messages which are based on previous information (Nwankwo, 2012). Dike (1976), proffers that, eye witness accounts are supposedly the basic component of oral tradition; eye witness accounts are always a direct and personal experience as well and involve not only perception but also emotions. Vasira (1935) submits that oral history is

based on hearsay or eyewitness' accounts about events and situations which are contemporary, that is, which occurred during the lifetime of the informants. In this study, the researcher based his work on interviews with selected witnesses and interviewed them. Oral data sampled, served to check other sources. Oral traditions are verbal messages, which are statements from the past beyond the present generations, and emphasises that the messages must be oral statements spoken or sung (Vansina, 1985:27).

Oral historical materials provide important historical evidence about people, especially minority groups, who were excluded from mainstream publications or did not leave behind written primary sources. Oral tradition is as old as human beings, for, before the invention of writing, information was passed from generation to generation through spoken words (Foley, 2013). Interviews and recordings of community elders and witnesses to historical events provide existing stories, anecdotes and other information about the history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe regarding its participation in the developments of the country.

Oral traditions are not contemporary. The information which had passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the lifetime of the informants was used in building this thesis. Oral tradition relates both to a process and to a product (Vansina, 1985:3). The products are oral messages based on previous oral messages, at least a generation old.

Oral tradition refers to verbal narratives and descriptions of people and events in the past which have been handed down from one generation to another. These are in the form of etymologies, songs, praise-songs; proverbs and folklore (Vansina, 2009 and 1985). These are verbal recollections of the past events that supposedly occurred before the existence of the informant. Some sources have been extremely useful in providing information about the PCSA in Zimbabwe and its coming into the country, work and life for the century under review. It is known from oral sources that the PCSA opened its doors to worshipers in

Zimbabwe as early as before 1890 when the first foundational stone was instituted at Makokoba Presbyterian Church in Bulawayo city centre.

In the absence of written document as to the historicity of the PCSA's life and work in Zimbabwe, oral sources were used in this regard. Oral tradition as a methodology in the study of church history was quite instrumental in assisting this research in finding valuable data in the study of the PCSA's influence on the socio-political and economic development of Zimbabwe.

The rise of this methodological analysis deviates from the normal convention to use an often under-utilized method, namely, oral tradition. Oral tradition is essentially the basis used in this research to extract information from authentic unexplored sources. In these, I mainly captured information from the interviews contacted in this research.

2.3.3 The diva and the understudy

As seen from the above, history as an academic discipline tends to rely almost exclusively on written sources. Oral data appears as inaccurate and unreliable. Written sources are always given the preference. Oral sources only come as a second best, when no written evidence is available. When writing fails, tradition comes on the stage (Vansina, 1985:199). Written and oral sources are to one another, what the diva is to the understudy.

Oral sources have been conducted with both people in Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries who are retired or serving evangelists, ministers, business people and serving or retired missionaries. These included personnel from the PCSA – General Assembly.

The researcher observed three main sources available in the study of African Church history per Ki-Zerbo (1989:2), namely written documents, archaeology and oral sources. In this presentation, sources were further categorised in terms of written and oral forms. Modern

historiography places emphasis on documents (Obenga, 1989:29; Bloch 1954:86). A comparative unavailability and sensitivity of written sources of African history led to the need for oral sources. This study dealt with black Zimbabweans, a part of African society, which kept some written records. Questions from below about the past PCSA were asked and demanded as new kind of sources to supplement official documents (Verstraelen-Gilhius, 1992:84). Thus, calling for oral history, personal memories, and oral tradition, material handed down from the past PCSA to the current generation was by word of mouth (Verstraelen 2002:6). Oral sources were invaluable and substantial when re-reading written sources about the PCSA in Zimbabwe from an African viewpoint.

This study sought to take as its subject's ordinary people and concentrated on their experiences and perspectives, contrasting itself with the stereotype of traditional history and its focus on the actions of great people. It was interested in marginal groups. The history of the PCSA between the Limpopo and Zambezi River did not receive or attract the attention of historians. Upon considering the matter, I found that there was nothing said in any of the books concerning the PCSA in Zimbabwe history books. This part of the life of PCSA had truly been “hidden from history.”¹¹ Such disregard for the history of ordinary people has led to a movement for “history from below.” This movement asserts that workers, women, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities have a history that deserves to be uncovered and made known and as such the study of the PCSA in Zimbabwe; and in this regard how it pollinated the Zimbabwean affairs.

¹¹ By Hidden History the researcher refers to the PCSA history which is not what we think. Over the past decade was warped in own history. The versions of its past have not been either recorded or mistranslated, changed, altered and skewed to fit our understanding of reality and completely left many things which could not be explained. This study showed the alternate history from both recorded and oral sources.

For the researcher, history from below was of value because it provided a way of understanding his background as he wrote as an insider. There was the need to discover something about one's own roots. History from below allowed the researcher to learn about his religious past not just as an individual but as a member of the PCSA.

Doing history gave the researcher a new perspective on the world around. The images provided by the media are often mere snapshots, trendy but superficial (Wade, 2013:20-1)

Examining the past, understanding how people felt and what they did, and seeing how things have changed provided a sense of perspective that made the PCSA in Zimbabwe more understandable. It had some of the pleasure of asking questions and discovering the answers that came with being an investigator or a researcher. The thesis was built around activities he enjoyed, talking to his fellow members about what they remembered from the past; that which had the bearing to influence to the developments of the nation.

There are obvious problems with the use of oral traditions. Oral sources pose challenges to the historian. The major challenges come from anthropologists' reproach which has overruled the use of oral tradition in history. Their argument is that oral tradition does not provide historical facts but the symbolic truth (Isichei, 1997:10-11). Critics easily point out that they lack absolute chronology, are extremely selective in their content, and are compromised by possible human errors, (Clarence-Smith, 1977). Clarence argued that the value of using oral traditions has been not for their key worth but emotional, as they offer African historians the opportunity to present an independent history, "uncontaminated by colonialism (Afigbo, 1984)." Many of the theoretical advances in oral tradition have focused on how to lessen the impact of these weaknesses (Ritchie, 2014). The use of oral traditions demands a distinctive competence that is not altogether dissimilar to that employed by

historians who rely on other, "orthodox" sources. Historians employing oral traditions, though, need to acquire additional qualities.

Oral traditions have had a much wider influence on global historiography than its critics would acknowledge (Clarence-Smith, 1977:275-281). An interdisciplinary approach to historical reconstruction has gained much currency among historians. It has become realised, for instance, that many written documents are processed oral traditions. The study of oral traditions has developed as a recognised discipline and various projects in the collection and processing of these traditions are being undertaken in research institutions across the world (Clarence-Smith, 1977).

This made this study to increasingly come to the conclusion that oral traditions are shaped by human memory and that they are always linked to an audience. Oral sources demand an understanding of languages of people being studied in this case the PCSA in Zimbabwe; an advantage to this researcher, who wrote from within. For this study, primary sources were listed per their priority.

First, there are oral sources. These were further divided into oral history and oral tradition. Oral history, as mentioned above, is the first-hand information collected from informants by the historian through interviews or questionnaires. This was pivotal to this study since the study concentrated on the recent history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe.

The second category is written sources. These are comprised of archival material from both private and public collections. They were extracted from the National Archives and the PCSA Archives in Harare and Wits University (RSA). These are in the form of minutes of meetings, councils and courts, official and personal correspondence, keynote addresses, official publications of the church and reports. Also, private publications, especially biographies, were consulted.

In this approach, a specific historical problem or question was developed after reading secondary sources (Tosh 1984:54). Relevant primary sources were selected and studied. This research focused directly on points on which conclusions could be drawn. The scope of this study demanded an analytical and interpretive approach because of the historical question concerning the PCSA's economic and political influence on Zimbabwe. Attention was paid to sources so that each source was given adequate consideration to avoid misinterpretation or discarding illuminating sources unknowingly.

The relationship between this researcher and the sources was one of give and take (Tosh 1984:54-5). The two contexts or horizons discussed above, the context of the sources and that of the historian, were fused to come up with historical knowledge of the PCSA in Zimbabwe. In the fusion process, this study employed sceptical intelligence, to find out how, when and why a source came into being. This was applied to both oral and written sources.

2.4 Significance of Oral tradition

This study documented the past of the PCSA in Zimbabwe by preserving insights not found in printed sources. The researcher remained impartial when, listening and stayed in the background and yet served as a catalyst and directed the line of inquiry by asking questions that probed areas of interest, clarified unclear statements and produced changes for the reader. The final objective was not to just interpret, but to record factual evidence from which historians could reconstruct the historical PCSA and its effects on socio-political and economic issues of Zimbabwe, which was the thrust of this research thesis.

Because the focus was on the subjective, the stage at which the PCSA Zimbabwe history was at, (oral stage) could provide insights not normally found in more traditional reviews or summaries. The interview process used in this study afforded the researcher an opportunity to address the historical record directly and clarified what would be

misconceptions in third person accounts. The study addressed the researcher's motives and those of other participants and provided a personal assessment of the significance of the events in which they took part. This approach made it possible and allowed for a clearer understanding than would have been inferred from a record of the events alone (Vansina, 1985:27-33).

2.5 Value of Oral History in the study of The PCSA –Zimbabwe

Oral history is a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events. Oral history is both the oldest type of historical inquiry, predating the written word, and one of the most modern, initiated with tape recorders in the 1940s and now using 21st-century digital technologies (Ritchie, 2003).

In *Doing Oral History*, Donald Ritchie (2003) enlightens, "Oral History collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews. An oral history interview generally consists of a well-prepared interviewer questioning an interviewee and recording their exchange in audio or video format. Recordings of the interview are transcribed, summarised, or indexed and then placed in a library or archives. These interviews may be used for research or excerpted in a publication, radio or video documentary, museum exhibition, dramatisation or another form of public presentation.

Ritchie, (2013:19). Recordings, transcripts, catalogues, photographs and related documentary materials can also be posted on the Internet. Oral history does not include random taping, such as President Richard Nixon's surreptitious recording of his White House conversations, nor does it refer to recorded speeches, wiretapping, personal diaries on tape, or other sound recordings that lack the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee" (Ritchie, 2003).

2.5.1 Use of interviews to research the PCSA's ethical history

Researchers sometimes interview people to help answer research questions and at other times rely on existing oral history collections to supply information (Rubin and Rubin, 2006). After some initial research, you determine that because there is little written information about their history, you want to turn to oral history interviews (Vansina, 1985).

It is important in this process to first review the preliminary materials, including the release form and personal data sheet. Oral histories require special considerations so it is important to become familiar with any restrictions and required permissions that might apply before using the interview (Rubin and Rubin, 2006). Next, review the tape summary, which provides a detailed outline of the contents for each half hour of tape (Ritchie, 2003). The summary will help you quickly locate where in the tape or transcript your topics of interest are discussed. Then turn to the verbatim transcript, which reflects in print the words spoken in the interview (Rubin and Rubin, 2006).

2.5.2 Interpreting Oral history

For all their considerable value, oral history interviews are not an unproblematic source. Although narrators speak for themselves, what they must say does not. As with any source, this researcher exercised critical judgment when using interviews "...just because someone says something is true, however colourfull or convincingly they say it, doesn't mean it is true" (Tosh 1984:57-59). Just because someone "was there" doesn't mean they fully understood "what happened;" and hence a critical analysis of all gathered sources in this research was necessary.

The accuracy of what is said in an interview was gauged by comparing it both with other interviews on the same subject and with related documentary evidence of the PCSA, to

ascertain the level of veracity in the account. Oral history is not simply another source, to be evaluated unproblematic like any other historical source (Vansina, 1985). Oral history was understood not so much as an exercise, in fact, finding out about the historical PCSA's socio-economic and political influence in Zimbabwe, but as an interpretive event, as the narrator compressed years of living into a few hours of talk, selecting, consciously and unconsciously, what to say and how to say it.

According to Prins; “Africa has no history, merely the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes” (Prins, 1992, p. 217). How does one write the history of a continent with virtually no written records and very little archaeological remains? The answer, until recently, had been to write the history of Africa based on only written documents that were available, that is, documents produced by westerners or, at best, by Westernized Africans (Vansina, 1985). This explains why, so often, the history of Africa reflects “the view from the district commissioner's veranda or mission compound” (Prins, 1992:217-218). The PCSA being in Africa is no exception, its history after a century in the soils of Zimbabwe is still at the primary stage, and hence the call to use the oral source as a tool to gather the needed data for this proposal.

The PCSA's history is faced with the same predicaments. Relevant, accurate, all embracing history of the PCSA, particularly in Zimbabwe, still needs to be written. Earlier writers, who submitted to the history of the church in Zimbabwe, often overlooked the daily life of the believers. We rarely know how the social, political and economic contexts impacted the life of Zimbabweans. This was the thrust of this research and hence the need to use oral sources to understand popular culture of the PCSA as a community by utilising family prayer, grass-root liturgy, traditional ceremonies, processions, funerals and much more.

The local people are the object, rather than the subject, of evangelism. Little is said about their contribution to the mission of the PCSA and the way they incorporated and reconstructed the heritage of the church in Zimbabwe from the point of view of traditional culture. This study pursued to close that gap, using oral sources; without which we would have missed half the story.

Use of oral sources enhanced the study of the PCSA – Zimbabwe. They brought out what tended to be hidden—the unspoken message, a fugitive by nature. This message was transmitted through two approaches namely oral historical and oral traditional, which was influential in this study.

In evaluating an oral history interview, one needs to consider the narrator's role in, or relationship to, the events he or she is describing. Does s/he have a stake in presenting a certain version of the story? Also it is necessary to weigh the consistency of the entire account. Ideally, the interview can be compared to similar interviews collected and to other available sources concerning the topics discussed (Vansina, 1985).

This brief exercise demonstrates some of the ways that historians interpret oral history and the questions they ask about this source of information. Of course, it is important to study these interviews while considering other research. The interviews underscore the complexity of history—how everyone, even if from the same region of the country and the same ethnic group, may experience family, work, and culture in different ways. The use of Oral history in this endeavour revealed that there is not just one true story about the past of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, as the narrators share some common stories that tell us about a community's experiences, beliefs, and struggles and reveal how people over time can develop a collective story about the past.

Oral history is a very subjective personal form of evidence (Ritchie, 2003), but this is also one of its great strengths. Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, what they now think they did. Subjectivity is as much the business of history as the more valued facts.

Oral history gave a voice to individuals and groups who are sometimes marginalised in "conventional" histories – the working classes, woman and ethnic minorities, for instance (Thompson, 2000:1). It provides new information, alternative explanation and different insights which have potential of enormous value (Vansina, 1985). The spoken word conveyed the feelings and emotions with immediacy and had an impact that the written word could not match, as well as preserving a record of local dialects and accents. Oral history allowed this researcher to ask questions and to be present at the creation of a historical source, rather than relying solely on those created by others. "...when our tongues go, they are not close to telling only the time present, but large books unclasped; and our speeches, like leaves turned over and over discover wonders that are long since passed" (Bradley & Muller 1995:13).

Prof. Omosini (1995) in one of his works noted that defects of oral tradition from the perspective of most African historians seem to have been grossly exaggerated; hence care must be taken while considering these criticisms, so that actual short comings are sifted from bias. Citing the frailty of human memory as one criticism, he asserts that oral tradition does not depend on the ability of a single person to remember as the researcher must depend on an argument made from the general structure. As such, the oral data collected during the process was tested against other written sources to include church documents and or secondary materials at my disposal.

Oral sources, however, failed to provide adequate information about the PCSA in Zimbabwe in its struggles and strides in the mission work in Zimbabwe. There was no

accurate information about the names of evangelists and contact persons who simply have been referred to as missionaries in many accounts. Oral sources such as newspapers, photographs, memories, letters, diaries, minutes, plaque grave inscriptions and other documents all had their place in this research. Such aids were viewed in this chapter while trying to understand how the PCSA in Zimbabwean history was preserved and its impact on the developments of the country over a century.

Oral history has provided several unique benefits that no other historical source provides. It allowed this researcher to learn about the perspectives of the PCSA's socio-political and economic bearing in Zimbabwe which did not appear in the historical record. This study used traditional documents to reconstruct the past, everyday people fall through the cracks in the written record. Social, political and economic leaders show up regularly in official documents and the media, but the rest seldom did. As such, chances were, if someone had to reconstruct one's life story from the written record alone, they would have very little to go on - and the information they would be able to gather would reveal very little about the heart and soul of one's daily life, or the things that mattered most to one. Let alone the history of PCSA in Zimbabwe.

It was through oral history that this thesis could compensate for the digital age. The 8th and 9th century historians could rely on extensive correspondence and regular diary entries for information about life in the past. Whereas in today's era; telephone, email, and web-based communication have largely replaced those valuable written records. Without oral history, much of the personal history of the 21st century would be lost to future historians. This study then found value in using oral history as a better tool to harness valuable information before the absence of the primary sources.

The use of oral history gave this researcher an opportunity to learn different kinds of information. Even when we do have extensive written sources about one's life - such as a politician - we may not have the kind of information we want. Newspaper articles, speeches and government documents may reveal significant useful information, but those kinds of sources often neglect more personal and private experiences. It was through oral history that this research could learn about the hopes, feelings, aspirations, disappointments, and personal experiences of the people involved in the mission work of planting the PCSA in Zimbabwe. This was done predominantly through interviews.

One, of the benefits of the use of oral history in this study, was the liberty to ask questions of interest. This study, like many others, came to know about John Calvin through the creative reading of the existing sources. It found the answers somewhere in his papers and other contemporary documents. But, oral history gave an opportunity to talk to people about the past, ask them burning questions and created the source materials that helped answer the question(s).

This study valued this method of historical analysis for it provided historical actors with an opportunity to tell their own stories in their own words as they experienced what happened (Prins, 1991:121-2). Through oral history, interviewees had a chance to participate in the creation of the historical retelling of their lives; following a setup questionnaire and in-turn evaluated the given data to appreciate the influence made by the PCSA in Zimbabwe. This study was enriched by the living historical actors. The researcher understands the influence of the PCSA's history enhanced by the living historical actors' storytelling of their versions of events and their interpretations, in their own words, of the PCSA's effect on socio-political and economic situations in Zimbabwe.

The use of oral history in this study provided a rich opportunity for human interaction. History, after all, is all about the human experience. Through an oral history of the PCSA, this researcher and interviewees came together in conversation about a commonly shared interest – the history of The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe

Oral sources, like any other sources, must not be taken at face value. They need critical evaluation to minimise inevitable shortcomings. These include lack of precision, where different versions of the same events are given, such as chronology (Prins, 1991:125). The difficulty reckoned in this study was the unconscious use of literary sources. The informants' memory filtered through subsequent experience. As such, uncontaminated oral tradition writes Vansina, simply does not exist (Vansina, 1985:156). In this study, such gaps were filled by checking with the outside sources.

Oral sources have had their weaknesses either due to memory loss or deliberate bias on the part of the informants and this has compromised the accuracy of the PCSA – Zimbabwe history recovered through this source.

2.6 Combined Approach

Written and oral sources are not in competition (Vansina, 1985). They complement each other. By knowing the backgrounds of the informants, this researcher could question and challenge his version of the events from, say the newspapers, minutes, addresses and correspondences. Both oral and written sources contributed immensely, in a different manner, to the study of the PCSA in Zimbabwe as it sought to do mission work which resulted in influencing the nation in a few ways. In this process the oral sources joined the more

conventional category of written documents to form what this researcher would like to call An African Approach¹².

At various occasions; the information given seemed marginal. This, of course, contributed to the richness of the testimonies gathered. However, insignificant, the researcher was aware of this danger, and hence assisted the informant in bringing to light all dimensions of his or her life experience. The other deficiency in the reconstruction of the past is often to enhance the past. The distortion of the narratives to justify their past actions *post facto*, mostly by public figures. The same challenge was faced in this study from past Presbytery and Synod moderators, conveners and interim-moderators of different congregations. They were uncomfortable with conflicts, particularly when these had left painful memories.

2.7 Conclusion

The PCSA in Zimbabwe operated in the predominantly African culture, where written sources only reflected the point of view of the people having access to literacy. Even for the PCSA in an urbanized strong-hold, oral tradition was an essential part of the culture. They could read and write, but important aspects of their lives were completely alien to the written sphere, and hence faced the limitation of overlooking the hidden transcript- that which happened offstage.

Oral traditions play leading roles in historical refurbishment and progression. Nevertheless, it is imperative to note that there are numerous weaknesses associated with the

¹² Africa' s history is mainly stored orally, in the memories of humanity, pictures, unrecorded documents etc and as such in **African Approach**, oral history is regarded as the main sources of African Church historiography being. The combination of written and oral data was essential in this research. This approach was subservient in researching the history of PCSA in Zimbabwe analysing how the PCSA influenced the nation in its developments socially, politically and economically.

use of these terms as trustworthy sources of history. Apparently, the use of oral tradition as the historical source material is no doubt notoriously difficult. Chronology and lack of independence are real problems for oral traditions, but they can be alleviated in some cases by using other sources except the contents of oral tradition. This case will remain an exception rather than the rule. Oral tradition may be a source of materials for historical reconstruction, but it is possible to still reinforce its information with written materials and vice versa.

Another problem with the use of oral tradition is that of dating (Vansina, 1985:180). But we must bear in mind that it is not always necessary to establish a chronology to write history. There are yet other ways to appreciate history but in oral tradition, the chronology is not sacred and it has been a potent weakness in historical writing and development (Nwankwo, 2012:161 and Vansina, 1965).

At this point, it should be clear that for the historian, invalid or irrelevant oral tradition do not exist. Distortions and biases are but a few of the many parts of oral tradition, as are the original story or any so-called reliable source. But it was the research's task to unravel out of the oral traditions that image with its fundamental components and construct a new reliable historical picture of the PCSA as it influenced the developments of Zimbabwe. To all intents and purposes, much can be drawn and learnt from oral traditions as was in this study. They remain important sources of historical reconstruction despite their various limitations. As it was in the study of the PCSA's socio-political and economic influence in Zimbabwe, it is advisable that oral traditions present are taken along or considered side by side with other available evidence from sources. This way they will facilitate a better and clearer understanding of history. Chapter three will demonstrate the importance of oral tradition in the study of Christian history as we investigate the reformed understanding of socio-political and economics within the PCSA in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 3

A REFORMED UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TEACHINGS WITHIN THE PCSA IN ZIMBABWE

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is undertaken from a Reformed theological position with special emphasis on the PCSA in Zimbabwe's missions and theology. The approach to this research is informed by oral tradition influences on the PCSA in the social, political and economic context of Zimbabwe during the period 1890-1990. Reformed tradition is rich in terms of a theoretical framework for its missionary ecclesiology and in this study. It is seen by the way the PCSA did its mission work by embracing socio-political and economic issues of Zimbabwean Reformed theological tradition which has had a large impact on the world since the reformation. This undoubtedly had a bearing on the PCSA which is part of the Reformed family, and the PCSA inherited a vast spiritual inheritance, which it put into practice.

The PCSA is convinced that the Christian faith concerns not only heaven and spiritual matters, but also this world and our daily existence (Neill 1967:411), and hence its role in politics and economics have no doubt had a huge bearing on its mission work, including that in Zimbabwe. This chapter mirrors reformer's (particularly Calvin's) socio-political and economic teachings from a third worldview using the living historical evidence and testimonies (oral history) and analytically assesses how such teachings affected the developments in Zimbabwe. It sets, discusses and infers such teachings on socio-politics and economics using an interpretation exemplary, (*interpretation is mean, to look at the information collected, from every angle to completely understand it, and focus on critical reading and analysis*) The results were used to evaluate the impact of the PCSA on the

developments in Zimbabwean society as will be shown in chapters four and five, and which was informed by oral tradition.

3.1 The PCSA and the State of Zimbabwe

It suffices at this stage to give a brief history of the PCSA. The Presbyterian family of churches, like all Christian churches, traces its roots back to the early church in Jerusalem, to Paul and the church fathers like Augustine (Dalziel 1982) In 1517 Martin Luther nailed his 95 Theses to a church door in Wittenberg, Germany. Pillay (2016) proffers that the public challenge to the practices of the church of his time led to the formation of a new family of churches known as the *Protestant churches*. The two main branches of Protestant churches are the Reformed churches and the Lutheran churches (Pillay, 2016). The Presbyterian Church belongs to the Reformed family.

John Calvin, born in France in 1509, has been called the 'Father of Presbyterianism'. Calvin's legacy to us is found in his teaching on the sovereignty of God, the priesthood of all believers and the Presbyterian Church structure. His ideals of morality, ethics and democracy helped shape Western thought. From Geneva, Presbyterians spread to Scotland and Ireland mainly through John Knox, who studied under John Calvin, and to England, the Netherlands and America. Throughout the world today there are some 80 million men, women and children who belong to the Christian family that goes by the name of 'Reformed and Presbyterian' (Biacler, 1959 and Pillay, 2016). Included in this family is the PCSA

Professor J. Pillay traced the coming of Presbyterianism and recorded thus:

“...in 1806 Britain sent the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders Regiment to the Cape as an occupying force. These Scottish soldiers were an unusually devout group of Presbyterians who met every week for prayer, Bible study and public worship. In 1812 a Presbyterian

minister, the Rev. George Thorn, on his way to India as a missionary with the London Missionary Society arrived in the Cape and decided to stay with the regiment. He then established the first Presbyterian congregation, which suffered a setback when he resigned in 1818. However, this setback was only temporary. In 1824 the congregation was re-established, and the building was completed in 1827 and it stands to this day in Cape Town, where it is known as the 'Mother Church' (Pillay, 2016).

In 1821 the Glasgow Missionary Society sent its first missionaries to work in the Eastern Cape. In 1824 they established the Lovedale mission, which became famous under the leadership of the Rev. Dr James Steward. According to Graham Duncan, Dr Steward 'was destined to become a missionary giant of his time' (Duncan 2003:146). As early as 1823 a presbytery was formed and the churches spread rapidly throughout the whole Eastern Frontier. In due course, the work was divided into three presbyteries: Kaffraria, Mankazana and Transkei. The first church was built at Glen Lynden in 1828 (Pillay, 2013).

Organised Presbyterianism began in Natal on the evening of 28 October 1850 when a gathering of Presbyterians resolved to form themselves into a congregation with the name *the Presbyterian Church of Natal* (Pillay, 2016). The Rev. William Campbell, from Scotland, accepted a call to the young congregation on 16 March 1851. The growth of the Presbyterian Church in other parts of South Africa (Pillay, 2016) followed in the wake of the Great Trek beginning in 1830, the discovery of diamonds in the Northern Cape in 1870 and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 (Rodger 1998). In 1896 the first Presbyterian congregation in Zimbabwe was formed in Bulawayo and in 1903 another at Harare, with others soon following.

The brief overview of reformed traditional stance on church-state relations allows this researcher to formulate an answer to the question as to whether the PCSA and state relations

reflect a Reformed understanding and interpretation. The PCSA in its public role in the socio-political developmental process in Zimbabwe has continued to exercise its devotional and moral influence. Alongside and across denominational divides churches have participated in the developmental process of the country through their service-arms such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC). However, the focus of this chapter is to investigate and analyse the Reformed understanding¹³ of the socio-political and economic developmental issues of Zimbabwe.

It must be acknowledged that The PCSA does not work in isolation; it is part of umbrella bodies such as the ZCC. The PCSA provided insights that helped the church to embark on a relentless mission as the ethics of the nation. The PCSA exercised its ethical task or prophetic mission regarding politics at different levels by condemning the oppressiveness of unjust rulers and demanding democratic political space for all citizens. The researcher argues that the PCSA in Zimbabwe exists in a socio-political and economic context of struggle and change and must, as a matter of urgency, define its role in the quest for the promotion of democratic values in the country.

The PCSA could either legitimise the status quo or call for its reconstruction and change. Thus, it functioned in two significant ways in society in relation to prevailing political, social and economic conditions. In line with reform teachings, by preaching and

¹³ Although the Reformed faith and tradition embraces a variety of different participants, I will mainly focus on the link of John Calvin to show how it influenced the PCSA in Zimbabwe. In other words, PCSA coming from a reformed tradition is compelled to be involved in the socio-political and economic issues as John Calvin demonstrates. Therefore, the PCSA had no option but to be involved in this way in Zimbabwe.

promoting peace, welfare and salvation, the PCSA in Zimbabwe has been standing above national political issues and that could easily be seen by any citizen or political parties. The PCSA could not barricade itself from political, social and economic evils, but identified human problems and came up with appropriate action plans as will be shown in chapters four and five.

The church is the largest constituency in the Zimbabwe community. About 73% of the Zimbabwean population is Christian (Mhloyi, 2003:23), including many in the political divide. This percentage includes all Christian denominations. The church is a nation-wide organisation offering an emblem, community, social security, support and moral integration of the state. Calvin demonstrated that the church, as a social institution, has enormous potential to promote social change (Kambudzi, 2000:36-8), as such the PCSA could not avoid standing for justice and related issues.

3.1.1 Church State Relations

Calvin believed that the church should not be subject to the state, or vice versa (Biacler, 1959 and Dommen and Bratt, 2007:109-110). While both church and state are subject to God's law, they both have their own God-ordained spheres of influence. Conversely, the state is not to intrude on the operations of the church. However, it has a duty to protect the church and its ability to function as the church (McNeill and Battles, 1960:20-21). The state for Calvin is essentially an organ of constraint in which the dynamic element is represented by the magistrate, while the static element appears in the laws (Pillay, 2015). Taking cue from Reformed tradition the PCSA worked hard to see to it that the state secured the minimum of peace and harmony required by human society for its existence as shown in the next two chapters of this study. The PCSA advocated that the state has not only to maintain peace; but

to maintain, a certain standard of morality or, as Calvin calls it, ‘some taste of the celestial realm’ (Gamble, 1992:114).

Calvin first separates and then joins the spiritual and civil government and sets his discussion of civil government in the context of his teaching on providence, Christian freedom, and the church (IV.XX.1–2). Calvin thought of the State as a Christian nation rather than a secular government. Reformed faith sowed the seeds of the modern secular democracy (McNeill and Battles, 1960:20-21). This as such formed the basis for the values and ethos of the PCSA in Zimbabwe as it responded to socio-political and economic issues. On many instances, as is shown in chapters four and five below, the PCSA advocated for democracy during pre-and post-independence Zimbabwe.

The task of government, per Calvin, is to ‘provide a public manifestation of religion that may exist among Christians, and that humanity should be maintained among people’ (Pillay, 2015). This is to imply that the duty of magistrates ‘extends to both tables of the law’ (9:1495), that is, to man’s duty to God, as well as to his duties to other people. In other words, the mission of the PCSA was/is to bear witness among the people to Christ and the Christian faith while the state's highest function is to bring about respect for this mission (Pillay, 2015). Calvin saw a unity of purpose in so far as both church and state are subject to the authority of God (Graham, 1988:55).

The PCSA hoped for teamwork between the church and the state to warrant that the people lived according to God's Word (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). As was envisaged by reformed theology, the PCSA engaged the government to ensure that human society was always directed simultaneously by church and state, and not by one of these institutions to the disadvantage of the other. Specific examples are highlighted in the pursuing sections.

Fig 2: Calvin's on Church State Relations

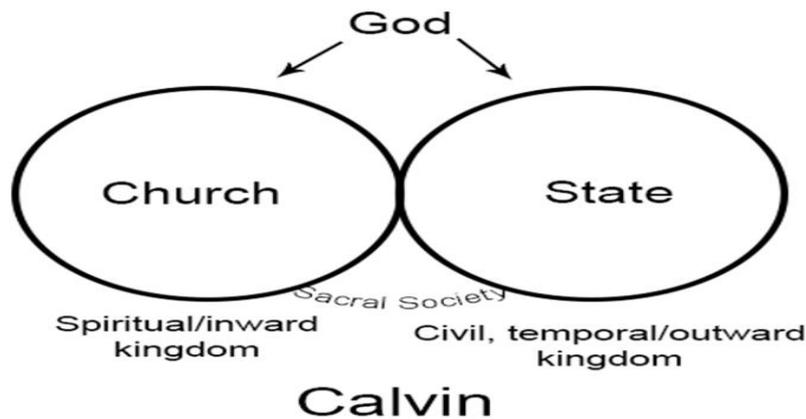


Fig 2 above depicts that Calvin in his days taught that civil authority was limited by rejecting medieval hierarchy. Calvin stood against church dictatorship of the papacy and the rising state absolutism of the European monarchies. For Calvin, (Institutes 3.19.15) humanity was considered, in the first place, as under two kinds of government. These being spiritual, by which the conscience is formed to piety in the service of God and the other political, by which humanity is instructed in the duties of humanity and civility, which is to be observed in an interaction with humankind. One may be termed a spiritual kingdom and the other a political one (Calvin, J., 1844:63). But these two, as distinguished in the above diagram, always require being considered separately.

For Calvin (Institutes 3.19.15), church and state are united as two interdependent entities each receiving its authority from God, but the state is never secular, nor is it separated from the church in the modern sense. His use of the soul and body analogy is the stock image of medieval scholasticism for the relation of church and state and marks the medieval character of his thought and his assumption of the medieval synthesis of society. Calvin believed, he who knows how to distinguish between the body and the soul will find no difficulty, applying this medieval analogy for a very non-medieval purpose and assumed that it is the business of the state to enforce conformity to the true Christianity (Institutes 3.19.15).

Reformed theology and works were to influence modern civil governance. Calvin noted the influence of this idea on the development of various freedoms in Western Europe and America (Schaff 1979:8, 264), which later spread and ended up in Zimbabwe, under the banner of the PCSA in the early 1890s.

Unfortunately, reformed theology (Calvin's teaching) was misrepresented. One example, in Zimbabwe like South Africa, it was used to justify racism as will be seen in the next chapter. However, as Pillay maintains, this was not done by Calvin's view of state and church but by a total misrepresentation of his teaching on election and predestination (Pillay, 2015). This was not an expression of reform understanding of unity in diversity but a propagation of divisive oppression.

The task of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, whilst maintaining its distinctive identity and role as suggested above, is to partner and participate with the state in (re)building a broken and divided nation. The struggle for the fullness of life for all people and the unity of humankind should occupy the agenda and mission of the church (Pillay, 2015).

Banana (1996:78) argues that the church must continue to be the watchdog of democracy and ensure that no impediments are placed in the path of those wishing to exercise their constitutional right as citizens. The commitment to the promotion of justice and peace is a constitutive element of reformed understanding of the church's mission (Matikiti, 2009).

The Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) met at workshops at Nyanga (1964) and Kadoma (1990) in the eastern and western provinces of Zimbabwe (Kambudzi 2000:37). In the period between these workshops the church had failed to make the Constitutional Commission and deferred the referendum, the Moral Charter was not ratified, Constitutional Reform stalled, and the church chose religious issues at the expense of political ones. Participants at the Kadoma workshop wondered whether the church had not delayed in

announcing its position on farm invasions and threats from war veterans (Kambudzi 2000:38). Calvin's prophetic protest could be seen by the participants' resolutions to act, mobilise their energy and political will to be part of the solution (Institutes 3.19.15) to the Zimbabwean problem of conducting free and fair elections.

According to the Rt. Rev. Chikomo (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015), ZCC parliamentary elections report (1985:1), a climate of tolerance and respect among citizens and political parties could have strengthened democracy and facilitated peaceful political competition. The PCSA reckoned that it is the duty of the state to create an enabling environment for the church to thrive.

In a move that many critiques believe was a wave of reprisal against the urban dwellers for not supporting Mugabe's party in the elections, the ruling party embarked on 'Operation *Murambatsvina*' (Operation Clean-up was also known as Operation Restore Order) in May 2005. The government said the operation was meant to stamp out the black market and reduce pressure on overcrowded urban areas (Daily Mirror 2005a). There was no respect for property rights. Several people had their houses demolished by the soldiers, police and the ZANU PF militia. Some families were forced to demolish their own houses. The PCSA socialised in Calvinism condemned the operation as a violation of human rights and urged the government to restore the rule of law (Harold-Barry 2005:14). On 16 June 2005, the UPCSA (*new church born of PCSA and RPCSA union of 1999*) wrote a press statement averring that "the church calls upon our government to take heed of the plight of the poor as commanded by God in Holy Scriptures" (Daily Mirror 2005b).

During Operation Restore Order the pastors accommodated members displaced by this immoral operation in their churches (Daily Mirror 2005c). This was testimony to the fact that the PCSA ministers were with the people.

The Calvinist tendencies clearly manifested, in Zimbabwe, through the creation of the Christian Alliance (CA), formed by like-minded church leaders who felt called to help solve the crisis in Zimbabwe through prophetic actions (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The group comprised church leaders from the Evangelical and Protestant churches. The ZCC and other church groups collaborated more closely in the democratization process by launching their national vision document, *The Zimbabwe We Want*, in which the churches criticized the state over its failure to initiate a national dialogue about the land, micro-economic policies, the constitutional debate, electoral process, human rights, governance and national reconciliation. The churches also criticised the state over its failure to establish an independent land commission that would ensure transparent, equitable and fair land distribution (Chikomo, pers. comm., 29 June 2014).

In the named document, the churches implored the nation to shun political intolerance (Zimbabwe Council of Churches and Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe 2006:8). Political intolerance has unfortunately become a culture in Zimbabwe. The trading of insults, violence with impunity, lawlessness and hate speech has unfortunately been characteristic of inter-party and intra-political parties. The *Zimbabwe We Want* must cherish, embrace and celebrate a culture of tolerance of dissent, political plurality and a willingness to accommodate political differences.

Intolerance breeds hatred and hatred breeds violence. Violence, in turn, led to destruction and social rupture. These vices could not build the *Zimbabwe We Want*. Political tolerance was an important ingredient in the efforts towards democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe. The church started playing an increasing prophetic role in the 21st century. It realised that democracy would not be handed down to Zimbabweans on a silver platter.

Despite the state's infiltration of churches and using divide and rule tactics among church organisations the churches seemed to have weathered the storm (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). In the events leading to the harmonised elections, most church organisation continued to speak out against violence. The ((U) PCSA minister) Rev. Wilbert Sayimani (ZCC vice chairperson) led ZCC that issued and handed to the President the 43 paged following statement: "Government should provide a levelled playing field for all those seeking political office (ZCC Report, 2009).

In the true reformed mode, churches, including the PCSA, stood as a voice of morality by condemning the political violence and lack of political tolerance after the 1990 elections and on-wards in Zimbabwe. An evaluation of the socio-political and economic participation of PCSA in Zimbabwe will help this study to assess the impact realised by the reformed teachings in the progress of the nation

3.1.2 Evaluation

From the foregoing discussion, we can pose the question of whether the PCSA used a reformed theological view of state and church relationships to address the issues in Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, the focus of this chapter is on the understanding of Reformed theology in line with the PCSA in Zimbabwe's socio-politics and economics endeavour.

John Calvin, living and working in Geneva, then as now a center of trade and banking, is the reformer who thought most carefully about economic and social issues, warning that "social disorder is first and foremost disdain for the poor and oppression of the weak." (Biacler, 1959). Calvin's application of the teaching of the Bible to practical issues of his place and time speaks to us with continuing relevance.

Jesus the Christ mandated the church; "...Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations ... teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you" (Matt. 28:19-20). The aspect of the church that concerns us here is her role as a teacher and moral guide. The PCSA proclaims the moral order of the human universe, that is, it passes moral judgments on any matters of concern. The moral order is based on the dignity of each person. Whenever any component of society, such as the political or economic system, debases human dignity by violating basic human rights, the PCSA became involved by upholding the moral order (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The PCSA utilised its divine right to guide and direct God's people by criticising and condemning the unjust and oppressive social structures (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). This is the role that characterises Calvinistic ideas on church-state relations. The PCSA could not avoid the political, economic, or social disorders affecting and bedeviling the moral fabrics of the communities, and spoke out of her competency.

Reformed teachings view the church's influence upon the state in terms of the First Commandment, the imperative which encompasses both church and state: 'God...tolerates no other gods beside him. He demands an exclusive conformity of the whole humankind and his whole life. This has a direct impact on all aspects of political life' (van Ruler, 1989:157). Calvin's God demands an obedience that defines not only religious belief and practice but also every facet of human existence, social, economic, legal, governmental and political. In short, Calvinism champions that rulers ought to govern justly otherwise they will answer before God. The PCSA in Zimbabwe upholds that the state must be called to account for its actions, as such whenever, the political leaders are sworn into office the bible is used and the government organs on every sitting will start and end in prayer (Chikomo, pers. comm., 29 January 2014). Nevertheless, reformed theology was with its defects as shall be exposed in the next section.

3.2 Effects of Reform Theology on the Socio-Politics and Economics context of Zimbabwe

The impact of reformed theology on socio-political and economics on Zimbabwe is vast. After a brief history of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, the researcher noted the contribution that several Presbyterian members and theologians had made – as National Premiers, Presidents, Politicians or as theologians who helped develop the reformed theology in Zimbabwe. At least five principles that Calvin held dear, are reflected in the PCSA in Zimbabwe's life and work during the past century: the quest for unity, the concern for mission, covenanting for justice, providing a prophetic witness in the community, and when the need arose, the willingness to confront the government of the day, as shown in chapters four and five of this thesis. The section concludes with a brief outlook on the future of the PCSA and of the continued input that it may be able to make

Eighteen hundred years ago, the North African theologian Tertullian, confronted the church with the question: “What is there in common between Athens and Jerusalem?” In his mind, the answer was: “Nothing” (Bettenson, 1950:7ff). This chapter sought to deal with a similar puzzle: What has Geneva and Zimbabwe to do with one another? The intention is to discuss the influence of reformed tradition on the Zimbabwe's socio-political and economics – if, indeed, any such an inspiration can be established. As was the case with Tertullian's question, the answer to mine needs careful research and justification.

The question is: To what extent did reformed tradition within the PCSA influence the developments of Zimbabwe for the past hundred years up to 1990? The history of the PCSA – dates back to 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck founded the first European settlement in the Cape (Pons, 1982:15). Early in the nineteenth century: Presbyterians were active in the field of missions, resulting in the finding of numerous members and some crossing the Limpopo

River into Zimbabwe. In, 1896 the first Presbyterian congregation in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) was formed at Bulawayo and in 1903 another at Salisbury (now Harare) (*The Beginnings of Presbyterianism* by Dr. Jack Dalziel. (Duplicated and Undated manuscript). Others soon followed. Several educational institutions such as David Livingstone Secondary School, Gloag Ranch and Mhondoro Secondary School were also started. In due course, the two Presbyteries of Matabeleland and Mashonaland were constituted (Chigwida, pers. comm., 3 January 2013).

The first Presbyterian congregation in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) was established in 1926 at Livingstone and named "The David Livingstone Memorial Presbyterian Church". The Livingstone congregation remained the only congregation of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zambia until 1956 (Pons, 1982:15). The PCSA contributed significantly to developments in the country through the years. Not much has been written on the PCSA's reception in Zimbabwe (Mushayavanhu, 2014). However, the question is: How strong was the impact of the Presbyterian Church on Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic developments? The next section will answer the question by firstly pointing to the role several leaders, coming from a Presbyterian Church background, played in the history of Zimbabwe. Secondly, by tracing the influence of several reformed "Calvinistic" ideologies on the developmental agenda of Zimbabwe.

3.2.1 PCSA members in leadership positions in the Zimbabwe history

Members of the PCSA were regarded to be people who take their divine calling seriously (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015 and Kambudzi, 2000). Elected by God to serve Him both in the church, as well as in the wider community, they are called to act as ambassadors of his Kingdom in all walks of life (Kambudzi, 2000:39). It came as no surprise that Presbyterians were found among the developers in the Zimbabwean community. The

story of Zimbabwe includes the stories of many men and women with a PCSA background who, each in their own way played a significant role in the socio-political and economic, administration and programs, as well as in shaping the church theology. They were not the only ones.

The influence of the PCSA is more multifaceted than the role of these church leaders. In the limited space allowed for a thesis, the following list will suffice. It has already been noted that, in the early years with the establishment of the Rhodesian government, Mr. Ian Douglas Smith (1919 - 2007) ruled for over fifteen years between 1963 and 1979 and Sir Howard Moffatt (1869 - 1951) ruled Zimbabwe from 1927 to 1933 both were Prime Ministers with a PCSA background. The three were elected President of the country with the reformed background: Clifford DuPont (1905-1978) (PCSA), Henry Everard (1877 -1980) (DRC) and Jack William Pithey (1903 -1987) (PCSA) (Chikomo, 2014 and Masaka, 2015: Interview at Harare). In the ranks of premier and presidency, they served Zimbabwe in many ways – drafting documents, contributing to the legislative, leading political discussions, formulating policies which affected the socio-politics and economics of Zimbabwe. The names of numerous Presbyterians appear, among them Timothy Stamps and Lookout Masuku among many others who were successful in the politics of Zimbabwe (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The Reformed principles shaped the Zimbabwean society. However, it would be totally wrong to surmise that only the Calvinists shaped the developments of Zimbabwe. Many other denominations and leaders from different traditions contributed to the thinking and the actions of the country. To ignore the PCSA input in the process would be equally wrong. In many instances, the views and the principles of the reformed tradition were reflected in the life of Zimbabwe.

Calvinism rests upon two pillars. Firstly, Calvinism may be seen as a theology founded upon the Bible as the Word of God, speaking to us with the authority of God. Secondly, it provides a very specific view of life. The Christian message is not only, or primarily, about the salvation of humankind, it is primarily about the authority of God in all spheres of life. Calvin wrote extensively on the relationship between the church and the government, the church and the economy, amongst many others (Dreyer, 2005). Christians, according to Calvin, have a divine calling to accept and to proclaim the Lordship of Christ wherever they find themselves, be it at home, in the church, or in the wider community (Cross, 1957:220 ff). Both these pillars come into play when the influence of Calvinism on Zimbabwe is evaluated. Reformed theologies, as well as the view of life, are reflected in the following paragraphs.

How important are Reformation views – the main tenets of Presbyterianism – in the Zimbabwean context, as it was in Geneva? In an official publication celebrating the legacy of John Calvin, co-edited by Lukas Vischer and Setri Nyomi, several issues raised by Calvin that are relevant to Christians at the beginning of the third millennium, are noted, namely to manifest the gift of communion, covenanting for justice, and addressing violence and destruction in the world (Vischer & Nyomi, 2008). Turning to the Zimbabwe situation, especially paging through the history of the PCSA, I would like to propose that the fingerprints of reform tradition are recognisable in its programs, reports, minutes and statements.

The PCSA continued to search for unity among the Zimbabwean peoples and its endeavours to provide a platform where people could meet, is directly consistent with reformed practice. As such it suffices to interpret that, for PCSA, as it was with the reformers the unity of the church was/is a key concern. The fourth part of Calvin's Institutes of the Christian religion was devoted to this theme (Calvin, 1935). In his commentaries on the books of the Bible, the theme of unity is also often underlined. For Calvin, Christ cannot be

divided, and Faith cannot be rent (Calvin, 1948). There are no various baptisms, but one which is common to all. God cannot cease to be one, and unchangeable. It cannot but be our duty to cherish holy unity, which is bound by so many ties (McKim, 1998:223). Faith, and baptism, and God the Father, and Christ ought to unite us, so as almost to become one (Calvin, 1948:4. 5:269). Although John Calvin broke ranks with the Roman Catholic Church, he lamented the disunity of the church throughout his ministry, encouraging the Christians of his day to seek unity always (De Gruchy, 2009).

Being the man who committed himself “to cross ten oceans” to further the unity of the church, he urged his counterparts to work towards unity because the beliefs and practices that bound them together were far more important than the differences that kept them apart (De Gruchy, 2009). Leaders from many denominations in Zimbabwe shared the ZCC’s commitment to ecumenism and worked hard to further the cause of unity among the many churches in the land. It is, however, equally evident that some of the most outspoken champions of church unity in the ZCC, Christian Care and United Theological College hailed from the ranks of the PCSA, to include Rev. H. P. Chikomo, M.T. Chigwida, W. Sayimani and S. Chatikobo, and by doing that, saw them walking in the footsteps of Calvin (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The unequivocal call for unity in the statements and messages of the PCSA through the years would have carried the blessing of reformation. In the years when Zimbabweans were fighting for the liberation of the country, Rev. Chigwida rose in the ranks of those who opposed the ruling government of that time, to be the shadow minister of education in the United African National Council (1971), calling for equity in Zimbabwe irrespective of race (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

Conversely, Rev. H.P. Chikomo teamed up with most of the Protestant denominations in Zimbabwe to form Christian Care and he became its first secretary general (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Influenced by Calvinism, The Rt. Rev. Chikomo organised the

educational, social and justice desks to deal with state related issues in Zimbabwe. Such programs still form the core developmental programs of the organisation which Rev. S. Chatikobo is perpetuating. Within the ZCC, Rev. Sayimani, as its immediate past chairperson, championed the formation of the “*Zimbabwe We Want*” document seeking to exercise peace and reconciliation after the Gukurahundi bedevilled the country (ZCC Report, 2009:12).

The concern for mission and evangelism in the history of the PCSA started with the establishment of the fellowship group at Makokoba and continued later, with the founding of the PCSA in Zimbabwe (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). The strong commitment was the proclamation of the gospel of Christ to all men and women in the land. How strong was the PCSA's missionary commitment; is a question often asked? One of the most outspoken critiques of the Western Mission Founded Churches (WMFC) in this regard, was Mushayavanhu, D (2014), who accused the WMFC with special reference to the PCSA's lack of missionary interest and endeavoured to proclaim it as the cause of the proliferation of African Initiated Churches (AIC) in Zimbabwe. Taking their cue from Mushayavanhu, it has become customary for many to blame reformers for their perceived lack of missionary enthusiasm. This accusation is not fair – especially not of John Calvin's successors who did have a clear vision for the mission (Bosch, 1998:239 ff).

It was PCSA clergy, the Rt. Rev. H. P. Chikomo in Marandellas (Marondera) in 1964, amongst other denominations, who founded the ZCC, a fellowship of twenty-six Christian denominations and ten para-church organisations that confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour per the scriptures. ZCC, through its members, is represented in all parts of Zimbabwe (Chikomo, pers. comm., 29 January 2014). The organisation is also part of a large family of national and international networks of like minded church and civil society organisations that work tirelessly to make the world a better place. The interest in mission and evangelism that the ZCC had later shown, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, was,

therefore, partially rooted in the commitment of the Calvinist member churches to honour Jesus' imperative: "You will be my witnesses" (Acts 1:8).

The call for social justice is a regular theme in Calvin's writings, especially in his sermons and in the actions he undertook in Geneva (Botha, 2009; Vischer & Nyomi, 2008:28). In his footsteps, during the centuries, numerous reformed leaders dared to confront injustice in society, challenging the powers of their time, often at a very high cost to themselves. In Zimbabwe, in the latter half of the twentieth century, standing for justice invariably meant confronting the issue of racism, unmasking the unorthodox of discrimination, and fighting for the rights of the oppressed and marginalised (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015), as chapters four and five will allude. Ironically, in the past discrimination was defended by many as a typical reformed solution to the racial problems of Zimbabwe. In 1964 when the Rhodesian Front won the general election on their racial discrimination ticket, it was with the support and encouragement of the PCSA (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013) which fashioned its views on self-determination on its misreading of reformed theological (Godwin, P. & Hancock, I.: 1995); traits which could be traced back into the South African apartheid regime to whom it affiliated.

We heard John Calvin as he insisted that 'the name "neighbour" extends indiscriminately to every person because the whole human race is united by a sacred bond of fellowship:

... To make any person our neighbour it is enough that they are human', and we claimed it for ourselves in the struggle against all forms of racism and exclusion of all kinds. We heard John Calvin and for us, racism in society and in the church, became a sin, an assault upon the dignity of God, a denial of the reconciling work of Jesus Christ. We heard Calvin's fiery

sermons against wealth, selfishness, and the single-minded pursuit of profits (Boesak, 2009:10 ff.).

In 1965, the Rev. K. M. Edger inspired by Calvin's strong stance, in his report to the 64th General Assembly at St. John's Church, Bloemfontein reiterated Calvin's sentiments:

When rich and poor stand opposed to each other, Jesus never took place with the wealthier, but always with the poorer. He was born in a stable; and while foxes have holes and birds have nests, the Son of Man had nowhere to lay his head ... Both the Christ, and just as much as his disciples after him as the prophets before him, invariably took sides against those who were powerful and living in luxury, and for the suffering and the oppressed (PCSA, 1965:27).

The statement by Rev. Edger triggered some controversial statements and fuelled the fires of criticism against the PCSA. At times, it caused division within the PCSA itself (PCSA, 1965:27-28). However, the fact that the PCSA in standing up for justice and for truth, specifically siding with the poor and the marginalised acted within the finest tradition of the Genevan reformation goes without saying (De Gruchy, 1991:78-83).

Confronting the government, the PCSA and the Zimbabwean government landed on a collision course, which was inevitable. The above-mentioned statements from the PCSA irritated and angered the Rhodesian (racial) government, who thought of itself as a "Christian government" that deserved obedience and loyalty of all citizens, especially of the churches (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Some of the activities and programmes of the PCSA, above all the ZCC's support of the World Council of Churches' Programme to combat racism, added fuel to the fire (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2013).

Should Christians stand up against the government – even rebel against the authority of the state? Was the question uppermost in the minds of many Zimbabwean Christians? At first

glance, Calvin's advice with his strong emphasis on Paul's injunctions in Romans chapter 13; to obey the state as "the servant of God" who "does not bear the sword in vain" – would be in the negative. That is, however, only half of the story: Calvin also demanded of the state to rule justly. A just and well-regulated government will be distinguished for maintaining the rights of the poor and the afflicted (Boesak, 2009:12).

The time may come, Calvin conceded, that tyranny by the state should be resisted (Calvin, 1935:14). Regarding Isaiah 14:7-8, he stated: "Here he (Isaiah) shows how greatly tyrants are hated by the whole world; when they are, dead or ruined, all men break forth into joy...the Heavenly Judge cannot endure tyrants, who are abhorred by the whole world" (Calvin, 1935:14.7-8:439 ff). The clash between the Zimbabwe government and the PCSA became severe. Strong actions were taken against the PCSA and its leadership in the 1980s and 1990s. Lomagundi Church offices were destroyed in flames (PoZ, 1999: 21-5) and the late Rev. Donavan Brain Enslin died (PoZ, 29 December 1999:2) in cold blood at the hands of ZANU PF militia in Masvingo. During these difficult times the PCSA leadership – took their cue from Calvin and from the reformed tradition.

Despite all the good that the new Zimbabwe brought us since its independence in 1980, we are not out of the woods – not by a far stretch! Despite the work of the unity accord (22 December 1987) and the Reconciliation Commission in 2008, Zimbabwe is still a deeply divided community, in dire need of reconciliation and healing on many levels (Manica Post, 1989). The gap between rich and poor is as deep as always. Millions still live in abject circumstances in shacks and in informal settlements, without work and without resources (ZCC and EFZ Report, 2006). The scourge of HIV and AIDS and other diseases is with us. Displacements and Land invasions simmer under the surface, threatening to erupt at any given time (Herald News Paper, 2002). Stories of crime and violence, of poor service

delivery, of corruption and greed and racism, are covered daily on the front pages of the Newspapers and Social Media.

Many Zimbabweans seem to have lost hope – many have lost their faith. The entire above have had a great impact on Zimbabwe. To fulfil its role today as it did in the past, the PCSA must rediscover its calling and rethink its agenda. In confronting the new challenges, the PCSA in Zimbabwe may once again call on its reformed members to contribute to solving the problems of the day. The Presbytery of Zimbabwe has much to offer.

Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political arrangements have been indirectly influenced by the Christian theological principles of reformation. This was true at the time of independence and beyond. This has enabled Zimbabwe to enjoy a democracy and economic prosperity, things which many of her neighbours know little about. This success has enabled the Church, through the reformed tradition, to state the ethics and principles of the Christian faith on matters relating to the country's socio-economic and political structures. To sum up: Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political success owes a great deal to the reformed tradition of political liberalism that arose out of Calvinism.

Reformed tradition, mainly Calvinism, spells out the place of the Christian faith in church-state relations. He, Calvin, believed that the church should not be subject to the state, or vice versa (Verstraelen, 1998). He championed that the state should not intrude on the operations of the church. However, it has a duty to protect the church and its ability to function as the church (Kambudzi, 2000:35). The relationship between the organised church and state in Zimbabwe, especially about democratic space for an association, has been at the centre of conflict between Christians and the state. It can be argued that Calvin's ecclesiology guides the Calvinistic churches in their relations in 21st century Zimbabwe. The church in Zimbabwe has benefited from reformed theology insights. Church-state relationships are

critical. The church and the body of politics cannot live and develop in sheer isolated from, and ignorance of one another (Kambudzi, 2000). The following chapters will be looking at Presbyterianism and Politics in a Zimbabwean context (1890-1990) and the influence of Presbyterianism on Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic conditions.

It however suffices, to say that for much of Zimbabwe's first decade (1980-1990), when she attained independence from the colonial rule, the church played a serious role in complementing government efforts in nation building and fostering national development, particularly in the social welfare sector (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Churches invested heavily in building, equipping and running rural hospitals and clinics as well as providing high-quality education to previously disadvantaged communities (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). Today, the legacy of the churches in the health and education sectors in Zimbabwe lives on just like that of Calvin's in Geneva.

The PCSA in Zimbabwe has a calling to address several threats to reclaim its prophetic voice and action. In relation to internal threats that have been alluded to elsewhere above, the PCSA worked tirelessly to achieve financial stability to enable them to implement innovative social justice and advocacy programs as well as retain skilled staff. The churches have over the years suffered considerable staff haemorrhage as highly skilled staff left the country at the height of the economic crisis. The PCSA has lost many most talented Zimbabwean young and intellectuals into the diaspora. Some notable individuals have left Zimbabwe, such as Reginald Mudenda (PoZ, 24 February 2008:9) and Peter Aiken (PoZ, 15 June 1997:5), Nison Hove (PoZ, 12 June 1994:11) and Wilbert Sayimani (PoZ, 2010:13) who were the brains behind the founding of the National Constitutional Assembly and were part of the ZCC staff during the 1990s when the PCSA shone locally and internationally as one of Zimbabwe's strongest church in Zimbabwe.

PCSA Zimbabwe's women by being most active church members are the pillar and unsung heroines of the churches in Zimbabwe in regards to building socio-economic impact to the nation. However, they continue to be sidelined from leadership and involvement in the high-level work of the churches. For any grassroots and mass-based actions of the PCSA to stand a chance of success the male leadership of the church must seriously and urgently work towards enabling women to be at the centre of the social justice work of the church. With all the historical factors and observations of the current situation considered, the PCSA in Zimbabwe is a powerful social force located deep within the national fabric in relation to the socio-political and economic influence of Zimbabwe. Despite the failings of the past and the opposition from illiberal politicians in the present, the PCSA perpetrated the reformed teachings as shall be shown in chapters four and five.

3.3 Conclusion

From the above discourse, Reformists (in this case Calvinists) always had a lively interest in socio-economics and politics, because they were convinced that the Christian faith concerned not only heaven and spiritual matters but also this world and our daily existence by drawing from the reformed theological teachings as was the case in Zimbabwean history too. Lately, the Reformed churches in Zimbabwe have been at sixes and sevens on what, and how, they should witness to the government and society. The following will show how the PCSA, influenced by reformed theology, was forced to contribute to the socio-political and economic developments in Zimbabwe. This opens the possibility of meaningful dialogue between the PCSA and the government of Zimbabwe. The next chapter, being informed by the findings from this chapter, mainly from oral sources will test the supposition that reformed theology furthered by the PCSA in its teachings resulted in impacting the socio-political and economic developments in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4

PRESBYTERIANISM AND SOCIO – POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF ZIMBABWE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines a period the researcher referred to as the missionary Presbyterianism era of Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. The chapter delineated, examined and interpreted The Zimbabwean PCSA's economic and political teachings and activities during colonial rule considering Presbyterianism as it was informed through oral tradition and tested against the existing written narratives. The chapter focus on racism, war, land issue and federation in which the church (PCSA's) contributions on socio-political and economic developments of Zimbabwe were instrumental. In short, the PCSA's socio-political and economic influence of Zimbabwe can best be summarized under these four themes. The argument focuses on testing the supposition that reformed theology furthered by the PCSA in its teachings resulted in impacting the socio-political and economic developments of Zimbabwe.

4.1 A Historical survey of the period (1890 - 1990)

Before exploring the four themes in this section it is first necessary to consider a survey of the period under study. This consideration places the PCSA within its proper setting. The study recognized that when the PCSA began its mission work on the Zimbabwean mission field other missionary societies had already operated in the country. Oral traditions as well as written narratives paint a picture of church fraternity in the Zimbabwean soil. Gonzalo da Silveira, a Roman Catholic missionary from Portugal introduced Christianity to the Munhumutapa Emperor and his court in the 16th century (Bhila, 1977:25). Gonzalo's

attainment in the Munhumutapa kingdom was short lived as he was martyred because of the Muslim influence (Bhila, 1977:26). Gonzalo's efforts were followed by those of the Dominicans and Jesuits which failed to make an impact and were abandoned in the later part of the 18th century (Rea, 1977:14-23). The early missionary efforts did not achieve any lasting results (Bhebe, 1999:122). This study has taken these facts into consideration since it is critical to consider such a failure when writing about political involvement of missionaries who came into the country after such a bleak let-down.

A reformer, John Calvin (1509 - 1564), became the founder of Presbyterianism's (Nicole, 1985 and McKim, 1998:171). His missionary zeal had engrossed the minds of many among his colleagues and admirers (Quinn and Greg, 1979). In about two centuries after his demise, in 1890 a new era commenced in Zimbabwe when the first Presbyterian mission started at Makokoba in Bulawayo (Ndou, pers. comm., 19 February 2014 and Mthimkulu, pers. comm., 4 November 2014).

Zimbabwean Presbyterianism emerged as an extension of Presbyterian mission in South Africa, (Mugoch J. Wilson, in an unpublished and undated document entitled *The Story of the Church*). Rev. H. H. Munro (MA) who was the convener of Church Extension Committee of the Presbytery of Transvaal (*Transvaal Presbytery*, 29 July 1890), envisioned mission work beyond the Limpopo River which was never fulfilled because the PCSA did not grant permission due to lack of financial resources (Pons, 1982 and Chigwida: pers. comm., 27 January 2013, and *Understanding the Presbyterian Church* by Keith D. Pearson: - *Undated and unpublished document*)

The break-through came with the granting of The Rudd Concession and the formation of a Chartered Company in 1888 (Knight-Bruce, 1889:263-70). Cecil John Rhodes offered an annual pledge of one hundred pounds and land for farms towards churches including the

PCSA to work in the anticipated British colony beyond the Limpopo River (Chikomo, pers. comm., 29 June 2014). Rhodes was from a Christian family (Roberts, 1988). He was convinced that the British had a task to civilize the whole of Africa through Christianity and European civilization (Machukera, pers. comm., 19 April 2014). Therefore, he invited Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Methodists together with denominations like Roman Catholics to be with him on the northward venture (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). This endeavor brought the PCSA into Zimbabwe. Because of Rhodes' offer the PCSA became closely associated with the state in molding the Zimbabwean society for good or for bad depending on the circumstances.

According to Bhebe (1999:122) a new missionary venture was initiated by Robert Moffatt of the London Missionary Society who visited Mzilikazi and later on got permission to start mission centers at Inyathi and Hope Fountain in 1859. The Berlin Missionary Society sent African evangelists from South Africa into parts of Mberengwa and Mwenezi (Bhebe 1999:122). The Roman Catholic missionaries reappeared on the mission field and were given permission to establish a mission station at Empanjeni by Lobengula (Bhebe 1999: 122), south-west of Zimbabwe. The significance of these early missionary efforts was not in their evangelistic success but in that, "...they helped, through the correspondence and publications of the missionaries, to open Zimbabwe and its resources of the human souls to the gaze of the Christian world" (Bhebe 1999: 122). It is within this context that the activities of Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company who "...swindled a mineral concession out of Lobengula and used it to gain permission from the British government to colonize Zimbabwe. Missionary organizations both in South Africa and abroad, were stirred into action" (Bhebe 1999: 122).

Rhodes desired to use the Christian message to pacify Africans (Bhebe 1999: 123), so he made an offer for missionary societies to take advantage of the new opening of Zimbabwe

and to avoid suspicion and criticism from fellow British citizens (Zvobgo 1996:3). The offer was very effective, between 1890 and 1900 AD; ten denominations were operating in Zimbabwe and 325 730 acres were given to missionary societies in land grants (Bhebe 1999: 123):

This was one of the aspects of the close association of the Christian Missions with the rest of the colonial forces which the anti-colonial revolutionaries like Mugabe and others kept on referring to. In early years' missions, like any other settlers seemed to have no scruples in participating in the general land dispossession of Africans. Even though churches in later years were at pains to explain to the nationalists and anti-colonial critics that the land they held was not being used for commercial profit but for the social advancement of Africans, all the missionaries imposed economic and social regulations on their properties, which clashed with the customs and traditions and restricted the economic advancement of their tenants so that the latter were forced to abandon their traditional homes and to fling themselves on the reserves which were invariably groaning under the weight of overpopulation and overstocking (Bhebe 1999:123).

The quotation above pointed out correctly that mission stations were another form of settlers, they were responsible for the land dispossession of Africans and among them the PCSA with Mhondoro (in Mashonaland), Robert Sinyoka, Sigola, David Livingstone Memorial and Gloag Ranch (in Matebeleland).

We now turn to a closer examination of the Zimbabwean church topography to be more specific when dealing with the PCSA in Zimbabwe in relation to its role in the sociopolitical and economic fields. Churches which operated in colonial Zimbabwe can be put into three broad categories. According to Hallencreutz (1991:160 -161) the churches that operated in Zimbabwe can be classified as national churches with a double mandate, such as

the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the PCSA, mission related regional churches, such as the Lutheran Church, the Salvation Army, the United Methodist Church, the Church of Christ and other mainstream churches, and independent or spirit churches, such as the Zion Christian Church of Samuel Mutendi and others. Bhebe (1999:123-124) agreed with Hallencreutz on the categorization of the churches. This categorization was adopted for this study.

The national churches with a double mandate had the liberty to spread throughout the country as their ministry targeted both Africans and Europeans. On the political arena, the concept of separate development which was employed by the national churches led to serious tensions within the churches and between the churches and the state and eventually led to violent divisions based on racial lines (Chikohora, pers. comm., 4 April 2015). According to Bhebe (1999:124), a comparison of the three denominations that fell in the category of the national churches showed that the Roman Catholic Church fared better than any of its counterparts in terms of condemning the brutal atrocities committed by Rhodesian Security Forces against Africans.

The mission-related regional churches, whose membership was predominantly African, were sympathetic to the African nationalist aspirations (Bhebe 1999: 125). However, Bhebe was quick to point out that there were “...differences of sympathies either for the internal expressions of the more moderate nationalists of the African Nationalist Council from 1970 on-wards or for the more militant options advanced by the liberation movements operating from Zambia and Mozambique since 1974” (Bhebe 1999:125). This study did not go deeper into issues pertaining to this category of churches since that is outside the scope of this study. However, what has been discussed so far gives a clear picture of the Zimbabwean church terrain during the colonial era and positioned the PCSA in Zimbabwe in its context.

The independent churches, which may be referred to as African initiated churches (AICs), emerged because of Africans' reaction to missionary supremacy capitalising on the Missionary Founded Churches (Mushayavanhu 2012). These churches were supportive to African nationalist objectives (Bhebe 1999:126). These churches emerged mainly as a cause of the weaknesses of the western missionary founded churches including the PCSA in Zimbabwe. Their eminence was a reaction to the western missionary founded churches, to fill in the gap left void by the named churches (Mushayavanhu 2012).

We have seen the church landscape in which the PCSA was operating during the colonial era. The study now focuses on how they fared on the political arena as one of the national churches with a double mandate.

4.2 Politics of the land

The establishment of the PCSA in Zimbabwe rested more on the politics of the land than on evangelism as this study will now show. The Zimbabwean PCSA sprang up as a fellowship of settlers through South Africa, who came along the Great Trek (PoR, 1892:51). The fellowship of few Calvinists from various parts of Europe assembling to have “bible study”, weekly fellowship at Makokoba, the site where the Makokoba congregation is now sited.

Cecil John Rhodes, one of the great British imperialists in Southern and Central Africa, had his eyes fixed on Zimbabwe and beyond (Thorpe 1951:31). After King Lobengula finally succumbed to Rudd, Maguire and Thompson's trickery persuasion he made an, "...untidy cross and thumb-mark... to the bottom of the document; and so, the eminent Rudd Concession was signed in October 1888" (Thorpe 1951:32). Rudd and his colleagues were sent by Rhodes to negotiate for permission to prospect for gold in Mashonaland. The Rudd Concession became the basis of a violent dispossession of blacks by a white minority in

Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe had remained unknown to most Europeans in Southern Africa (Wallis, 1945:76). The little information available was provided by hunters and explorers. As such, "With the concession granted by Lobengula to Mr. Rudd and others, to prospect for gold in Mashonaland, and the formation of the Chartered Company in 1889 to work on the concession, the curtain of mystery was withdrawn" (Whiteside 1906:461). Once the Rudd Concession was signed, Rhodes was quick to move into Zimbabwe. He formed the British South Africa Company (BSAC) mobilised the Pioneer Column and marched into Zimbabwe (Moyo, 1995).

The way was paved for a voyage into the unknown land north of the Limpopo River. As the Rudd Concession, paved way for the invasion of Zimbabwe by white settlers, Rhodes' offer did the same for PCSA work in the country (Bhebe, 1999:122-123). The reason Rhodes invited the "Church" to participate in his Pioneer Column was that of his Christian roots. He might have invited the church to make his conquest of lands beyond the Limpopo River legitimate and win support from Britain (Bourdillon, 1977:77). Perhaps, another reason was that he needed clergy as chaplains and moulders of the Zimbabwean community. Whether Christians were aware of the disastrous consequences of partnering with British imperialist agents is not clear.

It was the BSAC's policy to give large estates to missionary societies who sent missionaries to the country (Weller & Linden 1984:181). PCSA as well as other missionary groups, like the Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Episcopal Methodists who accepted the land offers and used them for various mission activities. Because of the tracks of land and African converts who started to populate the mission farms, missionaries found themselves involved in administration issues directly (Weller & Linden 1984:201). In this regard the PCSA including other missionaries started to assume secular power, carrying out such administrative duties as administration of justice which had been carried out by chiefs and

later became the role of the government (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). This explains why the PCSA, as well as their missionary counterparts, formulated rules and regulations to be observed by African converts on mission farms. Sooner than later, missionaries' functions overlapped with those of administrators.

The defeat of the Ndebele and Shona in 1896/7 by the BSAC led to the conquest of Zimbabwe (Alexander 2006:11). A new dispensation was ushered in Zimbabwe. The new era witnessed an abolition of the Ndebele “...monarchy, control over cattle, land, labour and settlement fell increasingly beyond the authority of political leaders” (Palmer 1977: 229). It was so because the British settlers viewed the wars of resistance by locals as uprisings. They had to put stern measures in place to suppress local people once and for all, as they created a new nation under the auspices of the British Empire. The land was renamed Rhodesia, after Rhodes, the great imperialist (Bourdillon, 1977). Alexander (2006:19) went on to note that, “All this went hand in hand with the expansion of missionary activity: new ideas permeated through the region, unregulated by strict controls previously exercised by the king.” PCSA missionaries were not exempted in the expansion. The politics of land in Zimbabwe was never an issue of scarcity of the commodity, but one of who had authority over it, who had the right to use it and how it was distributed among citizens. This was a new system in Zimbabwe and the black population had to respond to it even though they did not comprehend the British values which were now employed (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The PCSA accepted and promoted the new order as is evident in some of the resolutions made by the Presbytery (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). In 1920, during the peak of the passing of legislation on land in Zimbabwe, the PCSA in Zimbabwe urged the settler government to consider agricultural training for locals seriously. The following quotation illustrates the point:

The PCSA in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) assembled in Salisbury (Harare), on January 3, 1920, urges upon the Administration of this country the desirability and importance of undertaking as early as possible, some definite forms of Agricultural training for the natives of the territory (PoR, 1920:13).

This quotation shows that the PCSA justified the settler occupation in Zimbabwe and the takeover of authority on land as well as determining forms of land usage (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Local people were ignorant of modern farming methods, but they were not inexperienced in terms of land use. The desire to train locals in agricultural methods was not for their good, but to facilitate easy control by the settler government. It was also an important strategy for encouraging the absorbing of blacks into the new nation being established.

In the same year, 1920, The Presbytery made another request to the settler government, "The Presbytery also requests the Administration to consider the question of facilitating for natives the purchase of land from the Government" (PoR, 1920:21). The request exposes the view held by the PCSA that the invasion of Zimbabwe by the BSAC was legitimate. That was scandalous. The settler government was illegitimate, yet the PCSA appealed to it to consider selling land they invaded to people they had displaced. It is surprising to note how they ignored local people's God-given right to their land. For local people, it was startling to realise that they were required to purchase land on which they had stayed from time immemorial. The issue of capacity to pay was another problem. The issue of land purchased by blacks marginalised them as second class citizens in their motherland.

At a General Assembly meeting, the highest decision-making body of the PCSA as a denomination held bi-annually, a discussion on the objectives for mission farms exposed how the church and settler government's agendas were intertwined (PoZ, 1920:21-2). The church

aimed at a complete turnaround of society, forms of land use and cultural values, including the shape of houses and structure of villages. A demand for transfer of allegiance from traditional leaders to Native Councils was considered treacherous (Masaka, pers. comm., 11 January 2015). The PCSA also introduced forced labour on mission farms as a cost cutting measure. What PCSA was not aware of was the impact of such objectives on blacks. Such activities on mission farms revealed the discriminative tendencies of the white settlers' programme. Zimbabwean Presbyterians on mission farms started to raise alarm bells and alerted fellow blacks of the impending injustices (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013).

Rules to be observed on mission farms were segregative (Masaka, pers. comm., 11 January 2015). Five general rules were agreed upon to be enforced in all Zimbabwean Presbyterian farms (Gloag Ranch, Mnondo, Harold Munro, Vimridge and Robert Sinyoka among others). Additional rules were set for farms. The general rules were as follows;

- a. No objections shall be raised to marriage arrangements already entered, but a polygamous contract shall not be entered into after the person has become resident on the Farm.
- b. No beer parties shall be allowed, and the sale of beer made on Mission Farms is strictly prohibited.
- c. All children between the ages of 6 and 14 must attend school. A fine of 5/- (shillings) shall be paid by the parents or guardian of any child who without satisfactory excuse fails to make at least 150 attendances per year.
- d. Non-essential works must be suspended on Sundays.

- e. All persons settling on Mission Farms shall be subject to the control and direction of the chaplain, both regarding the lands they plough, and all other matters (PCSA, Rules for mission farms, 11 January 1922:4).

Additional rules for specific farms exposed that there were rentals to be paid by each household on the farm ranging from 5 shillings to one pound; a dipping fee fluctuated between 2 pounds and 2 shillings, while grazing fee was 1 shilling per head per year. A grazing fee of 1 shilling was charged for any extra head. If a tenant brought a beast belonging to a non-resident onto the farm, a grazing fee of 1 shilling per beast per year was charged. While on Gloag Ranch farm the position of a family kraal was decided on by the chaplain (PCSA, Rules for mission farms, 11 January 1922).

The rules undermined Zimbabwean traditional social life. They were crafted carefully to complement the efforts of the settler government. Their endeavours on mission farms exposed how much PCSA missionaries worked hand in glove with colonialists in terms of the politics of the land. Little did they know that Zimbabweans would one day bundle them together with the imperialists. On this matter tenants on mission farms were treated as second class citizens which were a deviation from reform teaching on politics. Reform theology (Calvin) taught that if rulers revolt against God they lose their divine right and must be put down (Weerda 1954:211). The rules for mission farms denied Zimbabweans their liberty and rights to land. The paternalistic strategy used on mission farms was unrealistic and an insult at the same time. How could a chaplain (priest) decide on where a family kraal was to be erected? That was a direct attack on one's manhood and a break of social fabrics in the Zimbabwean context.

The PCSA had realised the need for a representative of African Zimbabweans (blacks) on a range of issues, including land. So, they urged the Chief Secretary of State for the

colonies, in Britain, to allow the natives of Zimbabwe to buy and own land, in Zimbabwe, without delay (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Their hope was that the Chief Native Commissioner would coordinate work done by Native Commissioners and ensure that local people's interests were considered in running the affairs of the country; Rev. J. Masaka (2015) continued. "This was a noble cause, but the officer had to be a white person. They were convinced that the proposed officer would implement their desire for preparing land not yet designated, which lay adjacent to reserves, for purchase by individual blacks" (Banda, pers. comm., 3 March 2016). The move aimed at empowering some individual blacks. Once a person owns a piece of land, he (and not she) has rights over the land and a voice in certain decisions made. Here the PCSA advocated for the speedy integration of Africans into modern Zimbabwean society. They did it in the name of God's love and justice and in keeping with their reformed beliefs. It showed continuity with Calvin's political teaching, which was to safeguard the rights and freedoms of ordinary people. Although Calvin was convinced that the Bible contained no blueprint for a certain form of government, Calvin favoured a combination of democracy and aristocracy (mixed government). He appreciated the advantages of democracy (Weerda 1954:210). State and church are separate, though they should cooperate to the benefit of the people. Christian magistrates should make sure that the church can fulfil its duties in freedom.

However, for the local Zimbabweans, the activity had a far reaching negative impact. First, it provided the final blow in undermining the kings' and chiefs' authority over land as individuals would now own land (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). In the traditional setup land was owned by the whole community, which included living and the "living dead" (Mbiti, 1990:7), with the king or chief holding, it in trust. Second, it led to the breakdown of the traditional code for the social fabric of society (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Individuals who bought land would move away from their communities to form new ones

which had different social fabrics. Their allegiance was to be transferred from traditional leaders to settler officials. This divided local people to the advantage of the settler government. The PCSA among other denominations became very concerned with the imbalances of land distribution in the country (Masaka, pers. comm., 11 January 2016) and opted to sell off its land to the blacks which settlers' government could not buy into (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015).

In 1931 the colonial government enacted discriminatory legislation designed to undercut African competition and subsidise white production through the Maize Control Act. The PCSA studied and evaluated the Act. In the following year, they advised the colonial government of the negative impact of the Act on blacks in Zimbabwe. It was resolved that, "...PCSA-Zimbabwe approach the Government concerning the great suffering among native people caused by the new Maize Control Act. The selling price is too low and the buying price too high" (Assembly Papers, 1931:211). This was communicated to both the colonial government and the Chief Native Commissioner. However, it fell on deaf ears and no action was taken either to repeal the law or to amend it. That did not deter the PCSA from pressing on for the Africans' cause (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). The Maize Control Act was cast as a conservation measure which would see more Africans squeezed into reserves. By that time African farming methods were based on the use of the ox-drawn plough, as they embraced new technology. That had proved the effectiveness of Africans' hard work shown in expansion in arable acreage in reserves. The Act was one of the ways colonialists used to slow down developmental progress among blacks (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). The PCSA realised this and was right in challenging it. The context was no longer conducive for blacks, including Christians, to realise their developmental potential.

The situation continued to deteriorate until there were voices calling for more representation of blacks in national affairs. The Chief Native Commissioner alone was

ineffective. The Church joined the call for a Commission on Native Affairs and impressed on the Prime Minister the urgency of appointing the proposed commission (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). In 1935, the PCSA – Zimbabwe resolved to send the communication to the highest officer in the country. They entreated the Prime Minister, "The PCSA respectfully urges the Prime Minister to appoint the proposed Commission without delay, as there are many grave and urgent matters demanding settlement, foremost amongst which is the improvement in economic status of the native population" (PCSA, 4 January 1935:13 and Herald 1935: Religion Column page 9). The PCSA had faith in the proposed commission. They realised that time was running out for the colonial government. Blacks were now losing their patience and the situation would easily deteriorate to chaotic levels (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

They went on to offer suggestions for consideration by all who were interested in the permanent welfare of both the white and black population of the colony. At that time the PCSA started to raise alarm regarding the noticeable impact of segregating blacks from the white population (Banda, pers. comm., 3 March 2016). The PCSA made it clear that the land issue was the main source of Africans' discontent. They suggested, "... that the existing Native Reserves should be reduced in number and that the reduction in number should be compensated for by an increase in area for the remaining reserves" (PCSA, 4 January 1935:9). It is not clear why the PCSA suggested a reduction in the number of reserves. Maybe it was for easy control or security reasons. The call for increasing the area of reserves aimed at de-congesting the reserves. This would be interpreted by blacks as giving back the land to its legitimate owners. In some way, it was respecting African Zimbabweans' right to their land. The major problem was that blacks had no say regarding these proposals; they had to dance to the tunes of their white oppressors.

When the PCSA was convinced that the colonial government did not deal with the land issue with the urgency it deserved, they then proposed the creation of a Native Development Board (NDB) (PoR, 13 May 1935:27). The proposed board would comprise of representatives of the government, representatives of societies which had been engaged for a period of at least ten years in endeavouring to improve the conditions of native life and representatives of the natives. All those representatives were to be drawn from the white community since blacks had no say in the country. The idea of increasing African representation was brilliant but racial discrimination frustrated all efforts (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The colonial government did not accept the proposal. Important to note is that PCSA took seriously the plight of blacks in terms of land ownership and use. Their collaboration with the settler government immediately after the conquest was proving to be costly. The moment they started to differ with government's segregative land policies they were treated with suspicion.

Even when the going got tougher by each day the PCSA did not lose heart. In 1944 the PCSA applauded the government for its plans to develop reserves (Mabhena, pers. comm., 10 May 2016). The plans aimed at enlarging the reserves, a call which had been made by the church about a decade before.

The church was concerned with overcrowding in reserves, yet they never considered the type of soil in areas which were reserved for blacks. Most of the areas were arid or semi-arid, low rainfall characterised them and others were rocky and unsuitable for agriculture (Gwemende, pers. comm., 19 March 2016). All the fertile, arable and productive land was designated for use by whites. This was supposed to be the church's concern for all citizens, who were created in the image of God, to at least benefit from a God-given resource, the land.

The first half of the 19th century of colonial rule in Zimbabwe witnessed a dramatic alteration of land use and authority over it. The colonial government forged a racially based division of land between freeholder white land and reserves for blacks. Each category had a distinct system of governance, responsible for moulding authority patterns in reserves through modernising tribal rule (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Their task was complicated by blacks' interaction with urban areas, and influence from missionaries towards the development of reserves. Africans defended their rights to land as they resisted ambitions of the colonial state in transforming ways in which Africans lived and farmed. The PCSA supported and worked together with colonialists in their endeavours to substitute African understanding and use of land with European modernism.

The impact of the new order in politics of land resulted in economic changes during the 1940s. There was marked growth in secondary industry and a boom in tobacco production (Chikohora, pers. comm., 4 April 2015). The economic growth engendered severe Labour shortage and reduction in food production. On the other hand, there were massive evictions of blacks from land designated as European Areas. That intensified land shortage and pressure within communal reserves. It was a cause for concern as government officials got worried over conservation and productivity in reserves. Rhodesian ruling government officials realised a need for a radical reorganisation of blacks' involvement in national development, especially both urban and rural economies.

The Rhodesian government led by Mr. Godfrey Martin Huggins (6 July 1883 – 8 May 1971) a politician and physician; served as the fourth Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1933 to 1953 and remained in office as the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland until 1956, becoming the longest serving prime minister in British Commonwealth history; was convinced that a new Act was inevitable (Parade, 1945:9).

In 1944 the colonial government appointed the Native Production and Trade (Godlonton) commission (NPTC). The Commission crafted the basis for a new Act, the (NLHA) Native Land Husbandry Act (Parade, 1945:11). It argued that black farmers in Zimbabwe were lazy and destructive. It also justified coercive intervention by government as it was seen to be the state responsibility to usher blacks into progress and increased productivity. The PCSA never commented on the Commission's proposals which may suggest that they agreed with it.

Of all colonial legislation on land, the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 was the most notorious, ambitious and disastrous effort to modernize the country (Herald, 1 January 1952: 16). The Act stated that it was a state obligation to ensure black farmers' agricultural productivity. In that view, a policy of compulsory planned production was to be implemented. Black farmers were to be directed what crops, acreage and areas to plant and how to farm. People were also forced to put contour ridges on their sloppy farming fields (*hondo yamakandiwa*) (Chikohora, pers. comm., 4 April 2015). They needed also to be directed on what livestock to keep. The intention was to enforce good husbandry culture as well as control marketing and distribution of resultant products. The Act divided the land in reserves into farmed arable fields owned by individual households and communal grazing areas. The Act also introduced de-stocking and grazing schemes as primary means of stock management (Chief Chirau, pers. comm., 1 July 2015). Such act proved to be a recipe for disaster as it provoked the most violent outbreaks of rural resistance.

The NLHA perceived the problem in reserves as one of overcrowding. It proposed limiting the number of blacks with land rights as the best solution and was done through abolishing labour migration between communal reserves and urban areas (Chief Fortune Charumbira, pers. comm., 11 January 2016). The other measure was to issue all saleable land and stock rights to a permanently limited number of black farmers. So, those who could not

get land and stock rights would be forced to migrate to urban areas permanently, thereby providing the much-needed labour in urban areas. The Act aimed at revolutionising black Zimbabweans' participation in the economy.

The intended final allocation of land to the limited number of blacks would lead the Africans to become either peasant farmers only or industrialised labourers divorced from the land. That would ease pressure on reserves. The Act also called for a fundamental ideological shift which would cease to think of Africans as communal tribes-people but as rational individuals participating in an impersonal market (Chief Charumbira, pers. comm., 11 January 2016). In that scenario, those excluded from land would be candidates for a stable labour force for the booming industry. Limiting the number of farmers with rights to land would promote individual responsibility, adoption of recommended agricultural methods and investment. With such aims, the Act rebutted the traditional communal rights to land and traditional leaders like chiefs and headmen as authorities over it.

It is surprising to note the silence of the PCSA on the Act. The church as an institution was numb; maybe once again "blood was thicker than water". The church aimed at civilising Africans. The Act once implemented to the spirit of the letter contrived that the Zimbabwean nation would be deemed civilised. So, opposing the Act could be viewed as derailing missionaries' efforts. However, the Act was opposed fiercely by blacks. In 1963 The PCSA revisited the Land Apportionment Act and exposed how segregative it was. They advised the Ian D. Smith regime that, "...PCSA affirms its conviction that the Land Apportionment Act should be repealed" (Assembly Minutes, 13 February 1963:13)

The following years witnessed the colonial government's attempts to deal with the land issue conclusively. The Land Tenure Act was enacted and promulgated. It became one of the urgent issues to be dealt with by the PCSA up to the Assembly of 1965. An appraisal of the

Act was considered by Commissioners to the Assembly (1965). They comprehended its impact on black Zimbabweans as well as on mission farms in either European or African areas. The PCSA resolved:

“... to inform all its people of the implications of the Land Tenure Act with regards to Mission Farms in European and African areas and will be ready to assist any Tenant who desires to procure alternative land in Tribal Trust Areas” (PCSA, 5 June 1965).

Even when the PCSA became conversant with the catastrophic aspirations which inspired the crafting of the Act, they did not match its implementation with the resistance it deserved (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The PCSA was not immune to racial discrimination as we shall see later as this chapter progresses and also into the next chapter. They offered to assist any member affected by the Act which proved that they had either accepted defeat or they approved implementation of the Act to a certain extent. However, the PCSA, in conformity with the reformed ethos, affirmed that Christians of all races are one family and that they recognised the denial of the Christian Gospel in the Act because it sought to entrench a division in the Christian family on grounds of race (PCSA, 5 January 1965).

The PCSA recognised how ruinous such legislation was to the Church and community at large. Dividing the church on racial grounds posed serious challenges for the Christian community (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). It was in complete contrast to the gospel values, yet the PCSA allowed it to carry on. In this case, they allied themselves with their kith and kin at the expense of Christian principles and black Zimbabweans whom they had to evangelise. It was a clear departure from reformed theology’s political example. Racial discrimination was also used to justify Apartheid in South Africa (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Kuperus 2011; Van Wyk 2005, amongst others).

In 1969 the colonial government enacted the Land Tenure Act. The Act enforced land segregation and placed responsibility for Tribal Trust Lands on people, through representation by tribal land authorities (Parade: 1945:11). The Act divided the country into European and African areas. A further consideration of the implications of the Land Tenure Act or Bill on mission land was carried out. All church farms, by belonging to churches which were led by missionaries, could not be designated as African land. That was serious because blacks were not allowed to be on land designated as being in a European Area.

The PCSA concluded that "In both cases, the Act was designed to gradually eliminate the African tenant from Mission land" (Mthimkulu, pers. comm., 4 November 2014). The PCSA defended blacks' right to mission land successfully. It defended locals' rights to mission land for two reasons. First, if all blacks were evicted from mission farms, missionaries would be bundled together with colonialists as agents of British imperialism, which would mean that they forfeited their right to evangelise in Zimbabwe. Secondly, their desire to civilise blacks through mission farms would be thwarted. So, they had no other positive option but to side with blacks. However, the PCSA was only successful in protesting against the implementation of the Act on mission farms for a while (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013 and Chief Chirau, pers. comm., 1 July 2015).

In 1972 the government attempted in vain once again to evict blacks from mission farms (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). The PCSA observed that during the past year some of the implications of the Land Tenure Act had been made clear in the possibility of the eviction of the African tenants at Gloag Ranch and Mnondo which were designated as European farms. The church felt obliged to oppose the implementation of the notorious Land Tenure Act on mission farms. While it appears the PCSA opposed the Land Tenure Act in the protection of its land, it was a fight against repressive and segregative legislation (PoR, 13

June 1972). Resistance against the Land Tenure Act on mission farms motivated blacks to mobilise nationwide resistance to the Act.

The PCSA's resistance against the implementation of the Land Tenure Act on mission farms continued unabated. In 1973 the PCSA had divided the country into two administrative structures, which were referred to as Presbyteries namely Mashonaland and Matebeleland (PoMas, 6 January 1971). It is important to realise that while the church resisted segregation of blacks in politics of land through its structures, individual Presbyterians took it upon themselves to fight it through political structures.

What was clear is that the PCSA in Zimbabwe aligned itself with the settlers' government and as such played a significant role in shaping the socio-politics and economics of the land (PCSA, 1961:123). The PCSA positively participated in the partitioning of the land, and the setting up of legislation to govern the country, mainly through its key members the Prime Minister Ian Douglas Smith and the first President of the Republic of Rhodesia Mr. Clifford Walter DuPont (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). Conversely, the PCSA on numerous occasions slipped of its values and norms to support and stand by its African members, but aligned itself with its kith and kin. Without such participation, the history of Zimbabwe would now be different. The discussion now focuses on the question of race relations.

4.3 Race relations

Whenever people of different races are brought together issues of race relationships, the way in which people or groups behave towards each other, surface. When white settlers conquered Zimbabwe inhumanely and decided to invade the country, race relationships came into play sooner rather than later. The context in which to understand race relationships during the colonial era must be explicit. White settlers came from two categories important

for this presentation, imperialists and missionaries. On the other side were the African Zimbabweans, who populated the country in various tribal groups. In such a context, every category had rights to be respected with responsibilities towards others to be observed. With this understanding of the context in mind, this discourse now focuses on an historical assessment of the race relationships in colonial Zimbabwe. Our discussion continues to explore the hypothesis that the PCSA's socio-political and economic activities were a continuation of reformed teachings.

As early as 1892 Rev. I. Shimmin wrote, "My relationships with the company (BSAC) are most cordial and I always find its officials willing to meet me in every possible way" (National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare (NAZ) 1892). Both the imperialists and PCSA were from Europe although their missions were different, with imperialists aiming at the expansion of the British Empire and missionaries eyeing expansion of God's kingdom. The mission field was the same. Conflict of interest was unavoidable. The quotation shows that at that time missionaries and imperialists worked hand in glove to create a new country in Zimbabwe based on western values and as such the church (PCSA) influenced the policies of Zimbabwe affecting the socio-political and economic life.

In 1922, white settlers were given an opportunity to decide on the way forward in terms of managing the country's affairs. The PCSA had this to say,

Several things have combined to make the year 1922 a memorable one in the experience of this Presbytery (Presbytery of Rhodesia). The European people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were called upon to make the most momentous choice in their history, and decided, by a large majority, to reject the offers made to them by the Union Government, and to take the management of their affairs into their own hands, feeling that responsible government, in all event at present, gave them the greatest scope for their energies, and the

greatest promise for their future welfare. As a church, we feel that we have a great responsibility to both the white and the native populations at this critical time, to keep the highest ideals of government, of even justice, and of righteousness before them (Church and Nation Report to PoR: 11 January 1922).

How can we understand this from a race relationships perspective? Offers made by the union government were to white settlers only. The attitude was that black Zimbabweans had no share in the whole scenario. At that point the PCSA made it clear that they desired groups, whites and blacks, to be treated with justice (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). What the church was not aware of was the fact that worse was yet to come.

Following their desire to make a positive contribution to race relationships in Zimbabwe, the PCSA inquired as to how they could co-operate with the League of Nations. They wrote,

The Presbytery of Rhodesia declares that it is in full sympathy with the aims of the League of Nations, and promises to do what it can to forward its great and beneficent purpose. The Presbytery instructed its Clerk to inform the Committee of the League of Nations Union that it is desirous of being informed of the Union's operations relating to the rights of Indigenous Natives (PoR, 17 January 1923:13).

Signals had already shown that white settlers were not interested in observing local Zimbabweans' rights. The PCSA felt that it would bring the issue of observing blacks' rights to the attention of white settlers. Despite all efforts made the PCSA failed to force whites to change their attitudes towards Africans. The church continued to propose ways in which white settlers would engage blacks positively.

In 1924, the PCSA discussed a contentious representation of blacks in the Rhodesian Parliament. They encouraged their white counterparts as follows:

The Presbytery of Rhodesia urges upon the Government the desirability of providing some means whereby the native people of this territory will be directly represented in the Rhodesian Parliament. It suggests that there should be at least two European representatives nominated by the Imperial Government to represent them (PoR, 9 January 1924:14).

The church was right in calling for direct representation of blacks in Parliament. They fell short in their definition of direct representation. How could British nominated white settlers represent blacks directly? In situations where white settler interests clashed with those of blacks, it was obvious that white settler interests would carry the day. Here the church viewed blacks as incapable of representing themselves in Parliament; hence they called for a paternalistic arrangement. Blood was thicker than water here as the PCSA could not imagine a situation whereby blacks would be part of the legislators enacting laws which would govern them (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). What they should have done was to argue for blacks to be involved actively in parliamentary affairs.

Another significant development in 1924 was that the imperial government in Britain granted self-government to Southern Rhodesia (PCSA Archives, Harare Presbytery Office, PoR Church and Community Report, 9 January 1924:212). That brought about joys and fears among the PCSA. They were used to dealing with the British government. The new order meant that they had to find their rightful place and function. In the new order there were both opportunities and threats for the church. On the land issue, which was discussed above, PCSAs were supportive to settler government legislation initially. They took it to be their responsibility to partner with government to mould a young nation, Rhodesia (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013).

Race relationship issues were also at play within the church. Black Presbyterians, either clergy or lay leaders were regarded as inexperienced and incapable of taking positions of great responsibility (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Blacks (domestic workers) could not share the same pew with (their masters) the whites. Different times and places were created for the blacks to be serviced by fellow black ministers, even if it meant coming from another location or congregation. A white minister could not pastor the black community or vice-versa. This created a scenario which made Rev. Max Chigwida, who married a white American woman, not to have a congregation for the couple could not fit in either of the communities (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013 and Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The call for self-examination in terms of race relationships in the PCSA was fitting. It came at a time when the church was challenging the government to abandon its separatist and discriminatory policies. The PCSA had to put their house in order first since they practised racism and paternalism in all spheres of leadership in the church. The call fell on deaf ears as PCSA missionaries continued to employ paternalistic attitudes towards blacks (Mungwira, pers. comm., 24 May 2014).

In 1941 Rev. Robert Barr, who was a progressive Presbytery Moderator, openly opposed the then Prime Minister (Sir Godfrey Huggins) in a Presbytery Council meeting as he said in his address,

"I must express here a difference of opinion with the honourable Prime Minister who has stated that he will not approve of the entry into Rhodesian politics of Africans until there is a much greater number of an intelligent native with the capacity for politics. One learns to swim in water, and the natives of the country will become politically competent (as they must) by being given such political or pre-political responsibilities in Native Councils and

Boards of Mission as they can carry. There is not much hope for them if all the political, governing and industrial power is in the hands of the white race. Some measure of local self-government might well be the prelude to the inevitable co-partnership between white and black” (UPCSA Archives, Harare (PoR Moderator's Address, 8 January 1941).

The church was speaking out. It was at a time when the government was intensifying the implementation of discriminatory policies. There were more voices calling for active participation by blacks in the political activities of the nation. Important to note is the strong assertion that if white politicians demanded a distinctive level of political maturity among blacks, a platform was needed for blacks to start exercising political responsibilities (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). However, Barr still maintained that black politicians were to display political competence. The suggested avenue would ensure that blacks were groomed towards the desired level of political competence. Monopolising political activities which were preserved for whites was a major cause of restlessness among blacks.

Rev. Barr went on to say;

“If we fight the idea of German racial dominance in Europe we must not continue to preach and practice unending British racial dominance in Africa. The powers of Government belong to the governed on a true democratic principle. The real Battle for Africa is not being fought against German Nazism and Italian Fascism but in the minds of white and native races in British controlled Africa against racial prejudice and selfish injustices” (PoR, Moderator's Address, 8 January 1941).

For Barr, racial dominance was immoral regardless of who perpetrated it, which was in line with Calvin's teaching on socio-politics and economics. It was not unreasonable for the British to fight German racism in Europe vehemently while on the other hand enforcing

British racial dominance in Africa. He pointed out correctly that powers of government belonged to those governed, in that sense to Africans as well. By denying Africans in Zimbabwe their right to powers of government the colonial government forfeited its right to exist. Africans were recruited to fight Germans in support of the British. That battle was not as important as the mental battle against British racial discrimination and severe injustices in Africa, including Zimbabwe.

The PCSA was challenged to take a firm stance against racial discrimination because if the situation was not addressed accordingly, it would degenerate into civil war. Rev. Barr put it as follows:

All Government, even good Government, and most industrial concerns, need injections of Christian principles, and the serum must be prepared. Economic injustice, with resultant poverty and dissatisfaction, leads straight to revolutions and wars (PoR, Moderator's Address, 8 January 1941).

The call for the church's active participation against racial discrimination was moving from one of persuasion to demand. Some of the Presbyterian ministers, like Barr, were beginning to lose their patience towards the colonial government's determined pursuit of racial discrimination and the marginalisation of blacks. Barr drove his point home. What was required was a theological framework for practical ways of engaging politicians on race relationships in Zimbabwe. Previously the PCSA had used their experience in Europe in addressing challenging situations. The colonial government was independent of Britain so the PCSA needed new strategies to engage in race relationships.

The race relationship issues continued to take centre stage in PCSA debates in 1945 with African representation in Parliament stealing the show (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The Moderator applauded the government for agreeing to implement the

proposal to have blacks representing fellow blacks in Parliament (PoR, Moderator's Address, 8 January 1941). This was a milestone in the Zimbabwean history. In rejoicing on that matter it showed how much the PCSA was convinced that Africans were ready to comprehend and tackle political issues. For the churches that move was a positive step in addressing the race relationships issue. The legislation was pivotal to the fight against all forms of racial discrimination. With blacks as part of the legislators, the church looked forward to a day when some of the discriminatory laws would be repealed (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015).

There were reasons for the church to be uneasy. The colonialists in Zimbabwe were not going to give blacks their political rights on a silver platter. They were not prepared even to share power with blacks. Nomination and election by whites would ensure that the interests of whites continued to dictate the affairs of the country (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). There was no way for independent African thinkers to be allowed into the political arena. Only those blacks who were deemed to be dancing to the tune of the whites would be nominated and elected into Parliament. That was not acceptable and the PCSA was right in challenging it. Every group of people has a God given potential and right to determine their destiny (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Calling for total involvement of Africans in the political life of the country would afford them the justice which they had been denied for decades.

The other concern related to the common voters' roll. The indication of a tendency to remove all African voters from the common roll, or at least to admit no more after the special arrangements for mass representation have been made, were unacceptable (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). There were many Africans who by Education, intelligence and service to the country had earned the right to be reckoned as full citizens of the country and this includes the right to vote with other citizens, he added.

The PCSA was convinced, well ahead of politicians that some blacks had matured to such a level that they were capable of handling political issues (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Such an argument would persuade the white politicians to consider the matter from the church's perspective. While the church appeared to champion the cause of the Africans, it may be argued that they were demonstrating that they had done their job meticulously. The African, who had once been referred to as uncultured, without a religion and uncivilised (Awolalu: 1976:76), was now ready for co-option into the modern community. We should not be quick to conclude that the PCSA acted for the good of black Zimbabweans. The situation was becoming unbearable by each day and the PCSA might have seen that the best option was to implement the policy of adaptation as quickly as possible. The policy would soften blacks' attitudes towards whites which were reaching alarming levels. On the other hand, white politicians may have viewed a quick employment of the policy as a threat to the white community. Whites were in the minority and their politicians saw their security in separate development, marginalisation and discrimination (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

By 1950 African nationalism was becoming a major force to reckon with within Zimbabwe because of activities of the African National Congress (ANC) which was led by Joshua Nkomo, whose chaplain was Rev. S. B. Nxumalo a PCSA minister (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). When the PCSA realised how grave the race relationships issue was for the nation, they decided to tackle it on two fronts; namely from within the church and in the community at large.

For such a task to be accomplished a sound theological declaration was needed to set parameters for action. In 1951 the PCSA made a declaration on race relationships (The PCSA - Rhodesian declaration on 'race relationships', 1951). It is necessary to examine the

declaration since it became the spring board from which the PCSA began engaging government on race relationships.

The preamble of the declaration stated that the PCSA was making known its mind on the all-important subject of relationships between people of different racial origin which composed the population of the colony. It asserted the fundamental characteristic of the matter as follows:

“In the first place, we would say that in our view what is loosely called the 'Colour or the 'Native' problem is fundamentally a matter of human relationships in a deeper and wider sense. The attitudes which led to misunderstandings and ill-feeling do not relate only to people of differing racial origin and varieties of pigmentation: they become operative within all the groups which make up our multi-racial society. The problem is human before it is racial” (PoR Statements, The PCSA - Rhodesia declaration on 'Race Relationships', 1951).

The whole situation was to be considered from another dimension, a clear and uncorrupted understanding of humanity. Such an understanding would lead to positive race relationships. The PCSA then declared emphatically that all humanity was one. What a turning point for the church!

The PCSA noted that great changes had taken place in the Africans, from the timid and obedient and reverential courtesy of earlier days to an independence of spirit, frequently difficult and rude, which marks modern contacts (Ryce, pers. comm., 13 April 2015 and Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). These are changes in African conceptions which accompany the realisation of personality and human worth.

The PCSA in Zimbabwe noted correctly that the Africans they were now dealing with were different from those of an earlier period. The contemporary African matched his white

colleagues in many ways. Black Zimbabweans had learnt and mastered the means to achieve their ambitions. They used what they learnt from their oppressors to respond to the exploitative tendencies of whites. Progress made by blacks in mastering modern characteristics was a result of contacts with various whites in employment, influence from education and experiences from other parts of the world. The inclusion of a defence against viewing missionary contact as the only reason for the awakening of blacks suggests that there was bad blood between missionaries and white politicians in Zimbabwe.

White politicians and some non-politicians regarded missionaries who were championing the African cause as traitors (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). They had collaborated in creating a European type nation in the new colony which was based on British supremacy. On the other hand, black Zimbabweans, including PCSA's, seized every opportunity that came their way and maximised missionary solidarity to achieve their goals (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The PCSA's attitude towards blacks was now positive and racial discrimination had to give way to objectivity.

This generally meant what happened in the public arena like in economic, political and social fields, received great publicity. In that publicity two things had to be distinguished, these were discrimination and discrimination against (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The Rev Chikomo asserted that discrimination may be necessary, protective and helpful, but 'discrimination against' on the grounds of race alone is unchristian and against the best interests of many. Surely discrimination against is unnecessary in whatsoever circumstance. Christian principles deny exercising discrimination against anyone. Suggesting that 'discrimination against' based on race alone was not Christian presumed that under certain circumstances it was permissible.

They had no place in a nation that claimed to be Christian, democratic and modern. From a Christian point of view, whites were supposed to treat blacks in the way they preferred blacks to treat them. The PCSA had become aware of the fact that if the race relationships issue was not addressed amicably whatever was done for Africans by whites would be treated with suspicion (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Black Zimbabweans were fed-up with being used for white aims and advantages. The PCSA pointed out that suspicion had become a dominating factor among blacks and could be eradicated through mutual trust between the races (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). What had resulted from the prevailing race relationships was the existence of two camps, which was dangerous and was leading to mutual antagonism.

The Rev. Masaka (2015) went on to claim that the present relationship was interpreted by Africans as a denial of their rights and a withholding of the opportunities for their advancement and their enjoyment. The prohibitions about the occupation of places of residence and business, the denial of admission to cinemas and hotels: the inconveniences which relate to travelling are all presented and many of them could be and should be rendered unbearable.

Here the PCSA interpreted correctly the plight of Africans. Blacks' rights were violated grossly in their day to day lives. The injustices were not called for and had to go. It was sad for blacks to be treated as second class citizens in their nation. Denying Africans access to European designated areas was unbearable, an insult and scandalous. The PCSA was moderate when they said it was to be taken as hateful.

The personal grouping zeroed in on personal relationships among people (Masaka, pers. comm., January 18, 2015). The PCSA insisted that personal relationships were paramount

and called upon all people, regardless of race, to work towards the betterment of those relationships PoR, Minutes, January 5, 1965).

Race relationships sponsored by the colonial government encouraged whites to be inhumane. The whites were regarded as civilised yet their attitudes and actions towards blacks were negative and inflammatory. Instead of positive coexistence with blacks, they employed every means they could to push blacks to the margins of Zimbabwean society. That exposed the colonialists' barbaric plundering of African worthiness and pride (Mararike, pers. comm., 12 June 2015).

Blacks responded to that attitude with matching dislike and hatred towards whites. The PCSA warned whites that if they did not correct their negative attitudes towards blacks, they were going to suffer the wrath of the same blacks (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). What the PCSA feared was a change of roles with the victims turning tables against their oppressors (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). So, what was proposed was a result of both the fear of God, namely the reformed teachings that the PCSA schooled and socialised, being put into practice, and the fear of African resistance.

Another aspect of personal relationships was the whites' patronising attitude towards blacks. It was clarified that "Attitudes of patronage and arrogance arising from feelings of superiority were resented not only by the intellectuals but by ordinary people, especially employed people" (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

Attitudes of patronage were meant to instill a sense of having an inferiority complex and dependence in Africans. That would ensure the superiority of whites. The PCSA discerned a high level of hatred and resentment among blacks. Such attitudes were supposed to be improved or done away with completely and they promoted strained race relationships.

The issue was based on how blacks perceived government's action and legislation (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). It seems the PCSA was now more concerned with blacks than whites. It could have been due to their desire to see blacks being drawn to the middle rather than pushed to the margins of the society. We should remember always that the PCSA had whites at heart and feared that the situation might deteriorate to levels where blacks would take the law into their hands and seek revenge. Such a situation would be ruinous for the white community. The PCSA was concerned with how Africans comprehended, interpreted and reacted to government action and legislation. That had a ripple effect on both blacks and whites.

The PCSA was also concerned about racial discrimination within the church (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Some of the politicians who were whites, Presbyterians practised discrimination against blacks at will. Earlier on, in the 1920s, the PCSA joined other denominations in supporting colonialists to create a new nation in Zimbabwe. The church joined forces in separate development by instigating separate mission work namely European and African mission work. The PCSA discriminated against blacks in Zimbabwe from the inception of mission work. Individual missionaries had challenged that position but their lone voices were not loud enough to bother the church (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The PCSA realised that there was something terribly wrong in race relationships within and beyond itself. Blacks and whites did not view one another uniformly (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). There was the need for reconciliation and whites had no alternative but to make their contribution to the process. In their contribution, whites were called upon to guard against their racial heritage. The white racial heritage was dominating race relationships both in the church and communities at large. If reconciliation was to be achieved the white community had to stop applying a segregative standard of judgments

towards blacks, standards they would not apply to fellow whites. The golden principle called for here was, 'do unto others what you would like them to do unto you.

The PCSA through its Church and Nation Committee pleaded with whites, to seek and to understand and to sympathise fully with the changing conditions of black society, and the consequent difficulties that obstruct progress. The deep and abiding concern was to assist in that progress, and, though there were differences of opinion concerning the timeliness of each step, there was no uncertainty about the goal (PoR, Church and Nation Report, 1951).

The statement implored consideration and empathy towards blacks in Zimbabwe. The order of the day was discrimination against and unity of blacks in fulfilling whites' ambitions (Masaka pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Christians were not supposed to behave in the same way. Whites, including Christians, expected blacks to develop in a direction.

The PCSA pointed out correctly that blacks had a critical contribution to make for reconciliation to be realised. However, to bundle all reactions to racial discrimination as unmerited suspicion was malicious and uncalled for. If racial discrimination against blacks in Zimbabwe continued unabated they would be enslaved or moved out of their motherland. The church, PCSA included, was supposed to give the blacks' position the respect it deserved and challenged government officials to desist from assisting whites in discriminating against blacks on whatever grounds (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Both whites and blacks laboured side by side but not for the same cause. Whites laboured to perpetuate the exploitation and marginalisation of blacks, while blacks laboured to free themselves from the shackles of the white superiority complex and racial discrimination.

The demand for Africans to distinguish between unjust discrimination and that which was practiced because they were seen as backward was baffling. Presumably, discrimination against blacks on the grounds of backwardness as compared to whites was justifiable.

Christian principles, which were used in the declaration on race relations, do not give room to any form of discrimination against anyone under whatever circumstance. They attempted to soften blacks and persuaded them to accept a certain level of discrimination against themselves. That did not work for the good of the PCSA (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). On the question of appreciating what was done for blacks by whites in the past, bad things outweighed the good ones. There was no reason for blacks to review their history gladly.

What Africans lost through the process of colonialism, namely social values, family ties and natural beauty of the country, would not be recovered. The call for progress, which was based on work done by people and not for people, was what the church should have advocated from the inception of mission work in Zimbabwe. If we judge the PCSA based on the quality of work and service they had done, they messed up and their work was below par (PoR Minutes, 8 January 1960). Their work was intertwined with that of colonialists, marked by a high-level of collaboration. The PCSA in the practical steps they followed in addressing the race relationships challenges before them showed that the black voice was not given space in the church, yet the church had operated for more than a century in the country.

Now that the PCSA teaching on race relationships was clarified, the thesis explores how the new position redirected their attitudes and actions (PoR Minutes, 8 January 1960). The refocused position was no longer congruent with government policies but it was never implemented because retrogressive missionaries controlled the church. The church and state were supposed to head towards a collision. That never materialised because of the retrogressive stance of the church leaders. On the other hand, the progressive element within the PCSA, both white and black ministers, like Rev. Donovan Brain Enslin, began civic education among blacks and encouraged people to stand for justice (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). Some white ministers, who had the blacks at heart, such as Rev. Brain Dole

and Kennedy Grant had started to encourage political discussions and activities on mission farms and educational institution (PoR Minutes, 8 January 1960). That resulted in wide spread political activities in the country to which the colonial government responded with indiscriminate arrests and detentions (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

In 1960 The PCSA - Zimbabwe received with joy a report on ecumenical action taken by church leaders against discriminatory legislation. It recorded, "This Presbytery (PoR) confirms and upholds the action taken by the leaders of churches, including our own, in condemning certain aspects of recent legislation as being contrary to the accepted principles of British justice" (PoR Minutes, 8 January 1960). The church was right in encouraging a fight against the exploitative legislation. The problem with their efforts was the advocating of principles of British justice which did not go well with the Africans. The PCSA went on to declare their intention by urging the Government to withdraw the Preventive Detention Act, 1959 and to cause all political detainees to be released or brought to trial in open court (PoR Minutes, 8 January 1960). The Act was inhuman so it had to be repealed. It aimed at separating African political leaders from their party members, thereby destabilising any meaningful political activities among blacks.

Another important appeal to the PCSA in 1969 was given by the Moderator Rev. E. S. Pons, who said,

“Sometimes the Church is told that it ought not to concern itself with politics, though it is interesting how glad politicians are to quote Christian opinion which appears to favour their political party. While the Church ought not to become involved in party politics it has a right and a duty to speak of political and other affairs in the light of Christian principles and to point out to all people, and particularly to those in authority, the Christian attitude to

questions of the hour. And there are severe important questions to be asked now” (PoR Moderator’s address, 8 January 1969).

The Moderator's address aimed at accelerating the PCSA's participation in political activities. For the first time, the church spoke of its non-participation in party politics. That stance was influenced by the mushrooming of African political parties because of African nationalism which was sweeping across the African continent (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The Moderator saw the church's political role in the Zimbabwean challenge as providing direction through interpreting the situation from a Christian perspective and employing Christian principles to address the challenges. He aimed at discouraging African PCSA ministers from participating and encouraging members to be involved in political parties yet white members were at liberty to participate. Liberal Presbyterians seized the opportunity and most of the courageous political leaders emerged.

The Rev. Thomas ended his appeal on race relationships with a crucial observation, "It is interesting to notice how time after time the Government suggests a forward move which the church has been urging for years. A recent example is a recommendation by the Select Committee now studying African use of land that Africans should be permitted to acquire freehold title of urban housing stands. It is true that this is to be limited to certain African townships but it is a welcome step forward and it is hoped the Government will implement it without delay. A man gains in self-respect when he has a home he can call his own and ownership gives him an incentive to play a responsible part in the life of the community. Many people cling firmly to the present segregation in residential areas but the logic of development of a multi-racial society is that people of any race should be able to buy freehold land wherever it is for sale and to exercise the local government vote which is

associated with the payment of rates on such land” (PoR Moderator’s address, 8 January 1969).

The PCSA noticed that the colonial government was always lagging the church in resolving problems related to political activities among blacks (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). That was right, the church, as the conscience of society, should lead the way rather than react to activities of politicians. An important observation was made in the review, owning a piece of land would bring back the lost pride among blacks. That would be enough motivation for them to be involved actively in the political affairs of the country. The PCSA saw that as one of the ways through which blacks would be moved from the periphery to the centre of the nation (Chikohora, pers. comm., 4 April 2015). Black Presbyterians who could acquire freehold land jumped onto the wagon and their voices started to be heard in the political arena. However, that was not in line with the voices of progressive church leaders who laboured for total eradication of racism and political oppression.

In 1970 the PCSA concentrated their efforts on pushing for black participation in the legislature. That was raised in this statement, "The Presbytery of Rhodesia recognises the critical importance of early and substantial participation by the blacks (Africans) in the legislature” (PoR Minutes, 12 January 1970). According to the Presbytery of Rhodesia, the best way to address the issue of discriminatory legislation was to allow substantial and effective participation of blacks in law making. What they did not consider was the fact that the colonial system needed more attention before Africans were to participate. In pursuit of their appeal the PCSA pleaded with influential people;

To this end, the Presbytery of Rhodesia strongly recommends to the Southern Rhodesian Government, that - the necessary steps be taken to empower the delimitation

commission now sitting to delimit constituencies based on the density of adult population and potential voting strength in the next five years (PoR Minutes, 12 January 1970).

The Presbytery was determined to redress race relationship imbalances once and for all but their efforts were misdirected as they did not address the real causes of racism.

Despite all calls from progressive PCSA leaders, to redress the race relationships challenge, the colonial government remained adamant. On the other hand, Africans' zeal for political emancipation continued to escalate. The government reacted to Africans' political enthusiasm with intensifying detentions and restrictions (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). In addition, the PCSA in Zimbabwe encouraged the government to enact legislation that made racial discrimination in public places illegal (PoR Minutes, 8 January 1969). The PCSA also argued that no progress would be made through the suppression of political parties.

In 1963 the PCSA made an important observation in the political field, the banning of nationalistic political parties. The colonial government had come up with another form of racial discrimination against blacks. To perpetuate white dominance, they enacted laws which rendered nationalistic political parties illegal (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). This was a new form of oppression. Liberal Presbyterians in Zimbabwe from various parts of the country raised alarm bells. From Ntabazinduna calls were made for the church to inform the government that its action in banning Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was deplorable (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

Liberal Presbyterians in Zimbabwe demanded observance and respect of personal liberty. They claimed, "The deprivation of the personal liberty of an individual, by imprisonment, or otherwise, is a matter for the courts and it is not to be left to a political decision on grounds of expediency. When a man has broken the law let him be charged and

tried so that not only is justice is done but it is seen to be done. The time is long past for the present detainees either to be released or tried (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

Progress and improvement in race relationships were dependent on how much personal liberty was respected. Leaving matters of personal liberty in the hands of politicians was suicidal for the nation. It led to the mushrooming of political prisons which were over populated with political detainees. Hence the PCSA pushed for their release or trial for justice to be done and to be seen that it had been done (Chikomo, pers. comm., 12 January 2015).

The strategy of intimidation by whites, which was implemented through physical violence, threats, detentions and restrictions, yielded counter intimidation through such activities as petrol bombs. The PCSA was right when it appealed to anyone who had any form of influence to use it to bring the state sponsored hooliganism to a halt (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

The PCSA was aware that the state had an obligation to preserve peace and manage the affairs of the nation. PCSA had a moral obligation to proclaim principles by which the state and its people had to live (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The principles were not an invention of the PCSA but revealed in the word of God. Our Lord summed them up in the two great commandments, the first, *“Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul and with thy entire mind”* and the second, *‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself’* (KJV).

The outworking of these include freedom for people of all races to live in peace and tranquility in the country in which they have chosen to live or in which they were born, freedom to worship per their conscience, freedom to work and to prosper, and freedom to associate with their fellows. Humanity and nations neglect those principles at their peril, for it is God who has the last word and it is God who pronounces judgment and puts it into effect.

The PCSA teaching on politics and race relationships stimulated blacks' involvement in political activities despite severe discrimination by whites. The church had to find a way of dealing with a new challenge, which was church members' participation in party politics (Chikomo, pers. comm., 29 June 2014). The challenge threatened fellowship among members as they started to expose symptoms of strained relationships based on political party affiliation. In 1971 the Presbytery of Mashonaland made its stance clear,

It is none of our business as a PCSA - Mashonaland Presbytery, to support one political party as against another, every Presbyterian is free to join whatever party he or she likes and we have members in all parties. But it is not only our business but our unavoidable duty to state the principles, including the political principles, by which people should live and nations should be governed (Presbytery of Mashonaland, 6 January 1971:13).

The position was clear, the PCSA - Mashonaland Presbytery, did not take sides with any political party. Members were free and encouraged to participate fully in political activities through parties of their choice. The PCSA demanded that its members comply with biblical principles as they were expounded through the PCSA's teaching on socio-politics. That position addressed adequately race relationship challenges in the political arena. In that regard, the PCSA and other mainline churches like the Roman Catholic hierarchy favoured partnership between races (Peaden, 1984:63).

PCSA members were not immune to the effects of sour race relationships. In some cases, the worship life of the church was affected severely. Participation in political activities had a costly price for the church but they did not give up (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). During the year, Christians, across denominational divides, staged demonstrations and witnessed the deportation of missionaries who were viewed as dangerous to the colonial government, like Bishop Dodge and Rev. R. Hughes of the Roman Catholic

Church. In Harare, Marandellas (now Marondera) and Fort Victoria (Masvingo) \The PCSA registered its disapproval of the banning of the *Daily News*, a newspaper that was circulated widely among blacks (Presbytery of Rhodesian, 10 January 1969). The aim of banning the newspaper was to withdraw information facilities from Africans. Banning of political parties continued and the PCSA reminded the government that the move fueled violence rather than ceased it.

In 1969 the Presbytery of Rhodesia announced the impact of the poor race relationships on the life and ministry of the church in Zimbabwe. Involvement of its members in political activities posed a serious challenge and threat to the *koinonia* (unity and fellowship), within the church. The Presbytery noted and advised that;

“...the present situation has put the Christians into two different camps. The Church is facing a period where it is losing the courage to speak out and say what it stands for. We have entered the four years of political unrest of the country and this has put our Presbytery in this impasse since then” (PoR 10 January 1969).

Presbyterians were divided in terms of their understanding, interpretation and implementation of improved race relationships (Steele, pers. comm., 22 January 2016). Some stuck on to the discrimination against blacks which was perpetuated by colonialists. Others defended the integrity and rights of Africans fiercely. The tension between the groups was mounting and threatened the existence as well as the mission of the PCSA. The PCSA had two major challenges to deal with: division in the church and the government's discriminatory agenda (Masaka pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Division in the church was more serious as it had a direct impact on the teaching, and unity of the church. From that time onwards church leaders struggled to keep the church united and in fellowship.

The PoR went on to warn that there was a false claim that peace prevailed in the country, regarding African townships and rural areas (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015 and Rev. Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). There was discontent and bitterness among people. On the surface, it appeared there was cool or calmness in people yet underneath there was dissatisfaction and a bitter sense of insecurity. This was a result of segregative race relationships. The situation could not be resolved by way of security measures based on detentions and restrictions. The church retorted;

There are many Christians and non-Christians who are detained and restricted without having been brought before the courts and tried. ... The Church should be a mediator and exercise its duty of reconciliation so that the deadlock which has arisen may be solved by a peaceful and just solution. May the power of God prevail in this difficult time of our history in this land (PoR, 8 January 1969)?

The situation demanded the services of a mediator and the church realised that it was part of their obligation to mediate between white and black politicians. However, the PCSA had a major task of holding its feuding members together. That made mediating between politicians a formidable adventure. The church pressed on with their role as the mediator even if some of its leaders did not approve of it (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

Day to day life continued to be unbearable. The more the church engaged government on race relationships the worse the situation became. White politicians had their ways of dealing with challenges before them. They would not take heed of calls from churches or British Government. The PCSA implored;

“...we are living in a country where there is uncertainty and the relationship of races is strained. There are various things which cause these unhealthy relationships, such as the present political situation, the Property Owners' Protection Bill, Separate Development, etc...

The PCSA has an urgent duty and purpose, which is to preach the Gospel of the brotherhood of all men, and to practice what it preaches, the situation can only be put right by devoted men and women of changed hearts and minds” (PoR, 8 January 1969:13-14).

The colonial government did not tolerate missionaries who promoted Africans' involvement in politics. That led to attempts by the government to prevent such missionaries from contact with most blacks in rural areas. The PCSA saw such banning and restriction as an intrusion by the state on its mandate (Mtubi, pers. comm., 13 January 2016). The PCSA had an obligation to promote peace and justice which was viewed as interfering with politicians. What the PCSA did was to plead with politicians, who claimed to be Christians, to employ biblical principles to attain a democratic society (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). That inspired the PCSA to soldier on in overcoming principles used by white politicians of the day which employed forces of the world.

The Presbytery of Rhodesia addressed several issues which were crucial. The subjects included permissive clauses in the Municipal Act of 1967, a decision by Salisbury City Council to implement the clauses, publication of a bill whose purpose was to legalize residential segregation of Asiatic, Colored and European races and the Minister of Local Government's announced intention to remove families of domestic servants from residences within areas where they worked (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013).

The Presbytery informed members to observe with great concern that the country was reverting to a policy of both residential and social segregation of races (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). It has long been the policy of our church to strive towards a non-racial society. The present trends show little signs of 'protecting the rights of all people' as often promised. The Presbyterians were to examine these facts in the light of Christian principles and exercise their duty in accordance with their conscience (PoR, 8 January 1969).

For the first time, there was an opportunity for a political round table in which blacks were participants (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The British Government, who brokered the negotiations, employed a paternalistic approach and failure was the logical result. Political thought and practice were rooted deeply in race relationships (PoR, 8 January 1969). No political settlement would be clinched before addressing racial discrimination against Zimbabweans. Any attempt to persuade either side to compromise was succumbing to racial demands from the other group. Failure to reach a political settlement was interpreted differently by people of various races. The gap between whites and blacks widened and the church regarded it as a fundamental crisis in race relationships.

The PCSA went on to apprise its members of the impact of failure to reach a political settlement in that this unfriendliness made it difficult to preach and hear the Gospel of reconciliation which the people of this land desperately needed. There is a danger that the gap between black and white is widening. "...the situation cannot be solved by new constitutions and new legislation, but a change of heart will bring a just settlement of the situation" (PoR, 8 January 1969:10).

The widening gap between blacks and whites made repentance unattainable. Reconciling the feuding parties would guarantee a political settlement. For PCSA race relationships had deteriorated to a level which could not be resolved by a new constitution or legislation. The situation needed divine intervention which would restore the fear of God, love for one's neighbour, justice and peace.

The colonialists pressed harder on their discrimination against blacks and intensified racial barriers. In solidarity with fellow Christians PCSA affirmed, "We associate ourselves with the words of the (Catholic) Bishop of Matebeleland; that the gospel is preached first and foremost by the determination and sacrifice of those who will not

tolerate the barriers, who will defy authority if need be in the spirit of the apostles who said to the authorities of their day, we must obey God rather than men” (PoR, 8 January 1969:10-12).

It was sad to realise how government attempted to propel tribalism in Zimbabwe through introducing language based regions in the country (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). Dividing the country into Mashonaland and Matebeleland was a deliberate move to divide and then control Zimbabweans. Police forces from Mashonaland were deployed in Matebeleland while those from Matebeleland were posted in Mashonaland. With institutionalised police brutality, the move generated hatred between the Shona and Ndebele citizens. That was a new twist in the race relationships challenge.

The Zimbabwean race relationships challenge attracted international attention. The World Council of Churches (WCC), offered to assist Zimbabwe to deal with racial discrimination against blacks through its Program to Combat Racism. The PCSA had to analyse the offer and its impact and then advise members on the best way to respond. In 1971 the church made its position known;

“...the Presbytery of Rhodesia believes that Christians ought not to support violence in any form. Whilst acknowledging that racism is an evil to be overcome, we believe that advocating physical force will not bring this about. In fact it will simply create further mistrust between the races and misery among the people” (Presbytery of Mashonaland, 6 January 1971).

In considering the WCC Program to Combat Racism we note that the Council Executive had made it clear that it was not supporting the military purposes of the organizations to which it made grants but rather their political aims, namely justice, equality, human dignity and freedom (Presbytery of Mashonaland, 6 January 1971).

The PCSA saw a looming danger in the World Council of Church's offer. The colonialists had all the state resources and machinery which they used to suppress blacks' sentiments (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). The offer would provide resources for blacks to utilise in reversing racial discrimination in the country. For blacks, their opportunity had come to mobilise a military campaign against their oppressors. The WCC endorsed direct confrontation with perpetrators of racial discrimination in Zimbabwe through the program to Combat Racism (General Assembly Papers, 1961). That was interpreted as complementary to calls from the international community for a military strategy to deal with the unbearable racial discrimination against blacks in Zimbabwe.

The PCSA appealed to the church's teaching on racial discrimination. The PCSA spotlighted human dependence on God and interdependence in a world that had changed greatly (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015 and Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). In that whites were reminded that they needed blacks for their survival, the same was true of blacks. From an existential point of view both races, whites and blacks needed one another, so racial discrimination against blacks or whites was unacceptable.

Several developments were considered by the PCSA, as it impacted on the socio-political development of Zimbabwe; in that year, which included:

1. The removal of the Tangwena people from their land,
2. The withdrawal of citizenship from Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock and his deportation,
3. The restriction of Bishop A.T. Muzorewa (Methodist Bishop) from rural areas, and
4. The banning of Rev. C. A. Taylor from visiting Gonakudzingwa incarceration camp for pastoral visits to political detainees (PCSA, 1973:211).

The PoR recorded its dismay about such government actions (PCSA, 1973:92, 121).

Government actions like the ones listed above led to further deterioration of relationships

between races, rendering the country one of the most insecure nations in the world (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015).

In 1972 the PCSA continued to debate the issue of political settlement in Zimbabwe. The church could only encourage politicians to prioritise the national interests before their political parties (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Allegations of police brutality and other inhuman treatment of blacks were brought to the fore and the Peace Commission was assigned to investigate them.

The PCSA advised its members that on the political front the main concern facing Christians was the question of the proposals for a settlement of the constitutional crisis between Britain and Rhodesia (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015 and Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The Presbytery was deeply divided on the issue and unable to come to a common mind. On the other hand, grave discrepancies in the proposals were pointed out, especially by the African representatives. The PCSA called its members to work for reconciliation among the races and a just solution of the political problems facing the country (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

There was social unrest which stemmed from the implementation of segregative legislation against Zimbabweans. In that regard, the PCSA resolved to reflect on the increasing problem of displaced, homeless persons in the urban areas. This was to be treated as a matter of urgency and two competent investigators were to be appointed to work with members of other churches (Masaka pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

Addressing racial segregation within the church, the Synod of Rhodesia Moderator (Rev. P. W. Kennedy) had this to say,

“But within this country, there are still some people who call themselves Christians and worship within our midst, which have doubts in their minds. These people say there should be an African church and a European church bearing the same name, 'Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa'. There is no place for such people in the PCSA and they should march out. Such people are in a minority, but make the work of the church difficult in some societies. I make it quite clear that the PCSA is one church for black, white and coloured members of our community. I appeal to those whose ideas are in doubt, to kneel and pray that such ideas should be removed from their minds. The country is racially divided, but the Church cannot accept this as the will of God” (Synod of Rhodesia Moderator’s Address, 10 January 1974).

The Moderator's remarks exposed that division based on racial segregation was hindering the mission of the church. There were calls from racist white members for employing complete separate development in the PCSA. For them European and African cultures were incompatible, so were the expressions of worship. They advocated what was in congruence with what was obtained in the political arena. The moderator noticed it and his harsh order for them to march out of the PCSA was appropriate since their demand undermined the unity and fellowship of the church. It would have been blasphemous for the church to bless racial division.

Protected villages for blacks, compelling all people from an area to leave their homes and crowding them in a fenced area where they were housed in tents, provided with daily rations and guarded by armed forces, were introduced in the northern border of the country (Steele, pers. comm., 22 January 2016). Such an activity was done to isolate the communities, monitor the movements of people in those areas since blacks had resorted to an armed struggle against racism and to reduce free mingling of Zimbabweans with their northern neighbours. The move was a menace, inhuman and disreputable.

The church did right in referring to it as communal punishment. No one who had a sober mind would moot such a thing let alone implement it. That showed how determined the colonialists in Zimbabwe were prepared to destroy Africans (Chikomo pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The level of discrimination against blacks had reached intolerable proportions. The PCSA rejected any attempts to use threats from communism as a justification for racial discrimination against blacks (PCSA, 1961; 1968:116-119). In fact, it was the hard-heartedness of the whites and severe discrimination against blacks which led blacks to seek for solidarity from the international community and thereby getting into contact with communists who were against capitalists. One of the worst things done against blacks by whites was to treat blacks as if they were destined to be a lower form of life (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). In showing that strategies employed by white colonialists were somehow like those utilised in communism, the church inspired blacks to seek military solidarity from communists (Hon Chigwedere, pers. comm., 1 May 2014).

The signs of the time revealed that a military clash was inevitable as blacks were determined to grab the bull by its horns (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The PCSA, especially the white community, sensed danger and voiced out through a petition to PoR from Highlands Congregation, supported by the City and Trinity Greencroft congregations that requested Council to, "Affirm its conviction that murder, torture and rape which is the intention and consequence of terrorism, by whom-so-ever committed, cannot be reconciled with the concept of Christian love" (SoR, 24 January 1976). This shows that most of the white PCSA members in Zimbabwe held a conviction that any military effort to redress racial discrimination amounted to terrorism. Acts of terrorism by state machinery against blacks was explained falsely as efforts to maintain peace and order.

The situation along the country's northern border deteriorated further as blacks clashed with state armed forces. The PCSA condemned violence in any form. "...there may be some

people who feel and think that violence is the answer to our problems. They should think so as individuals and in no way, involve the church” (SoR Moderator’s Address, 24 January 1976).

The quotation shows that there were some Presbyterians who justified strongly the armed struggle against white racism and advocated for its public acclamation by the church. Such a demand would divide the church further, hence its refutation.

In the same year, the SoR made an important observation, “...the tragedy of the present situation in the country is that large numbers of white people, particularly in the towns are ignorant of the real situation and the issues at stake. There is wide spread ignorance of how the Land Tenure Act operates, of the discrepancy in educational opportunities and the gross economic poverty of the African population. The consequence of this ignorance involves the existence of two nations in one country, causing political opinions to be divided into two extremes, then the moderate element becomes obliterated and the result is a sinful separation among members of the same church. Many people are in a false hope and envisage that the trials the Government is taking will ensure sustained peace and prosperity” (PoR, 24 January 1976).

The observation must have been a wake-up call for white Presbyterians as they realised that their perpetuation of racial discrimination against blacks was founded on ignorance. They were supposed to repent from it and help politicians to address the challenge positively. Instead, most of them maintained their stance until 1980 when Zimbabwe achieved its political independence.

Two important resolutions were made by the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe which had a significant bearing on racial discrimination. The first was that

"Encouragement be given to the clergy to be actively involved in local and municipal affairs so that they are available for chaplaincy work if they are so requested" (SoR, 24 January 1976). Such encouragement to clergy as well as laity catapulted black Presbyterians into political and social activism. Whenever they participated in political, economic or social activities, they boasted of support from the church. The church also committed, "...leaders' meetings in their agendas discuss matters of social concern in their areas" (SoR, 24 January 1976). The resolution was intended to put a check on political, economic and social realms in addressing day to day challenges.

Innocent people were subjected to barbaric abuses and massacre which had to be refuted out-rightly. The situation had deteriorated to levels where war was unavoidable. It was unfortunate that innocent blood was shed in the process of addressing the race relationship issues (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The blood of those massacred in the struggle against racial discrimination became the seed for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The Moderator, Rt. Rev. H. P. Chikomo was concerned with a political settlement which was based on negotiations. The PCSA leaders were convinced that negotiations would lead to a peaceful settlement one day. They were afraid of a full-scale war which would attract other countries and the damage would be more severe (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Race relationship issues were addressed adequately through the independence of the country in 1980. The church applauded the politicians' program for reconciliation which was implemented immediately after independence.

It is interesting to note that from the inception of the PCSA's life and work in Zimbabwe to 1990, it teamed up with the colonial government in enacting and implementing segregative laws against Africans (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). There were few lone voices which tried to redress the inconsistency. In the meantime mission schools and institutions were producing students who could match their white counterparts. From 1890 to

1980 the church struggled to correct the racial imbalances in the nation. The effort and encouragement of enlightened ministers resulted in confidence building among blacks who later shook off successfully the shackles of white supremacy.

When the BSAC rule was introduced in Zimbabwe and later the colonial government took over Africans were subjected to many unpleasant experiences. The involvement of the PCSA accelerated the fusion of ideas and political activism. Their contributions made Zimbabwean history what it is today. We now turn on to the next theme, the war.

4.4 War

This section delineates the PCSA in Zimbabwe's teaching on war and their activities. Questions about what the church said in relation to war also refer to the rightness and wrongness of war. The section traces the PCSA teaching during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

In the period 1896 to 1897 Rhodesia experienced the war of resistance. Banana, quoted Rev. Eva who said,

“... ‘the Matabele have of cause brought this war upon themselves but they have been hardly dealt with and now the only way to put down the uprising is by the sword or our lives would be in great danger.’... Force is the only power they have any respect for; the Chartered Company ought to be held responsible for actions of their servants. Some of these fellows think less of shooting a Mashona than they do of shooting a dog. Burning huts, stealing meat, raping their women are common occurrences. ...there can be no doubt that misgovernment of the BSAP is in some measure responsible for the native uprising. In their eagerness to make money they have neglected their duties as governors, especially towards the native population

of Rhodesia. We are now reaping the result of their mal-administration” (Banana 1991:125-126)

From the quotation, Banana blamed the BSAC and BSAP for the war. It meant that Africans were not grateful for what the whites had done for them, which was wrong and malicious to Africans who led to the uprising. His argument was supported by the following evidence. Rev. John Whyte reported a case of an official who used his position to get a chief's daughter forcefully for immoral purposes. The officer was found guilty and deported but re-emerged a few months later to lead a battalion raised to deal with dissenting Africans (Andrews 1935:51). That was an immoral move and understood as brutality against Africans.

Another form of official injustice and cruelty against Africans happened in 1894. A police officer was killed by a chief, MamzivaZuba (Andrews 1935:51-52). The Administration sent a force under the Sub-Inspector of the police to punish the murderer or murderers. Rev. George Rea oversaw the Presbyterian Mission Station some thirty miles from the place. The force arrived at the station while Rev. Rea was finishing his sermon. Rev. Whyte claimed that per previous arrangement a few chiefs had been invited to the service (Andrews 1935:52). Rev. Whyte went on to narrate the event. The officer in charge of the force ordered that the chiefs be arrested. The chiefs were told that those who would attempt to run away would be shot. After leaving the Mission Station three of the seven chiefs were shot, one escaped and three were taken away. According to Rev. White, the innocent chiefs were killed under the pretext of being perceived as running away from arrest.

The matter was reported but the settler government did nothing about it (Andrews 1935:52). The event was confirmed by Ranger (1995:1) who said it happened in the Zvimba area, where the BSAP mishandled those who repelled detentions and killed four chiefs. The act was very provocative and raised serious bitterness against whites in the Zvimba area. The

reaction of the BSAP towards African undertakings was perceived as wrong in that they aimed at revenging what? (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The officers' efforts were to punish rather than to preserve amity and order. The same principle was in later years employed by the colonial government in Zimbabwe.

The other things which Rev. Whyte pointed at were:

1. The Hut Tax and how it was collected (Andrews 1935:52);
2. The Ndebele and Shona police officers who were used to harass Africans tyrannically (Andrews 1935:53), and
3. The ill-treatment of African girls who were bought by settlers and taken as slaves (Andrews 1935: 54).

For Rev. John Whyte, the injustices suffered by Africans at the hands of whites tended to instill fear and hatred towards the government of the day and its officials. He charged "Put these foregoing facts together and then let me ask you whether the charge of injustice to the Africans is a cruel, cowardly and wicked lie" (Andrews 1935:54). Rev. John White was correcting falsehoods which were being spread through the popular opinion among retrogressive missionaries.

It is the contentions of this study that, inhuman treatment of Africans by the BSAC and BSAP resulted in the 1896 and 1897 uprisings in Zimbabwe. The claim by the official stance of the PCSA was wrong and retrogressive (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). Rev. John White's article put the record straight which can be interpreted as the immediate cause of the war. As a result, White could not find approval from his fellow countrymen but was respected by the Africans.

The question of whether Christians should take part in politics or armed conflict has always been a controversial issue within the PCSA in Zimbabwe (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). At this stage the issue of political involvement was never questioned, rather it was an interrogation, based on the premise of “support one through one's lot.” Most PCSA ministers threw their lot on the side of the BSAC at the expense of the Africans they were there to evangelise and pastor (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

In 1941 Rev. Robt Barr, the then Presbytery of Rhodesia Moderator, made comments on the Second World War which were aimed at motivating blacks in Zimbabwe to participate actively in the war. In his address to the Presbytery Council meeting as well as the nation at large he said,

"We are vitally concerned that Africa, with its huge dependent and undeveloped Native population, should be governed in accordance with Christian principles and not come under the domination of Nazi or Fascist slavery. Britain's fight is for Africa no less than for Britain. ...the democratic principles, the cause of freedom, the opportunity for national development, the right to be educated to the full limit of the mental power possessed, political and economic justice, all belong to the nations and tribes of Africa and will justly be claimed by them" (PoZ, 18 February 1941:17-8).

The quotation exposed how much the moderator grappled to convince black Zimbabweans that they were also under Nazi or Fascist threat. He had hoped that, that would fire up their desire for sovereignty and join the war on the British side.

The claim that Britain's fight was for the good of Africa in the same way it was for Britain was unrealistic. The British were involved in the war for their own interests more than for defending democratic principles for Africans. The same principle of not- contestation of participation in armed conflict and throwing one's lot on the expected side (Banana 1991:126)

was at work in the official stance of the PCSA - Zimbabwe. Africans who were involved in the Second World War were exposed to realities beyond their contexts. Some could not reconcile the fact that they were defending British interests which were under threat from Nazism and Dictatorship while in their country, Zimbabwe, was revolving under British imperialism.

Victory against Nazis and Fascists enlightened Africans to realise that an invading imperial force can be overcome through war. That planted the desire among some Africans to confront European imperialism with armed struggles. When the PCSA in Zimbabwe encouraged Africans to participate in the Second World War on the British side they did not know that Africans would later use their war experiences against colonisers (Wand, J. W. C. in an undated and unpublished document "*The history of the early Church*"). So as negotiations for a peaceful political settlement between the colonisers and African nationalist political party leaders proved to be elusive some Africans started to contemplate using an armed struggle to overthrow British imperialism in Zimbabwe.

From 1960 the situation in Zimbabwe deteriorated to levels where war was inevitable (Mtubi, pers. comm., 13 January 2016). The church faced a scenario which was different from previous experiences in which they supported a war. At that time the battle field was no longer abroad but on Zimbabwean soils. Church members were divided and became involved in the war on different camps. The principle of non-contestation of participation in armed conflict and throwing one's lot to the expected side was challenged. The then Moderator, Rt. Rev. J. B. Hawkrige, was on record denouncing war. In 1974 he said, "Personally I am opposed to all forms of terrorism and the use of violence to end the conflict" (PoR Moderator's address, 10 June 1974).

Reports of war activities were received from all parts of the country. In Matebeleland the Presbytery lamented:

“We meet at a time of very grave uncertainty in the country. Nearly all our congregations in the area are affected by the current situation and we continually hear reports of a serious nature which directly affect the church and the normal life of the people. Just as UDI was not the answer to the question of independence, war is not and cannot be the answer. Peaceful negotiation is the obvious answer, all concerned should recognise this as a matter of urgency – who has ever won a guerrilla type of war, no side seems to lose and none can win – the lessons of Burma, Vietnam and similar countries are a reminder to this. The answers lie in the hearts of men, women and the youths of this country” (Presbytery of Matebeleland Moderator’s address, 18 February 1976)

It was clear that the moderator was perplexed by reports of atrocities which followed the escalation of the war. What the Presbytery failed to read was that progressive Presbyterian members employed the concept of non-contestation of participation in armed conflicts and throwing one's lot to the expected side (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). On the other hand, retrogressive Presbyterians laboured in vain to determine the expected side for all Presbyterians in the country. The Moderator preferred peaceful negotiations to war and castigated an armed struggle to redress racism but three decades had passed by without any peaceful settlement in sight. The retrogressive Presbyterians were proved wrong because war led to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980.

The war of liberation, which was often referred to as terrorism, intensified and in 1977 the church had to voice out,

War is contrary to the will of God. In obedience to God, no Christian can support a political party which is based on an unjust discrimination, on grounds of colour race or religion between people who live and work in the same country (SoR, Minutes, October 16, 1977).

Just asserting that war was contrary to God's will was not enough. The church (PCSA) was expected to expand the statement and use the Bible to elaborate the desirable position. The moderator should have employed reformed theology and declared that blacks were justified in waging a war against racial discrimination.

On the other hand, progressive PCSA ministers provided a theological justification for participation in armed conflict to redress racism. One of such ministers was Rt. Rev Max T. Chigwida, a political theologian and ecumenist (Mungwira, pers. comm., 24 May 2015), worked on the WCC's Program to Combat Racism and Peace Building and thought that it was an ample opportunity for the church to redress racial imbalances.

In a nutshell, oral traditions have it that the PCSA worked tirelessly to encourage the Zimbabwean nation to avoid war. The PCSA effort to effect socio-political change to Zimbabwe was hindered by its divided allegiance; nevertheless, the reform traits of solving disputes harmoniously are visible. The PCSA struggled with a split mind as to whether to support the government or its constituency of evangelism, land-politics. Racial issues and war left the church divided. The PCSA was further confronted by 'federation', and the next section will examine the socio-political and economic influence of the PCSA in response.

4.5 Federation

The political, economic and racial puzzle of the late 1940s in Zimbabwe led colonialists to opt for a federation of Southern Rhodesia, (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia, (Zambia) and Nyasaland, (Malawi). The background to the Federation exposes that there were factors

which led both Africans and whites to have some degree of confidence in the proposal presented. Whites felt that they were less secure and threatened by Africans' political advancement and demands made by some church leaders (PCSA, 1957; 1961).

On the other hand, Africans realised that African nationalism was fast becoming a major force in the country (PCSA, 1961:27). Its leaders were drawn from the mission educated elite just as what happened elsewhere throughout the African continent (Weller & Linden 1984:208). The development of African nationalism led to a new dimension whereby the church-state relations had to move from an engagement between government officials and white church leaders to one that involved African nationalists since they could articulate their views.

The Federation aimed at shaking off British interference in Zimbabwe on the one hand and neutralising African political enthusiasm on the other. The formation of the Federation prompted objections from many white Presbyterians in Zimbabwe. The Presbyterians in Scotland communicated their views to their counterparts in Zimbabwe in 1954:

"There is no easy road to that order of society in which all men have an opportunity to exercise their natural abilities and in which all men dwell in peace. There will be honest and sincere differences of opinion about the steps to be taken. For instance, when we in Scotland were studying the proposal for Central African Federation we were all agreed that the right way would be towards a society in which the potential abilities of every citizen would be fully developed for the good of all. But, regarded as a political proposition in present circumstances some of us approved the plan of Federation and others disapproved. ...we are commanded by our Lord in every situation to love our neighbours as ourselves. There is no hope of progress through argument or policies which are based on hatred or contempt"

(PCSA, 13 April 1954).

Presbyterians locally and abroad were divided about Federation for several reasons (Ryce, pers. comm., 12 April 2015). Implementation of the proposal of a federation would limit or eliminate foreign (British) influence in Zimbabwe, a country which had been under British leverage for more than five decades. That was interpreted as a rebellion against the British. Some thought that the move would open floodgates for the extreme inhuman treatment of blacks by the white minority in the country (Paterson, pers. comm., 1 June 2014). Others saw possibilities of frank and direct engagement between blacks and whites, without interruption from outsiders.

What they desired was an inclusive society which would ensure the development of everyone's potential for the benefit of all. How to attain such a society remained a formidable puzzle. Hence, they called upon Presbyterians (PCSA) in Zimbabwe to love their neighbours and preach the same to the whole nation (Ryce, pers. comm., 12 April 2015).

In 1959 the PCSA in Zimbabwe was compelled by the situation to address issues related to the Federation. The Federation and independence dominated political debates of the time. The major question was in terms of how to extricate the nation from the vices of racism. If federation was the way, would that mean independence from British rule? For the blacks, the crucial question was whether federation would lead to independence from white rule eventually. The church had to guide its members since many PCSA members were involved in political activities. The church rose to the expectation and showed the way; "The Presbytery of Rhodesia believed that under the guidance of God the Federation of the three territories of Central Africa can achieve the well-being of all its peoples" (Chigwida pers. comm., 27 January 2013). The PCSA also believed that independent status and an educated and enlightened democracy are the goals to which all must work.

The PCSA considered that the granting of independence should be delayed until the Federation would have gained the confidence of the majority of the people and until this confidence could be adequately expressed (PCSA, 13 April 1954). It was convinced that the Governments concerned were morally and legally bound by the conditions explicit in the preamble to the Constitution and implicit in the Protectorate status of Barotseland and Nyasaland to ensure that no final steps to independence be taken until the inhabitants of the territories, expressing themselves through acceptable and reliable channels, are known to desire it (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The Presbytery of Rhodesia made a pivotal observation that under the guidance of God the Federation would yield expected results, but only when colonialists were prepared and willing to follow God's guidance. The teaching of the church on Federation was positive, while that on the status of independence was negative (Nduo, pers. comm., 19 February 2014). The church was concerned with independence from Britain. Little did church leaders realise that blacks, including Presbyterians, were eyeing independence from colonialists which would bring racial discrimination to a halt? A demand for a level of confidence among the majority and its expression according to white minority's standards as well as a call for not taking any steps towards independence was unfortunate. That was targeted at, denying the black majority their right to independence.

The PoR went on to make a double pronged resolution addressing governments in the concerned territories and the Christian community. To the governments in question:

Presbytery advised,

The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa called on the Governments concerned:

To take no binding step until the above conditions are fulfilled.

- a) To take all possible steps to win the confidence of all the peoples concerned.
- b) To prepare a program in which the stages towards independence will be implemented gradually in accordance with the above conditions (PoR, January 15, 1959).

The above quotation showed that the PCSA's teaching was interested in ensuring that the Federation gained trust, support and confidence from the majority. It suggested that independence was only achievable after the federation had been accepted by the majority and in total control of political and economic activities of the three territories. Here again, independence was not from colonial rule but Britain (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). It would appear as though the church called for steps towards independence of the territories but it was only in relationship to British influence on the colonial government. Little or nothing was offered to blacks. That was contrary to PCSA teaching which argued that in cases of oppression God sides with the oppressed.

To the Christian community in Zimbabwe, the PCSA had this to say, the PoR recognises that the Christian Church has a special responsibility to our country as it seeks to achieve these goals. It, therefore, calls on all Christian people:

To pray earnestly that God will guide the Governments and peoples concerned so that His will may be done in the Federation.

- To gain such knowledge of the issues involved that they can make an intelligent contribution to the ideal of partnership.
- To use all available means inside and outside the Church to deepen understanding between the peoples of the Federation and to refrain from any disruptive actions during the progress to independence (PoR, January 15, 1959).

The church was on the right course when they called upon all Christians in the country to pray earnestly and seek God's will and guidance. The partnership became a selling concept for encouraging blacks to accept the Federation. However, the partnership scale tilted in favor of the white minority. In real terms, it was paternalism rather than partnership. The black elite picked it up and campaigned fiercely against the Federation. Some Presbyterian ministers, such as Rev. H. P. Chikomo and Rev. Timothy Kanyowa participated in the campaign (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The third proposal would function as a dart for radical political activities which would disrupt the Federation. The proposals did not achieve the intended objectives because black Zimbabweans were by then determined to fight against racial discrimination and segregative legislation.

The tension was mounting in the relationship between the PCSA in Zimbabwe and the colonial government in terms of racial discrimination against blacks, a cordial relationship still existed on issues of governance (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The resolution, sent to the Federal Prime Minister encouraged the tightening of screws on the governance issue and ensuring that steps towards independence were delayed until a time when the Federation gained confidence and blacks demonstrated that they were mature enough to participate in an independent state (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

This response solicited an informative response from the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Robert Welensky (20 January 1907 – 5 December 1991) a response which would inspire church leaders including Presbyterians to motivate all members to rally behind their position in regards to the Federation. The Prime Minister's response was very cautious. He would not divulge anything regarding government strategies in terms of independence (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The government was concerned with two critical issues; the constitutional review and full membership in the Commonwealth (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015).

Independence was from Britain which had to be attained through a constitutional process so that the newly independent state would be accorded full member status in the Commonwealth. In all that process, they never thought of affording blacks, within the so-called Federation, an opportunity for participation in the process such that the constitutional challenge has been a thorn in the flesh for Zimbabweans (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2016) since 1890, when white settlers invaded the country. Even the 1980 independence was based on a makeshift constitution which was to be amended after ten years and the constitutional process has remained a monster that has haunted Zimbabwe since and is even prevalent in the independence era.

In an address to PoR in 1960; Rev. T. A. Beetham, the Church and Nation Convener, made a very significant observation. Commenting on systems of government in African states he said;

The more Africans work out their own way of doing things, the more whites in Africa may come to realize that methods and forms evolved in Europe and America are not necessarily the best for Africa and that in multi-ethnic communities such as the Federation more experimentation and flexibility may well be needed (Church and Nation Report to PoR, January 06, 1960).

In simple terms, the Committee discerned that any solution proposed to settle the Zimbabwean situation which was not worked out by blacks would not have any integrity. James I. Charlton in 2000 wrote a book and titled it; *Nothing about us without us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment New Edition*. Proposals based on solutions which were cooked in foreign pots, such as European and American, would not work in the best interests of Africans because they ignored the realities of African-ness. The Committee saw a way forward in increasing the level of experimentation and flexibility which would afford blacks

opportunities to contribute freely to the process of nation building. The Federation was too rigid and exclusive. Inhabitants could not accept it. It made the PCSA to split as some came in support while others in defiance of the proposed programme (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015).

As the Presbytery Council meeting drew closer the Moderator of the PoR seemed to have changed his mind. He asked a very pertinent question in his review of the church's work. He inquired:

It might well be asked whether the 1960 review of the working of Federation ought not to imply freedom for a Region to leave the Federation if it wishes. If Territories are held in the Federation against the will of inhabitants; is it not a local form of colonialism? (PoR Moderator's address, 6 January 1960)

Was that a real change of mind among PCSA leaders? What had dawned on their imagination was that the Federation was doomed. The call was now for Zimbabwe to withdraw from the Federation and do so without any punitive measures from the administration of the Federation. They had realised that the Federation would not provide selective security for the minority white community. For that reason, Zimbabwe was to withdraw from the Federation. Denying Zimbabwean the opportunity to withdraw from the Federation amounted to internal colonialism. For the first time the PCSA leadership condemned the Federation, but in circumstances where rights of whites seemed to be at stake, they opted for enforcement of colonial values. While PCSA leaders aimed at protecting a white minority, black members of the church seized the opportunity and campaigned vigorously against the Federation for the liberation of blacks (Moyo, pers. comm., 18 December 2014).

According to the report given by the late Rev. Horace Thomas (*convener of Church and Nation to the 60th PCSA General assembly*), the situation continued to deteriorate as the Federal Government grappled with maintaining peace and order while blacks in all the three territories of the Federation pressed for their freedom (PCSA, 1961:111).

In 1962 the PCSA suggested that the political arena needed to be more inclusive and allow blacks to play their part. A communique was sent to the Federal Government informing them that, "This Presbytery of Rhodesia is convinced of the necessity for a further broadening of the franchise and urges European and African political leaders to enter into consultation with a view to a peaceful solution to the present impasse" (PoR, 1962:11). PCSA leaders were convinced that the Federation was the web which needed to be unwoven. An increase in participation by black political leaders in negotiations on the future of the Federation would untangle the country from the federal web (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015). The nation became a furnace characterized by the banning of African nationalist political parties, detentions without trial and extortion.

In that context of uncertainty and confusion, the white politicians in Zimbabwe mooted independence from Britain as the best solution for the country's woes. The PCSA was quick to respond to voices that called for the UDI. White politicians in Zimbabwe became aware of the fact that they could not satisfy the demands and interests of either the British government or black Zimbabweans hence they opted for a lone journey through a unilateral declaration of independence (Moyo, pers. comm., 18 December 2014). In 1964 the Church and Nation Committee of Presbytery of Rhodesia informed the nation that, "We (PCSA) regard any unilateral declaration of independence either now or in the future as morally wrong" (PoR 6 January 1964, Minutes of Church and Nation Committee).

The church preferred independence to be granted by the British willingly. They were not arguing for the good of the African cause but for Zimbabwe to continue to have a sound relationship with Britain and thereby remain under British influence. However, most of the black Presbyterian politicians such as Reverends M. T. Chigwida, H. P. Chikomo and S. B. Nxumalo, had taken the route towards Zimbabwean independence from both the colonial government and British influence. The UDI by the Rhodesia Front under Ian D. Smith (*Presbyterian Church member*) in 1965 compelled most of the African nationalists in Zimbabwe to opt for armed struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

4.6 Conclusion

The inquiry above exposed how reactionary The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe responded to the politics related to the land, racism, war and Federation which best summarise the areas of operation by the PCSA in Zimbabwe. The PCSA's role in this no doubt emerged from its Reformed Theological background and beliefs. In all the four areas examined into above, Presbyterians were committed to ensuring that both the BSAC and the colonial government observed the superiority of the British government and operated within its political and legal confines. Retrogressive Presbyterians in Zimbabwean leaders' obsession with British superiority led the church to fall prey to racial discrimination against blacks in Zimbabwe which haunted the church up to 1980 when Zimbabwe became independent. Racial discrimination threatened to divide the church until 1980 when Zimbabwe attained independent political status. The obsession also blinded white retrogressive PCSA leaders from all pointers to political liberation of blacks from colonialism and the British hand behind the scene.

This study has exposed how the PCSA behaved in the political arena during the colonial era in Zimbabwe. Retrogressive PCSA members struggled politically to balance their act in the face of diverging demands by ensuring that the colonial government remained within British dictates, they maintained sound relationships with colonizers, who were their kith and kin, while at the same time trying to deal with progressive voices which called the church to serve the interests of the exploited blacks. The socio-political influences of the PCSA in Zimbabwe on the acts of injustice against Africans were prevalent.

This chapter looked at how the Zimbabwean situations were impacted by the existence of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa since its inception till 1990. PCSA's teachings on socio-political matters and economics were analysed and evaluated in relation to its witness in the Zimbabwean soil. Chapter five will now focus on the specific areas of involvement by the PCSA on socio-political and economic developments in Zimbabwe during 1890 until 1990.

Chapter 5

SPECIFIC INVOLVEMENT AND INFLUENCE OF THE PCSA ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF ZIMBABWE

5.0 Introduction

The Economic crisis in Zimbabwe is a product of national historical experience. Professor C. S. Banana once gave a seminar on Socialism and Religion. In his speech, he described the people of Zimbabwe as,

"...people with a fresh bleeding wound inflicted in the past and disturbed in the present, a people grappling with a not-so easy, and a still nebulous present. People anxious about the trajectory of their bleeding present a present suffering; the pangs of hostile and dehumanizing forces. The overwhelming majority of mankind faces a gloomy future with no signs of an immediate end to their plight. It would be true to say that the situation in Zimbabwe is like that of several colonized nations which have not overcome the psychological and behavioral effects of colonization" (Banana, 1987:10).

The questions however, remain as to why there was an economic crisis in Zimbabwe during that time. Why was Zimbabwe in an economic crisis; and how were the Presbyterians involved in the process? This chapter focuses on how much the PCSA influenced the Zimbabwean developments, both socio-political and economical, in the areas of land, Gukurahundi, The Economic Structural Adjustment Program, decline in health and education sectors and The Democratic Republic of Congo War.

Using the methodological approach of oral tradition, the researcher could engage the above questions. There is need for a study on the contribution of the indigenous ministers, their resistance to colonial domination and the ministerial training of the PCSA and their

effect on the struggle for political independence in Zimbabwe. Another study of great interest could be conducted on the role played by the church (including PCSA's) youth and women in the development of democracy from 1980 to the present, and, the roles would be a worthwhile topic to study. Nevertheless this thesis and chapter focused on how the PCSA specifically devolved into the politics and economics of Zimbabwe during the period under study, and this will lead to critical analyses of such patterns in chapter six to follow.

5.1 The Sacred Land

Oral tradition has it that, Zimbabwe's compulsory acquisition of white owned farms from 1990 onwards attracted a lot of international media attention (Masaka, 2015 and Bhiri 2016: interviews at Harare). The Zimbabwean government maintained that the land reform programme was consistent with the biblical mandate to identify with the marginalized, such as the widows, orphans and the landless. In other words, the land was given to blacks by God, and that the struggle for land had been at the heart of the war of liberation. The long serving President Robert G. Mugabe often chose theological arguments to justify his radical land acquisition. Addressing regional Catholic Church leaders at Chishawasha Seminary in Harare on 30 July 2001 (Chitando, 2002), Mugabe advised that his programme was unswerving with God's plan. Thus:

The goal and struggle for self-determination and sovereignty which you supported, even at great personal peril for some of you included, in fact rested and depended on our sovereign right, access, control and use of those natural resources which God in his infinite generosity gave us, the land, all creatures great and small that crawl on it, the plants, the rivers, and streams of water clear or dirty, the soils, the pebbles, rocks, hills and mountains. God gave us all, all that who belong to this land to use (Mugabe 2001: 37).

The PCSA as well as the European Union and the United States exerted pressure for Mugabe to stop his dispossession of white commercial farmers. He employed theological concepts to justify his program. Mugabe advanced three main arguments that were often articulated with a lot of passion and rhetoric: the peasants needed the land; the war of liberation was fought for the land; and Zimbabweans were only taking back land that was originally stolen from them (Shaw 2003: 75).

Despite the rhetoric, Mugabe and his loyalists did not include church land under the category of land that was originally taken from blacks (Campbell 2003: 78). Church, PCSA land included, was not affected by the radical redistribution exercise that was undertaken during the period under review (Bhiri, March 2, 2016: Interview at Harare). This section examines how and why Churchland survived the fast track resettlement program in Zimbabwe post-1990. It maintains that if the occupation of farms by blacks had been motivated by the belief that occupiers had long-standing historical claims over the land (Marongwe 2002), most church land would have been taken by black settlers or by the state. It argues that the decision to spare church land was a result of interwoven historical, political, religious, ideological and other factors. The black ruling elite's identification with the church was a major factor in preserving church land, it is argued.

Examining the survival of church land in Zimbabwe facilitates discussion of key issues in the study of Church History in Africa. These include the interaction between missionaries and colonial administrative personnel, the impact of the church on African nationalism, as well as church–state relations in post-colonial contexts. Consequently, this study utilises reflections on the influence of the PCSA on Zimbabwean nationalists like Joshua Nqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo (*the chairperson of the land commission in Zimbabwe*) and others. In addition, church land remains central to Southern African countries that experienced settler colonialism like South Africa and Zimbabwe.

5.1.1 PCSA and the Politics of land in Zimbabwe

The PCSA in Zimbabwe, and 'mainline' Catholic and Protestant farms, are a major land owners. Although the church bought a few of the farms, most of the farms were gifts from Cecil John Rhodes, the architect of colonialism as seen in the previous chapter. The Church's acceptance of land; forcibly taken from the Africans confirms the missionaries' approval of colonialism. Although some scholars like Terence Ranger, Lamin Sanneh and others within the translatability school in the study of African Church History maintain that this is a simplistic reading of history (Chitando 2002a). Ownership of land compromised the church's position. African nationalists like Didymus Mutasa (1987: 124) charged that white people traded the Bible for the land. There is a popular argument in Southern Africa that religion was used to dupe Africans to let go of their land. Patsanza (1988) makes the following submission:

British and other missionaries used religion in this country to soften resistance among the black people. This caused some discerning blacks to note that the imperialists gave them the Bible and took away the land and its riches (Patsanza 1988: 19).

However, there is a need to review this contention in the light of the different conditions under which Christianity was introduced in Zimbabwe. Although the PCSA, like most missionary bodies, experienced higher rates of conversion after the colonial occupation in 1890, two issues demand attention. First, the preoccupation with European missionaries runs the risk of effacing African evangelists from the story of the spread of Christianity. In many communities, Africans first heard of the message of Christianity from fellow Africans. Second, missionaries were not always dependent on colonial power for access to land. As the Zimbabwean historian, David N. Beach (1973) highlights in relation to Protestant missionaries among the Karanga, missionaries could independently negotiate for land with

African chiefs. Beach demonstrates how Dutch Reformed Church missionaries set up Morgenster Mission in 1891 following discussions with Chief Mugabe (Beach 1973: 39). Conversely, as I shall outline below, many Africans felt that missionaries had not been transparent regarding their long-term settlement plans, and are still fighting to reclaim their ancestral land.

Most PCSA mission stations (like almost all other mission centres) in Zimbabwe were built on land that was donated by the British South Africa Company (Chikomo, pers. comm., 12 January 2015). In 1891, the Company parcelled out land to various missionary bodies. The Administrator, Dr. L. S. James, promised the PCSA 3,000 acres of land wherever they placed a mission at Gloag Ranch and 2000 acres where David Livingstone Memorial Mission is built. In addition, Pioneer missionaries of the Salvation Army arrived at Fort Salisbury in 1891 and were given a farm of 3,000 acres in the Mazowe Valley. Missionary bodies appeared to be in a scramble for African land, with the Catholics founding Chishawasha mission on a farm that consisted of 12,000 acres in 1892 (Zvobgo 1996: 3–5).

The stampede for land by missionary bodies covered the whole country. Flood argues that Cullen Reed (a missionary) obtained, in addition to the confiscation of the old stations at Inyathi and Hope Fountain, wide new lands for the London Missionary Society (LMS); in the south-west of the country around the present-day Dombodema near Plumtree (Flood 1973:100). Cullen Reed justified these extensive acquisitions as being intended to preserve land for the use of the Ndebele and Kalanga peoples to protect them from white settler encroachment (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). In addition, they secured the position of the L. M. S. in the face of the actual or impending entry and expansion of other missions (Flood, 1973:100).

I have cited Flood at length because he brings out some of the reasons that the missionaries proffered for acquiring land. For Reed, taking African land was ultimately for the benefit of the Africans; otherwise, white settlers would grab the land. It was better for the land to go to white missionaries than white settlers, so went the argument. Furthermore, this would secure the dominance of the LMS in the given area. The land was, therefore, a weapon in the battle for territorial expansion. On the other hand, Catholics acquired land with the idea of setting up model Christian villages as a major motivating factor. Chishawasha was established as a 'liberated Christian zone' where (it was hoped) African converts would be screened from indigenous beliefs and practices (Weller and Linden 1984: 57). Alongside these theological reasons, it was also anticipated that church land would enable missionaries to establish centres for the gradual introduction of European civilisation to the 'backward natives'.

In most instances, the missionaries were effective in utilising the land. The PCSA's Gloag Ranch was well known for its carpentry output, while Chishawasha became a hive of agricultural output, whereas other denominations established schools and hospitals for Africans (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). However, Africans were not particularly interested in productive land used by the missionaries. They tended to regard missionaries as part of the colonial enterprise. Their land had been aggressively and dubiously acquired, with African families being forcibly evicted (Weller and Linden 1984: 201). The bitterness of the Africans against both the colonial settlers and the missionaries was demonstrated in the 1896/7 African uprisings, in Zimbabwe. To this effect, the PCSA and its fellow Christian alliances chose to turn blind ears and eyes but aligned with the settler government. The result had a negative impact on the Zimbabwean society both socio-politically and economically.

The impact became apparent when; in their (natives) resistance to colonial occupation, Africans did not make a distinction between white settlers and the missionaries. Both categories of newcomers were regarded as *vauyi* (aliens) whose presence threatened the prosperity of Africans. Shona spirit mediums like Nehanda, Mapondera and Kaguvi, later to be adopted as patron saints of the 1970s war of liberation, were involved in providing spiritual justification to the 1896/7 revolts (Banana, 1987:10-12).

In Zimbabwean nationalist historiography, this was the First Chimurenga or armed resistance against white settlers. Over three hundred settlers were killed and mission stations like Chishawasha were also attacked (Dachs and Rea 1979: 51–52). However, the military supremacy of the whites carried the day, and the Africans were defeated. Despite the defeat, the land question would return to haunt the nation at various periods in its history. The 1970s war of liberation would be called the Second Chimurenga, while the fast track resettlement program that started after 1990 would be referred to as the Third Chimurenga (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The land remained a major grievance in these struggles.

After the ruthless dominance of the African uprisings, missionaries began to enjoy higher rates of conversion as the indigenous population sought to come to terms with the new dispensation. Earlier the PCSA and fellow Western Missionary Founded Churches' activities had generally been disappointing in terms of attracting huge numbers of followers to the new faith. Amongst both the Ndebele and the Shona, most elders remained rooted in their ancestral traditions. Missionaries began to place more emphasis on converting young people who stood to gain from Christianity's intrinsic association with modernity. A historian of Christianity in Africa makes the following observation:

The change was easier for the young. Like the poor, ill and marginalised, they had fewer stakes in the status quo. African societies had tended to be dominated by older men,

who controlled access to resources and especially to wives. Christianity gave the young a place on which to stand, a hope of earning an income in the modern sector. They could acquire a wife in mission circles or with their own earnings (Isichei 1995: 237).

As they were reaching out to young Africans, missionaries had a complex relationship with settler administrators. On the one hand, they generally shared the assumption of the superiority of Western culture and the need to ‘civilize’ Africans. On the other hand, they often clashed over the question of the type of education that Africans were to receive. Before the 1930s the state left the task of educating Africans to the missionaries. Many young people converted to Christianity benefitted from the education that the church provided (Zvobgo 1994:14). Missionaries and white settlers also disagreed on the land question. In the following section, this research highlights the PCSA’s response to the land question during the colonial period.

5.1.2 The PCSA responses to the Land question during the colonial period.

Following the military victory by the settlers, various pieces of legislation were enacted to lend legitimacy to their claims to land ownership (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Racism became a guiding philosophy, with many believing that whites constituted the superior race. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, made into law in 1931, divided the country into black and white areas. It reserved fertile land for the white minority and facilitated the forced removal of blacks to the sandy and barren Native Reserves (Gundani 2002: 130). Other equally oppressive pieces of legislation like the Land Husbandry Act (1951) and the Land Tenure Act (1969) worsened the situation for blacks. It was interesting to note that Mr. I. D. Smith a Presbyterian communicant had his signature inscribed on such legislation for it to become laws of the land.

The land distribution patterns in the country tended to be biased in favour of the white minority. According to Frans J. Verstraelen (1998:102–3), ‘...during the time of imperial/colonial White minority rule (1890– 1980) 181,424 km² were apportioned to Whites, and 182,099 km² to Blacks’. The whites were a tiny minority, about 300,000, while blacks were about 12 million. Racial segregation ensured that the white 5% of the population had half of the land, and the black 95% had the other half (Banana 1996: 122). This heavily skewed land distribution pattern inspired resistance by Africans during the 1970s, armed liberation struggle, and the fast track resettlement exercise between 2000 and 2003 (Gundani 2002: 130).

While Henry V. Moyana (1984: 63) observes that most missionaries, including radicals like Arthur Shearly Cripps and John White, appeared to accept land segregation in principle, it should be acknowledged that they interrogated the policy of racial discrimination. Mr. T.T. Dawson, a PCSA member strongly opposed the Land Apportionment Act and highlighted its negative impact on the lives of Africans (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). They shattered the stereotype that missionaries were spiritual agents of colonialism that I outlined at the beginning of the previous section. African nationalists acknowledged the sensitivity of such individuals (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). Although the PCSA made a loud noise regarding the land segregation, it made little or no impact on the national racial drive.

When Ian Smith undertook the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, some progressive PCSA leaders denounced his racist philosophy (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Although Smith claimed to be acting in the name of preserving Christianity and civilisation critics noted that his discriminatory laws were inconsistent with Christian teachings on the basic equality of all human beings. Several PCSA leaders fought against the settler regime, although others decided to take a neutral position. However, neutrality could

lead to co-optation (Lapsely 1986). The PCSA tended to be more actively involved in exposing the brutality of the Smith regime, and as well the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace was instrumental in documenting atrocities against civilians during the liberation struggle.

African combatants took up arms and declared that they were spiritual descendants of Nehanda and Kaguvi, mediums of the First Chimurenga. Although issues relating to the right to vote, equality with whites and others were important, recovery of the lost ancestral lands was one of the key issues (Charumbira, pers. comm., 2 June 2016). African nationalists, peasants and workers rallied around the slogan '*mwana wevhu*' (child of the soil) in their quest to regain the land. Churches, PCSA included, were in a dilemma concerning the adoption of military tactics by the liberation fighters. PCSA denounced the use of violence, while others contended that this was to be used only as the last resort (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2015).

Zimbabwe's political polarisation is reflected amongst its church leadership. Some within the church were clearly Zanu PF and supported having benefited from Mugabe's rule through the receipt of farms and money; others vigorously opposed the government (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) sees the crisis, to some extent, as an issue to be resolved from within the country and African region, not outside it. In July 2003, the ZCC, chaired by Rev. D. Howard (a (U) PCSA minister) did issue an apology to the people of Zimbabwe for not speaking out or acting against the deteriorating socioeconomic condition most of the population were in (Chikomo, pers. comm., 16 March 2014). Yet they have seemingly taken no further action and there are now concerns that the ZCC is being drawn into the Zanu PF fold. Zimbabwean Christians in exile feel the churches are failing to write and speak with one voice against human rights abuses and bad governance (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). With a few outspoken exceptions, such as the

Catholic Archbishop of Bulawayo, Pius Ncube, Zimbabwe's churches and church leaders have been reluctant to openly criticise Mugabe (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2013).

The Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC): At its 37th AGM, the ZCC identified the on-going socio-politics and economic problems of the country including:

- the people who have starved to death due to food shortages
- the increasing level of poverty, leaving more and more children on the street
- youth unemployment
- declining productivity due to the scarcity of fuel and other commodities
- the violence, rape, intimidation, harassment, and torture ravaging the nation while some perpetrators are set free
- political polarisation dividing the people
- elections that cannot be called free and fair
- a crumbling health system
- a land reform program progressing without proper infrastructure and underutilized land, resulting in decreased production and went on to say:

"While the church has noted all these developments, and while we have continued to pray, we have not been moved to action. James says '... and by my actions I will show you my faith!' We as a Council apologise to the people of Zimbabwe for not having done enough when the nation has looked to us for guidance" (ZCC AGM 2003:12).

The PCSA among its Christian fraternity failed to voice against the displacement of the whites from the farms. All that the church could do was to call for prayers all over the world,

and protests in a bid to force the government to reverse the process, but in vain. The silence of the church raises many unanswered questions which include;

1. What role did the church play in the colonisation process?
2. How do church people deal with that legacy?
3. What does democracy mean?
4. What would be the core elements of democracy in a situation like Zimbabwe?
5. And is there a place for the church in facilitating greater democracy in such situations?

It requires a longer narrative to examine the responses of the church to the struggle for Zimbabwe. Several studies highlight the role of Catholics (Linden 1980), Lutherans (Bhebe 1999), and others. These studies are important for interpreting the decision to spare church land in the fast track resettlement program implemented by the government. While some of the ruling nationalists charged that the church had facilitated the suppression of Africans, the majority acknowledged its contribution to the liberation struggle. These interpretations of the role of the church in the development of Zimbabwe were central to the decision to spare church land during the fast track resettlement program. The question as to whether the PCSA had any influence on the socio-political and economic issues mainly centred on the Zimbabwean land still stand. The following section provides an overview of the government of Zimbabwe's decision to acquire land for the black majority and how the PCSA retorted to the exchange.

5.1.3 The Fast Track Resettlement Program.

Although the armed struggle put pressure on the Smith regime, Zimbabwe's political independence was a negotiated settlement (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The 1979 Lancaster House Agreement resulted in a compromise constitution that left the land

issue basically untouched. When Zimbabwe gained her independence on 18 April 1980, Mugabe pronounced a policy of national reconciliation, but the land issue remained simmering underneath (ZCC Report, 1985:33). The 'willing seller, willing buyer' principle proved to be inadequate in addressing the expectations of the black majority (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015)

Mugabe's government did not deliver the Promised Land to the black majority immediately after independence. Families that moved to commercial farms in the early years of independence were brutally evicted, as Mugabe sought to consolidate his status as a distinguished African statesman (Ndou, pers. comm., 19 February 2014). He endeared himself to the international community with his educational achievements and oratory skills. Between 1980 and 1997, Mugabe received numerous awards and honorary degrees from various universities in Europe and North America (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). To a very large extent, Mugabe ensured that political rhetoric did not affect what was happening on the ground in relation to the land issue during the first decade of independence.

However, when Zimbabwe adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Program in the early 1990s, the situation changed (Saunders, 1996:8). Most the people struggled to buy basic commodities, and Mugabe's grip on power was challenged. An opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) emerged in 1999, and Mugabe fell back on the land issue. While some peasants had resorted to methods of self-provisioning in relation to the land question, in 2000 Mugabe himself took the mantle (Herald, 2002). He isolated Britain and the white minority in the country as the cause of all the social and economic problems. He maintained that the time had come for the land to be returned to blacks who had owned it 'since the beginning of time' (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). This became the Third Chimurenga, the revolutionary struggle to regain the ancestral lands.

The land became the defining theme of the June 2000 parliamentary and February 2002 presidential elections. Mugabe was presented as the Deliverer, the Black Moses who availed the Promised Land to the black peasants. Slogans like, 'Land is the Economy and the Economy is the Land' and 'Zimbabwe Shall Never be a Colony Again' (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015) were coined to buttress the centrality of land to all national debates. Alongside embarking on executive lawlessness (Campbell 2003: 80), an aggressive marketing of the land issue ensured Mugabe's political survival.

The fast track resettlement program saw thousands of former liberation fighters, ruling party militias, military and intelligence personnel (Moyo, 1998), as well as peasants, invading white-owned commercial farms. Some farms owned by the churches and blacks were also occupied, although settlers were soon ordered to vacate such farms. Between 2000 and 2003, Zimbabwe's land question received extensive coverage in the international media, mainly because the interests of the white minority were threatened by Mugabe's radical program. Travel sanctions were imposed on Mugabe and his inner circle. Mugabe charged that his project was aimed at empowering blacks in their ancestral lands (Moyo, 2013). Thus: 'The present project of "land revolution" as articulated by the regime aims at "finally" reversing colonial land appropriations and inequalities, and redistributing land and other assets to their rightful, indigenous owners' (Hammar and Raftopoulos 2003: 38).

Mugabe borrowed from the social teachings of the Catholic Church, liberation theology and humanism to defend his land reform program. He urged the international community to accept his empowerment of poor peasants (Moyo, 2013). He insisted that the appointed hour had come to correct the colonial injustices. He presented himself as a sacrificial victim that was being terrorised by the earthly principalities and powers. However, he protected the Churchland even as some of his followers wanted to bring the land revolution to its logical

conclusion. As such, even though the PCSA failed in its drive to quieten and reverse the land acquisition gains, it only managed to have its land spared from such a grab.

5.1.4 The survival of church land, an analysis.

Having provided the historical background relating to the church's acquisition of land and the postcolonial fast track resettlement exercise, it would have appeared logical for Mugabe and his ruling elite to compulsorily acquire the PCSA (church) land in Zimbabwe. The dominant reasons for seizing white owned farms were that the land had been embezzled from the blacks during the early colonial period and that the blacks needed the land for their survival (Chitiyo, 2000 and Moyo, 2001 and 2013).

Sometimes proponents of land reform also maintained that the commercial farms were under-utilized. All these arguments could have been used to justify the forced acquisition of church land in the country. As this study, has illustrated, the church received extensive land grants from Rhodes. There were a few symbolic gestures when the church handed back some of the lands to the black community. This was the case with the PCSA in relation to Somabhula farm (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015), the Catholics with Triashill, Monte Cassino and Empanjeni missions, as well as the Church of Christ with Dadaya (Gundani 2002: 159). However, the church has remained in possession of vast tracts of land. Canaan Banana, a former ceremonial president of Zimbabwe, noted this fact and the challenge that it posed to the prophetic role of the church. He wrote:

Though the Church has been an active champion in ensuring social justice in civic affairs, when it comes to its own land holdings, the Church has not done much for the landless. It is embarrassing that amidst so many land calamities such as Porta Farm and Churu Farm, the Church has its own share of these problems. It is a known fact that a few

Churches that own farms have not been able to come up with a viable land policy for their tenants (Banana 1996: 239).

A few recent studies have confirmed that the church owns land amidst landless blacks (Bakare, 1993; Chitando, 2002b and Gundani, 2003). Some families that hold historical claims to Churchland have occasionally invaded such farms. The Mugabe clan of Morgenster Mission has continued to challenge the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe over land rights. Dutch Reformed Church missionaries held discussions with Chief Mugabe for the establishment of the mission in 1891. However, members of the clan remain convinced that the missionaries cheated them of their land. Many descendants of the various clans that lost their land to the church in other parts of the country have sought to recover their ancestral lands. They felt that the fast track resettlement program provided a perfect opportunity for the restoration of their land rights. However, even in its most 'revolutionary' mood, Mugabe's government refused to entertain these claims.

While some farms owned by the church have been quite productive (Moyo, 2001 and Edgington 1996), this factor was never prioritised during the fast track resettlement program. In fact, most of the white owned farms that were forcibly acquired by the government were highly productive. Whenever church farms appeared on the list of designated farms, the government swiftly moved to de-list them. On 18 November 2002, the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Development, Joseph Made (Moyo, 2013 and Chitando, 2002:4), assured leaders of various denominations that Churchland would not be affected by the fast track resettlement programme. The meeting had been convened by the Department of Special Affairs in the office of the President and Cabinet, John Nkomo (The Herald 2002). Nkomo, chairman of the ruling ZANU-PF, was to assume overall responsibility for the resettlement program in its later stages. Two major questions emerge:

1. Why did a regime that did not appear willing to listen to anyone regarding the land issue agree to be in dialogue with the church?
2. How did church land survive during the crisis years?
3. Was it an influence from the church (PCSA)?

The following paragraphs identify some of the factors that influenced Mugabe's regime to spare church land (Makoni, pers. comm., 23 April 2013). Even though this narrative adopts a general approach to the question of church land in Zimbabwe, it should be acknowledged that the various denominations have been guided by different theological convictions in their land use (Leedy 2000).

5.1.5 The Impact of the PCSA over Nationalist Leaders

Mugabe and members of his inner circle identify themselves closely with the church (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). In a sense, to compulsorily acquire church land would have been tantamount to taking away land from them. Although they might have utilised indigenous religions for propaganda purposes during the liberation struggle, nationalist leaders were quick to return to the church after independence (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). It was the Catholic Archbishop Patrick Chakaipa who blessed the new Zimbabwean flag upon the attainment of independence (Hallencreutz 1998: 9).

The PCSA invested in African education throughout the colonial period (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Mugabe, despite having had some flirtation with Marxism, has remained Catholic in his religious outlook. His two late Vice Presidents, Joshua Nkomo and Simon Muzenda were buried in accordance with the rites of the Catholic Church (Moyo, 2013). Nkomo had Rev. Nxumalo, a PCSA minister, as his chaplain during the early days of African nationalism and he converted to Catholicism during the last years of his life. He reported that he had been brought up in a strict Christian home (Nkomo 2001: 11). Mugabe's

new Vice President, Joyce Mujuru, who was appointed in December 2004, is an active member of the Salvation Army. Several of Mugabe's administration ministers at any given time were of either a PCSA background or had studied at a PCSA school under the spiritual guidance of PCSA ministers and included, Timothy Stamps, J. Moyo, Ambassador S. K. Moyo and Dabengwa (PCSA, 1973:171).

The generation of nationalist leaders who were driving the Land Reform Programme was Christian in outlook. Mugabe himself admitted that most nationalists had established good relations with the churches. Thus, 'We derive our backgrounds, all of us, from association with the Churches, from having been brought up in Christian institutions' (Mugabe 1983: 154). In his address to the regional Catholic Church leaders at Chishawasha, Mugabe acknowledged the influence of the church on his life. He said:

As always it gives me great pleasure to personally be with the Church of my father and mother; the church of my whole family, indeed the church that has claimed and I believe, secured my devotional allegiance the larger part of my life. Of course, Chishawasha is the place of my late mother, the place where she grew and developed Christian ways she would later impart to all of us her children, and of course to those in her neighbourhood (Mugabe 2001: 29).

The Catholic Church outstripped other denominations in acquiring land in Zimbabwe (Moyana 1984: 36). The Catholic Church built Chishawasha Mission by displacing the indigenous vaShawasha people. However, because Mugabe and much of his ministers were educated at mission schools, they did not want to be seen taking church land by force (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). White commercial farmers were more vulnerable, as they could be accused of undermining his government. Although Mugabe could verbally attack outspoken Catholic leaders like Archbishop Pious Ncube, he never threatened to seize

church owned farms; maybe as one brought up at Kutama Mission, Mugabe could not countenance a landless church (Moyo, 2013).

In educating African political leaders across the continent (Sithole 1959: 57), the church sowed fertile seeds for its vitality in later years, as the fate of church land in Zimbabwe illustrates. The mission boarding school left an indelible mark on the minds of future leaders (Sundkler and Steed 2000: 639–40). When peasants, unemployed youths and other combatants of the Third Chimurenga ventured on to church farms, mission-educated ruling nationalists told them explicitly that Churchland was in the space beyond the 'revolution' (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The popularity of Christianity within Zimbabwe also had a bearing on the survival of church land. While white commercial farmers and their predominantly migrant workers were in the minority, any wholesale expropriation of Churchland would have sparked a national outcry. As the land issue was also tied to the question of votes, Mugabe might have sought to avoid antagonising a large percentage of the electorate by sparing church farms (Machukera, pers. comm., 19 March 2014). Many Zimbabweans who were educated at mission schools continue to identify themselves with Christianity. Christianity dominates the religious landscape of Zimbabwe, implying that confiscation of church farms had the possibility of alienating a significant section of the population.

Church–State relations have generally been cordial in postcolonial Zimbabwe (Hallencreutz 1998: 9 and Moyo 1988). This allowed negotiations concerning church land to take place within a less charged environment than those that involved the white commercial farmers. Although the church, especially the PCSA, was vocal in its condemnation of the atrocities in the Matebeleland region, it sought to co-operate with the state in nation-building (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). Having attended mission schools and benefited

from the church's humanitarian support during the liberation struggle, most members of Mugabe's 'war cabinet' were sympathetic to the church.

5.1.6 The PCSA's Public Endorsement of the Land Reform Programme.

The shared nationalist sentiments between the ruling party leaders and church leaders in Zimbabwe became apparent when the latter issued statements that supported the land reform programme. The Zimbabwe Council of Churches (chaired by Rev. W. R. Sayimani, a PCSA minister), the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference, and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe all came out in favour of land reform, although they criticised the accompanying violence (ZCC Report, 2009). Both political and church leaders had been nurtured by the church (Muzorewa 1978: 90) and were now proclaiming the message of holistic salvation in a charged political environment. PCSA church leaders namely the late Rev. Donovan Brain Enslin, Rev. Rory Spenser, Rev. Paul Neshangwe maintained that Mugabe's approach to the land question was racist and unsustainable; they were dismissed as agents of imperialism. This even led to the death of Rev. Enslin in cold blood and the destruction of the Lomagundi Church offices by Inferno (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). This also resulted in many ministers serving in Zimbabwe developing cold feet and subsequently left the country, with Rev. Spenser moving into South Africa and Rev. Neshangwe to America.

Church leaders like Rt. Rev. M.T. Chigwida of PCSA, Bishop Norbert Kunonga of the Anglican Church, Rev. Noah Pashapa of the Baptist Church and Rev. Andrew Wutawunashe of the Family of God Church were quite vocal in their support of Mugabe's land reform programme (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Rev Obadiah M'sindo of the Destiny of Africa Network provided spiritual guidance to the ruling party and government, maintaining that Mugabe was God's chosen instrument for empowering blacks. He praised Mugabe's land reform programme, claiming that it was consistent with God's desire to restore the dignity of

blacks. These church leaders utilised theological, historical and ethical arguments to justify the resettlement exercise. The dominance of the theme of land in the Hebrew Bible provided them with a valuable resource (Moyo, 2013:19). They portrayed black Zimbabweans as the new Israel, with Mugabe leading his people in a righteous war to reclaim the Promised Land. The support of a large section of the church leadership helped to lend some moral legitimacy to the government's land reform programme.

By publicly endorsing Mugabe's land policies the PCSA and other church leaders established common ground with the ruling elite, even though most of its general membership was losing long owned land. At the height of the land crisis, Mugabe's regime faced isolation within the region and internationally Church land was safe so long as Mugabe felt that the church was also singing from his revolutionary hymn book. To be fair, the level of state-sponsored terror had reached alarming levels, and some church leaders might have endorsed Mugabe's land policies as a survival strategy.

Alongside the main reasons outlined above, other factors were also at play in the government's decision to let the church continue owning her farms in Zimbabwe. Mugabe's regime did not want to be seen tampering with the freedom of worship, a charge that could have emerged with the compulsory acquisition of church farms. As it had framed the discourse around the land in terms of the international struggle against imperialism, it did not want the highly sensitive question of religion to interfere. Although youth from the ruling party would occasionally disrupt congregations and force people to attend rallies, large-scale operations to seize church land would have courted further negative publicity.

5.1.7 The PCSA's Success in the Provision of Social Services

As Mugabe's regime presided over a weakening economy (Moyo, 2013), the PCSA and many other denominations succeeded in mitigating the suffering of vulnerable social groups

(Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). They provided social services at a time when the government's financial resources were dwindling. The health delivery system was in a state of paralysis in the late 1990s due to financial constraints and the massive exodus of qualified personnel. Mission hospitals located on church farms were strategic in meeting the health needs of the nation in the face of a devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic (Moyo, 2013). It was during this era that the PCSA through the aid from its partners in America and the United Kingdom built clinics at Lomagundi Church, and the David Livingstone Memorial and Mhondoro High schools. Forced acquisition of such farms would have had negative consequences on health. Furthermore, mission schools are located on church farms and would have been affected by the compulsory acquisition.

5.2 Gukurahundi 1983 – 1987

Despite working together under the Patriotic Front banner ZANU and ZAPU broke ranks to fight the country's first majority election separately. ZANU, after an overwhelming victory, invited ZAPU to form a government of National Unity, but this did not go well with some of the ZAPU leadership (Mabhena, pers. comm., 10 May 2016). The Prime-Minister (R. G. Mugabe) started off with flying colours, as a man of the people (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). His problems started as soon as he realised that some of the ZAPU party leaders were eyeing the top seat in the country. On the other hand, there were some reports of the unstable situation in Matabeleland and Midlands. Bands of "dissidents" were killing civilians and destroying property (Maposa 1995:3). The President himself had been an assassination target. He escaped three different attempts on his life (Nxumalo, 6 pers. comm., December 2015). In 1982, Zimbabwe had serious security problems in various parts of the country particularly in the South (Mabhena, pers. comm., 10 May 2015). The dissident's activity threatened to plunge the country into civil war. The church, including the

Presbyterians, chose to remain silent irrespective of the perishing of her members in the process.

The country slowly began to have economic problems. The government had to spend substantial amounts of money to fight the dissident menace and to monitor the movements of "dangerous" politicians, a term used loosely to refer to ZAPU officials hunted by the government. Thus, scarce economic resources were diverted from developmental projects for a wasteful military exercise (The Moto: December 1997:8). Such events caused several hardships in the economic, political and social spheres.

For instance, families were left destitute, without bread winners and without shelter. Many people, possibly thousands, suffered permanent damage to their health because of physical torture, thereby, inhibiting their ability to seek work or to maintain their lands and perform daily chores such as carrying water (Maposa 1997:6). The PCSA suffered a great deal since the terrorism was taking place in Matebeleland; its strong hold. Most of its members were affected by the *Gukurahundi* civil war as it was popularly known. Many Presbyterian schools were closed; ministers escaped death and went into hiding in neighbouring countries. A commission was set by the Synod of Zimbabwe to meet the President on the state of Zimbabwe, which comprised of Rev. Allan Spence (*Moderator*), Rev. Max T. Chigwida (*Justice and Social Responsibility Convener*) and Rev. Donovan Brian Enslin (*Matebeleland Presbytery Moderator*) (Rhodesian Synod minutes: 1983). In his defense the President cited Matthew 7 v 3 “*Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother’s eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye ..., first take the plank out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to remove the speck from your brother’s eye*”. (NIV) “Presbyterians, you are concerned about what is happening now; Good Christian! Why were you silent when, one of you, Ian Smith was killing people like ants if you really mean your words? Go and put your house in order first” (Chikomo, pers. comm., 16 March 2014).

This muzzled the PCSA as from now on it could not singly confront the government on justice matters, only collectively with other Christian faith bodies such as Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC Report, 2009:11).

We should bear in mind that, ZANU PF's overwhelming victory in the country's first majority rule election in 1980, prompted it to desire the one-party state direction (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). For instance, any public opinion against Zanu PF's stance was viewed as a threat to the state, even on matters that were purely party issues. People could not express divergent political views without becoming state enemies. Things changed, the party had become more important than the nation itself and more important than the people it was supposed to serve, thus, the occasions of abuse and corruption multiplied by the day. More and more frequently, unbearable situations of injustice surfaced within Zimbabwe. Disregard of human rights crept all along the halls of power. Many people country – wide suffered harassment, torture and imprisonment, a thing Zimbabwean people had experienced before, during the colonial rule and especially during the UDI regime, under Smith (1965 - 1979) (Moyo, 2013:9).

In 1987, the two major political parties, Zanu PF and PF Zapu signed the Unity Accord to bring about peace and development. Even though there were whites left in the country, the balance of the general economy was left in the hands of the white minority and not opened to the general populace (Moto, December 1997:9). There were many issues, which needed to be addressed after the Unity Accord; first the question of the transformation of the economy, and also compensation for the killings done during the dissident era.

Some politicians took advantage of the instability by engaging themselves in acts of corruption (Moto, 1997:19-20). The Willowvale Scandal is an example, which was uncovered by the Chronicle and later substantiated by the Anti – Corruption Commission. Many people,

mainly government officials, were found to have engaged actively in corruption by the Sandura Commission. The Government, however, exonerated those who were involved in corruption activities. They protected those of high – profile and in some cases proven to be corrupt, but they went on to elevate them to higher positions and even declare them national heroes (Moto, 1996:10). The writer believes that if anti – corruption and the church, including the PCSA, could have continued with its series of investigations this country would not be in this crisis today (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). There was a need at this stage of corruption to spread awareness in Zimbabwe about the effects of corruption on the economy of the country.

The fact that a lot of names were mentioned which included Chiutsi (a minister) and Madam Gutu (*both suedo names*) and the involved people went Scot-free, gave a new breed of corruption (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2014). The people in the private sector, which are always at the forefront of condemning corruption, were deeply involved in it too. They would pay medical bills for a politician in return for preferential treatment. Because of corruption many companies and organisations were milked to death (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). Many companies had to close shop, leaving people unemployed and poor, especially white owned companies (directing their investments to other nations such as Zambia and South Africa with friendly policies towards investors) most of these with PCSA membership. This helped to bring the Zimbabwean economy into the doldrums.

5.3 The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)

Ten years after independence the government introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme to address the socio-economic imbalances of the previous colonial regime. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank – initiated early retirement and retrenchment schemes for workers in both the public and private sectors (Moto, 1997:19-20).

More than fifty thousand workers were lured into the schemes. Per IMF, the measure was an attempt to reduce government expenditure and to replace manpower with technology in the private sector (Moto, 1996:10). The government was expecting a new breed of indigenous entrepreneurs to be created from the packages and financial assistance from the World Bank.

The economy did not grow at the rate necessary to create enough jobs and to sustain development (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). This was due to different factors namely, the inherited monopolistic and centralised economy and years of drought and inadequate planning (Moto, 1996:10). The growing unemployment threatened the survival of many families. For the first time in the history of Zimbabwe, the standard of living for the majority declined and poverty was on the increase. The gap between the rich and the poor began to widen. The cost of living got worse for the poor rather than the rich.

When the government implemented the ESAP it did not consult people, especially those in rural areas. Coincidentally, a year after the government embarked on the ESAP, a series of droughts followed (Moto, 1997:19-20). The situation had become bitter for many the citizens. Mainly for those people who lived at the level of a subsistence economy such as small farmers, were of Malawian descent and in most cases Presbyterians together with their masters (Mushayavanhu 2012:41). Many young people left their rural homes to look for employment in the cities. The PCSA in a way gained momentum for it got new converts, coming from rural areas where it was not in existence, to its strongholds (Chikomo, pers. comm., 29 June 2014). A crop of new black ministers started to come into the fold, with the Masvingo congregation topping the list of sending students for ministry training.

More and more people tried to survive in the informal sector of the economy, which often did not provide enough for a decent living (Moyo, 1992:5). Two years down the line after the implementation of ESAP, nearly three-quarter of Zimbabwe's population were

reported to be living below the poverty datum line (PDL) (Parade 1993:11). The slow rate of economic growth means that fewer people could secure employment annually (Moto, December 1997:19-20). This meant that the church had to assume a greater responsibility of caring for its poor people. The PCSA- Zimbabwe was highly affected since now most of her members were foreigners, people from Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Scotland among others (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015 and Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). These being in the diaspora were looked up to by families in their native nations, and as such provided little or no financial support to the local church.

There was a further unfavourable dimension to this state of affairs. As more and more workers lost jobs because of the demands of the ESAP, the country's dependent population became astronomical in relation to the economically active population, as the latter becomes the de-facto 'breadwinner' of the former (Moto, August 1996:5).

It was disheartening to note that the great percentages of the marginalised were women since they constitute most the population in Zimbabwe. Despite the real threat of AIDS, prostitution increased in most Growth Points throughout Zimbabwe as women reeled under the effects of drought and ESAP (Gibbon and Olukoshi 1996).

Many children started to abandon their families because of starvation. Many cases of malnutrition were reported throughout the country. Children began appearing in all city centres throughout the country (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Harare was the worst affected city, a city that was never previously mentioned without the nickname, "sunshine city". In the past, few years, it turned into the dumping ground for anything from garbage to human waste. Fully a replica of the country's gloomy economic situation hordes of rural folk streamed into its streets as redemption from their hunger-stricken and no-hope

bearing farm lands. In less than two years, the capital city had witnessed an increase in the number living on the streets.

The PCSA, through its Justice and Social Responsibility (JSR) committee, chose a non-confrontational approach to the government, as a corrective measure (SoR Minutes, 1983:19). A subcommittee of JSR was tasked to rehabilitate and reintegrate the children from the streets back to their families. The Lovemore House was bought for that missional purpose, however, only focusing on the boy child. Many other denominations followed to include the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe's Chinyaradzo Children's home in Epworth and the Danai Children's home in Malbereign and many others.

5.4 Declines in Health Services.

Since the introduction of ESAP, Zimbabwe's health sector has become a living disaster (Moyo, 2013). With foreign currency shortages, drugs costs are too high and in short supply. "Many patients were saying it is better to die at home than to go to the hospital" (Bhaskar, pers. comm., 44 April 2015). It is not surprising to note that since the implementation of ESAP by the government the health standards in the country continued to deteriorate. With the economy struggling to defy complete collapse more in rural areas and the unemployed. Less income meant lower standards of nutrition. Less income meant also that people could afford any more transport costs to hospitals or clinics, not to mention the medical fees themselves. The decline in socioeconomic circumstances in Zimbabwe meant decay and deterioration of health also.

History has shown us that, poorer people are more often sick than economically better – off people. Poverty causes a high infant mortality rate phenomenon, which Zimbabwe experienced as the government introduced ESAP (Moyo, 2013). The writer remembers years ago, talking to a patient who he visited at Masvingo General Hospital. He was very sick, but

at the same time leaving the hospital. The writer asked him why? he answered, “I am happy to be leaving the hospital, not that I am cured but to go and die at home, and may be saving another life by making room for someone in a worse off condition than mine” (Samanyika, 2013: interaction with the patient at Masvingo General Hospital). This is one of the cases showing the plight of sick people in Zimbabwe’s troubled health sector.

The impact of foreign currency shortages has made it difficult for most hospitals and clinics to acquire equipment to efficiently run the hospitals and drugs to cure the sick. It was not a surprise to read the article in The Manica Post of June 26, 1989, that outlined that the hospital authorities were asking patients to bring their own drugs. This has been the result of the shortage of drugs and equipment, a situation that has seen patients failing to access painkillers and antibiotics. This ugly situation has forced some nursing staff to resign from the hospital, as they were spending most of their time idle due to lack of drugs to treat patients.

On the other hand, the government introduced hospital and treatment fees, which were beyond the reach of the majority. More so doctors and nurses resorted prolonged strikes and left the service causing a brain – drain to nearby countries (Chikohora, pers. comm., 4 April 2014). Much trained medical personnel left the country, discouraged by low income and working conditions. The PCSA, however, turned a blind eye to the ills bedeviling the church and nation as they lost membership to other countries.

5.5 Declines in Education Services.

Ideas on the education and schooling of European Reformed people were influenced as much by humanists as they were by the Christian roots of Calvinist thought. Calvin's Academy founded in 1559 was a pilot program in broad-based education for the city (Pillay, 2016: in an unpublished article). Calvin emphasised the importance of public education in the

congregation and holding parents accountable for the education of their children, as well as the entire community of believers (Hall, 2008:14). Both schools, as historians have observed, were tuition-free and ‘forerunners of modern public education" (Kelly, 1973:14).

Professor Pillay further noted that;

Another typical Reformed educational idea adopted by Calvin was that children should be schooled in the faith early on while they were still young and relatively free of sinful acts. However, it must be noted that the reformers sought to make public education available to all children, even where they comprised a religious minority. Understandably, in addition to the theology of Calvin the educational practices and the organisation of schools in Geneva and other early Reformed areas were formative for the pedagogical ideas and educational policies of Reformed Europe (Pillay, 2016: *in an unpublished article*).

Historically, education, as much as any other single factor, has fostered socio-economic and political advancement. The latter point can be seen in the Zimbabwean context during the colonial years when many of the political leaders went into exile in Europe, North America and other parts of the world and returned with degrees in various fields and had exposure to new realities and experiences that changed their lives.

Education became the vehicle to unite, challenge and advance people. It became the tool for liberation in Zimbabwe in that educated people returning from exile or exposure abroad were no longer content to remain unequal or oppressed. The importance of appropriate education can hardly be overstated. It is a key to employment opportunities, population stabilisation, the exercise of human rights, effective public participation, disease prevention and health care, environmental conservation, economic productivity, agricultural sustainability, and cultural and spiritual development. It is thus not surprising that the PCSA encouraged its personnel throughout the world to continue to give strong support wherever

possible to strengthen the kind of education that liberates and empowers people, economically, socially, culturally, politically and spiritually. The idea of unity in diversity is embedded in Calvin's emphasis on education in working towards developing humanity and subsequently a better society for all.

The provision of education is the foundation for the development of any country and this was strategic for the PCSA taking the cue from the reform tradition (56th PCSA, 1957:83). It is due to the above stated that the provision of quality education should be the responsibility of any government. In Zimbabwe, the provision of education is protected and enshrined in the Education Act, which basically surrenders the control of education in the country to the Minister of Education.

At independence, the government of Zimbabwe adopted an "education – for – all" principle. Schools were built en-masse, and consequently quality was compromised for quantity. This was a general reaction to the colonial system that had marginalised black Zimbabweans (PCSA, 1957 & 1973). After Independence education was made free for all. The government continued to control the provision of education, for education is in a way a political agent.

The problem started with the implementation of ESAP. The economy of Zimbabwe beginning to hit rock bottom and the IMF and World Bank began to have a say (Moyo, 2013). Within a short period, the government notified the schools that it had no money to directly fund the schools it had built. That meant schools were to concentrate on their core – business that is teaching and learning. The service workers like the sweepers, office orderlies; caretakers and grounds men were laid off. The ministry also abolished a few posts, including the deputies. In some places, education officers were downgraded to become Headmasters (Makoni, pers. comm., 11 June 2012).

According to Kurebwa J (2000:7), the introduction of school fees for primary education in towns hit, the poor families in Zimbabwe who survive on the informal sectors. Many parents in urban areas transferred their children to rural schools to avoid paying large sums of money. This, however, was a disadvantage to many children who were going to rural schools, which in many cases have lower standards and facilities. Furthermore, a reasonable number of teachers in rural areas were not trained for their jobs (Makoni, pers. comm., 11 June 2012). Children who had no parents or were living with their grandparents could not cope with the fees. This resulted in school dropouts at primary level throughout the country. The drop-out of primary and secondary education contributed to the number of street kids in the country.

After the introduction of fees both in primary and secondary education the pass rate went down in most schools. The Manica Post of March 24, 1990, had a headline: - "22 Schools recorded zero percent pass rate". On the other hand, school Heads continued to hike fees and making many other outrageous demands such as groceries, more schools uniforms and levies.

The PCSA was not spared from this situation. Most of the children in secondary schools dropped out after only completing the junior certificate. The country's education system which was rated among the best in the world and has produced fine academics and professionals that are recognised internationally came to its knees due to ESAP (Moyo, 2013 and Makoni, pers. comm., 11 June 2012).

The PCSA schools, being private organisations, mobilised resources from within the wider family, a transnational denomination, to assist students and especially teachers who religiously committed themselves to serve the pupils. Supplementary food for children was sought and two meals per day were given at school and teachers' remuneration was

incentivized as well. Additional salaries were paid to teaching and none teaching staff in PCSA Zimbabwean schools. More-so the then moderator; Retired Rev. Jonah Masaka in his address to the February 1989 Council meeting urged all church doors to be opened during the week to pave the way for school children and on Sundays to revert to worship services. Many congregations took heed and schools such as Paraclete, Mbare and Lomagundi were started and thrive to this day.

It is disheartening to note that most girls who dropped out of school got pregnant. Zimbabweans should know that uneducated children will find it difficult to find a place in a modern economy. Owing to the harsh economic conditions prevailing in the country, brought about by the ESAP, many children turned into vending as means of raising fees instead of studying; as Kadenge and friends stated in his book *The Social Implications of ESAP*, ‘...a low standard of education will be an obstacle to real economic growth’ (Kadenge et al, 1992:41)

The implementation of ESAP caused more damage to the country than good. The country witnessed a frightening downward spiralling of the economy. The nation helplessly watched the Zimbabwe dollar fighting a losing battle against most major currencies. The prices of basic food commodities went up and sparked off serious food riots. Country wide, people went on the rampage, looting and destroying shops.

The once peaceful Zimbabweans woke up to reality and realised that if they did not do something for themselves, no one would do it for them. Unfortunately, the protests seem to have fallen on deaf ears because after the riots the government increased the fuel price. This demonstrated that the government was not concerned with the economic pains people were experiencing. Many companies, which used to import goods and resell them closed. There was a food shortage countrywide. The situation in the country was worsened by serious

severe drought years that have drastically reduced agricultural output and caused immense expenses brought about by having to import food.

5.6 The Democratic Republic of Congo War.

It was now when the economy was weakening that President Robert Mugabe made a unilateral decision to commit Zimbabwean troops and resources to fight alongside the government of President Laurent Kabila in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Makoni, pers. comm., 11 June 2012). It is worth asking why he wanted to sympathise with the DRC when people in the country were living under dehumanising conditions. It seems to the writer that our soldiers were fighting for an unknown cause in the DRC. After all, the DRC is not even a geographical or historical neighbour of Zimbabwe that the war could spill into it.

According to "a letter from the ancestors of Zimbabwe", thousands of Zimbabwean soldiers were reportedly dying in the DRC in defense of the Mbuji-Mayi diamonds and the famous Katanga gold fields, all for personal benefit (Moto 2006:16).

Thousands of Zimbabweans were suffering while the government continued to spend money on the DRC war. The government got involved in the war when its people were going through trying times because of ESAP (Moyo, 2013:9). Developmental projects such as the building of clinics, houses, Zambezi Water and roads rehabilitation were aborted for a distant war. This could have boosted the economy of Zimbabwe.

The DRC war devoured into several ministerial budgets, to include, according to Moto, of July 1999, the civil servants could not get a 20% living adjustment because of the war in the DRC. The war imposed destructive sacrifices in the economy. The PCSA, among all other churches, chose to remain silent and aligned themselves with the oppressor, while the poor people, its members were either dying in DRC or in Zimbabwe of starvation. In

other words, the silence of the PCSA meant that it approved the regime's inhuman and economic exploits.

Worse still; at the time when the whole country was horrified by starvation, joblessness, closure of companies, shortage of foreign currency and droughts, the war veterans demanded fifty-thousand dollars as gratuities. They formed a war-veteran's association, which demanded both money and power. Having squeezed the government into giving them unbudgeted money for gratuities and other favours, they became so powerful that even the President got dancing to their every demand (Moto 2002:16).

The government printed more money to give gratuities to the war veterans. The printing of currency affected negatively the stabilisation of monetary and budgetary measures. The writer still remembers, after the disbursement of the gratuities, that there were some increases in the interest rates, a devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar and the bringing about of runaway prices rising every day, thus causing the Zimbabwean economy to shrink.

In reaction to the situation, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions called for work stoppage known as a "stay-away". This stay-away triggered by an escalation of food prices cost eight lives of people (Kurebwa, 2000:16).

5.7 Conclusion

The use of oral tradition utilised in compiling this chapter has successfully traced the PCSA's participation in land acquisition, and its involvement in educational and health developments beginning at the colonial era. The study revealed the participation of the PCSA in a specific area of life which subsequently resulted in influencing the developments in Zimbabwe. Issues, such as the western education imparted by the missionaries to the native Zimbabweans who later became national leaders, bringing transformation in the socio-political arena and economics of Zimbabwe.

The PCSA influence resulted in the sparing of the church land. Lessons drawn include the need for the church and state to partner in all the national endeavours for the developments of the nation. It is also pressing to note the ideas unravelled in this chapter that the PCSA contributed positively to education and health issues as well as negative to political and economic interrelated issues, and will be elaborated on in the next analysis and concluding the chapter.

Chapter 6

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUDING SUMMARY

6.0 Introduction

The relationship between The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe and the nation of Zimbabwe provided new challenges in the Zimbabwean socio-political and economic domains which could demand new approaches. That fact became the basis of pointing out the prospects of The PCSA's endeavours in Zimbabwe. This chapter focuses on the summary of findings and prospects of the PCSA's socio-political and economic traditions and practices in Zimbabwe. It lists and discusses the answers offered to the set of research investigations, which include the reformed faith as was practiced by the PCSA and its specific involvement in the socio-politics and economics in Zimbabwe as was informed by oral tradition.

6.1 Main findings

The main objective of this study was to delineate, investigate and evaluate the impact of the socio-political and economic influence of the PCSA since its inception in Zimbabwe up till 1990, and the impact of reform traditions on socio-politics and economics.

The assumption which was put to the test argued that the studies on The PCSA revealed a considerable amount of knowledge that can be derived from the oral tradition which is in abundance in Africa. Thus, for example, this thesis has succeeded in unravelling some of the knowledge systems of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, through this methodological approach. We now know more certainly from the oral sources that the PCSA influenced the developments of Zimbabwe as it did mission work. It is now apparent that a multidimensional approach to

the study of views of African Church History has proved very rewarding with the emphasis on analysis and interpretation.

This increased awareness was caused by the ever-changing socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe. To test this supposition, the study established that reformed, like (U) PCSA's, understanding impacted on the socio-political and economic development of Zimbabwe. It further considered what The PCSA's involvement in politics and economics amounted to. An exploration, using oral traditions, of these demands led to the following findings.

6.2 Reformed tradition and socio-politics and economics of Zimbabwe.

Chapter four depicted, examined and interpreted The Zimbabwean PCSA's economic and political teachings and activities during colonial rule considering Presbyterianism as it was transmitted by the oral tradition and tested against the existing written chronicles. The survey exposed how The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe drew from reformed theology in cases where they felt that Calvin's teaching would further their desires.

In all the four areas examined, which included, the politics of Land, Racism, War and Federation, PCSA chose to break ties with reformed examples whenever they interpreted Calvin's teaching as influencing them to disregard British influence in Zimbabwe. Racial discrimination endangered to divide the church until 1980 when Zimbabwe attained political independence. The obsession also blinded some white PCSA members, mainly of British extraction, from promoting the political freedom of blacks.

This study has exposed how the PCSA behaved in the political arena during the colonial era in Zimbabwe. In cases in which there was continuity or discontinuity with reformed teachings, examples from politics were highlighted. The PCSA's political activities

were uncertain as they struggled to balance their act in the face of diverging demands from ensuring that the colonial government remained within British dictates. They maintained sound relationships with colonizers, who were their kith and kin, while at the same time trying to deal with liberal voices which called the church to serve the interests of the exploited black-majority. The socio-political influences of The PCSA in Zimbabwe on the acts of injustice against Africans were rampant, and as such their relationship was strange and dubious. The next section will recapitulate and critic the findings to that effect.

6.2.1 PCSA and Colonists were odd associates.

While acknowledging the instrumental role of The PCSA in the development of Zimbabwe's modern political and economic gratitude it is clear from this study that the PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings and practices were influenced heavily by an invitation to participate in the Pioneer Column. That invitation created a characteristic of the mutual relationship between PCSA and white settlers in Zimbabwe. That relationship raised challenges for the PCSA in Zimbabwe as they were supposed to employ reformed theology's (John Calvin's) political and economic teachings and practices in their association with white settlers as shown in chapter three earlier.

Another challenge stemmed from how they could be faithful to the Christian message and at the same time maintains a sound relationship with the settler government. As we have seen right from the beginning of PCSA mission work in Zimbabwe to 1990, the close alliance was enforced by the PCSA's behaviour that amounted to collaboration with colonial administrative officers as shown in chapters three and four. However, there were sporadic criticisms of some colonial policies which the church deemed as resulting in too much suffering for Zimbabwean natives.

The PCSA joined forces with other missionary groups in calling for the destruction of the Ndebele kingdom (Zvobgo, 1973, Mukonyora, 1993 and Hunter, 1996). An important question here is why missionaries, who were supposed to pastor Africans, called for the termination of their targeted converts? A desire for the fall of the African politics in the first period of a coalition between colonialists and missionaries was the same with missionaries operating in the Zimbabwe. The Presbytery of Rhodesia Moderator in his address to the council meeting in 1905 verified the accession,

“...the only way to get a just evaluation of the missionary history of the past era is to read with it the story of material progress and territorial expansion.... the knowledge of the world and its peoples, the possibility of free and useful association between the different races, have been largely helped by the earnest efforts of the meek missionaries” (PoR, 1905:23).

The quotation confirms what this study revealed that Christianity was abused in British imperialist programmes. The PCSA cannot be let off the hook. They misrepresented the Christian message and worked with white settlers and then colonisers in destroying the African socio-political and economic order. They did so by introducing a western type of socio-political and economic order thereby impacting their influence upon the Africans. The PCSA, like any other Western Missionary Founded Churches, as agents of the gospel were first supposed to comprehend the African socio-political and economic orders in which they were to operate, then share the gospel accordingly and in its context (Mushayavanhu, 2014). They misrepresented the Ndebele political order.

It is also interesting to note that, the fall of the Ndebele kingdom was waited for deeply by many missionary societies. With the fall of the Ndebele kingdom, and the subsequent alliance among missionaries and colonisers, we can safely say that the success of mission work in Zimbabwe was dependent heavily on the establishment of imperial government. As we saw in chapter four a partitioning model like the political partitioning of Africa was

employed by missionary societies as they demarcated domains of operation among themselves.

The close link between PCSA and colonisers provided the dawn for a new Zimbabwean socio-political and economic order. The combination of missionary and imperialist effort compelled the African socio-political order to succumb to a western type state. Africans who were converted to Christianity were deconstructed and then reconstructed per ideological values of western Christian civilisation and British imperialism.

This is one of the weaknesses Mushayavanhu (2014) pointed out in his article accusing the Western Missionary Founded Churches of being the cause of the proliferation of African Initiated Churches in Zimbabwe. The African political order which had constructed individuals socially and politically was the target of the unholy alliance between missionaries, such as the PCSA and colonisers. That alliance led to the enactment of discriminatory legislation between 1923 and 1950 that is why the need to use the African Approach is coming in to address such issues.

Zimbabwe was divided into state land in various forms which include national parks, large and small scale commercial areas, urban and Tribal Trust lands (Derman & Hellum 2007:162). After 1950 The PCSA realised it had made a mistake by collaborating with the colonisers and started to criticise the discriminatory colonial laws.

It is my assertion that from 1891 to 1950 the PCSA in Zimbabwe's political stance did not pay attention to reformed tradition on socio-political and economic teachings and practices because of their close alliance with settlers. That alliance compelled them to neglect reformed theological demands on their mission work. From 1951 to 1980 they returned to John Calvin's example and gospel values but struggled to implement any of the values and principles expounded. The white PCSA community was divided sharply between those who

wanted the church to uphold colonial segregative legislation and some who were reserved. The PCSA sacrificed the gospel message for its social relation with the colonial government of Zimbabwe.

This study has shown in chapter four that most of the African politicians passed through missionary education. Later, it was from that group that African nationalists emerged. The PCSA in Zimbabwe had their share as its institutions like David Livingstone Memorial School, Gloag Ranch Mission, Herald Munro and Mhondoro High School, among others, nurtured Africans into political maturity.

This thesis has revealed in chapter five that the PCSA joined other missionaries and embarked on educational, medical, commercial and other secular missions which they saw as essential for their communities. On the one hand, missionaries found themselves indebted to provide Africans with essential services and aspirations which colonisers did not like to satisfy, nevertheless, they were bound by the racial beliefs that they held as British citizens.

The imperialistic colonial pattern in Zimbabwe had its ecclesiastical replica in the PCSA and other white-controlled churches. Racial pride and discrimination against Africans which existed in society manifested in the church under ecclesiastical structures giving a wide socio-political and economic gap between the blacks and whites.

However, despite the discriminatory faith structures, the modern PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings and practices inspired many Africans to claim their rightful place in the new political state. While those in leadership struggled to restrain The PCSA in Zimbabwe from participating in violent resistance to colonialism, the inspiration from progressive political teaching was more forceful than the calls to desist from participation. Their participation was justified by putting it into its theological context.

The PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings and participation in speaking against unjust practices and imbalances in land distribution and use during colonialism and racial discrimination against Africans was admirable. Equally, the church leadership's insistence on the Federation as the best solution and peaceful negotiations as opposed to liberation war was unsuccessful.

There is one school of thought which needs to be viewed as looking at the prospects of the PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings and practices. When Zimbabwe gained independence the political role of churches in the country was rather supposed to decrease. Brand wrote the following quotation three years before Zimbabwe's independence,

We live in an era of the new instruction and the new political reform or revolution. For a long time, this quest has been the special province of religion, but in our time the initiative has passed into the hands of those representing ideologies, programmes, and organizations bearing a pronouncedly secular character...with the arrival of Zimbabwe, it seems more probable that Christianity will once again retreat into a more confined core domain. The link between the church and secular influence and power may well become more reduced. Under such circumstances, the churches' continuing role will depend more on their spiritual impact on individuals, their moral hold on the community, and the dedication and quality of their leadership (Brand 1977:83).

The quotation shows the failure of missionary Christianity to accommodate the role of African politicians in the new socio-political order. The school of thought did not address cardinal issues at stake such as Missionary Christianity in Zimbabwe and had an uncertain character. Often the scale tilted in favour of British imperial values. Within that context missionary Christianity blundered through promoting colonial values while on the other hand, they attempted to champion the Africans' political cause. It was the failure of missionary Christianity to utilise the Christian message in addressing colonial inhuman policies and

practices which led scholars like Brand to call for the church's withdrawal from the political arena in Zimbabwe's future.

The end of the foreign system in Zimbabwe should not be interpreted as a failure of Christian impact in politics. Christianity played a fundamental task because all African politicians of this time were direct products of missionary influence. It is my argument that Christianity should not retreat as suggested above in Brand's quotation but it should interpenetrate all spheres of life especially politics and economics so that the socio-political and economic order will provide checks and balances for holding politicians accountable to God and the electorate as well as for political institutions to serve people rather than enslave them.

6.3 The PCSA's Socio-Political and Economic influence on Zimbabwe

Chapter five discussed on the question of the socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe, and how the Presbyterians were involved in the process. It studied how much the PCSA impacted the Zimbabwean developments socio-politically and economically in the areas of land, Gukurahundi, Economic Structural Adjustment Program, the decline in health and education sectors and The Democratic Republic of Congo War. It is important to note that; Oral tradition helped the researcher to answer the above questions, and to draw up deductions concerning the boiling land issue, racial relationships, Federation and war in Zimbabwe

6.3.1 Zimbabwean land Politics

We began the analysis of The PCSA's socio-political and economic praxis with a consideration of influences related to the developments in Zimbabwe. This study was based on the assertion of the conflict of rights. According to this assertion whenever two races or more meet and claims of legitimacy are made there is a clash of rights. The way one race cherishes and exploits resources at the disposal of all races claiming a legitimate right to the

same resources differs. In such situations, clashes are bound to characterise race relationships. The clash of rights emerges because of a conflict between legality and justice (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013).

How is the process of demanding that right related to the justice issue when compared to claims of other groups? Important to note is that something may be legal but also unjust, for example, the apartheid issue in South Africa as shown in the chapter. In this regard, the church was not doing justice to herself by putting power into a section thereby dividing her. In this concept, legality is based on legal systems while justice on fairness and obligation is not taken seriously. The clash of rights was used in an interpretation of The PCSA's socio-political and economic influence in relation to the developments in Zimbabwe as shown in chapters four and five.

When the Rudd Concession was signed on 30th October 1888 (Davidson 1984:138), the BSAC aimed at prospecting for gold in Zimbabwe (Zvobgo, 1996). After realising that there were difficulties in prospecting gold they turned to making wealth through the land. The conquest and occupation of Zimbabwe first as a British protectorate and later as a colony ushered in a new dispensation on land ownership and use (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Whites used legal justification for their claim to land ownership and use. The Africans' claim to land ownership and use was based on justice. Whites found blacks living on the land and using it for survival (Davidson 1984:138). The conquest of Zimbabwe was violent so the whites' claim to the land was unfair (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015), thus unjust as was shown in chapter four.

The tension which characterised the PCSA witness in the country was largely based on the concept of the clash of rights. The retrogressive PCSA based their position and activities on the BSAC and colonial legal system (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015 and Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). They pushed for the implementation of the legal

system to the spirit of the letter regardless of its negative impact on Africans. Africans were expected to be passive spectators as whites dictated the developments. On the other hand, the PCSA, as we have seen in both chapters four and five, based their expressions on the question of fairness and justice. Africans were supposed to be treated justly in whatever the nation did. The two positions were inconsistent and the two administrative units of the PCSA ran separately to each other until the country got its independence in 1980.

Once in control, from 1930, the colonial government in Zimbabwe became concerned with efforts to assume that most the land in the country was for ownership and use by the white minority. The colonial government's central aim was to secure, for a minority white community, exclusive ownership and use of most of the valuable land in the country such as what happened in South Africa (Gibson 2009:11). Pieces of legislation aimed at dispossessing Africans of their land were adopted by the BSAC and then colonial government. Examples of legislation by the colonial government are the Land Apportionment Act 1930 (Alexander 2006:32-33, 73-74), Maize Control Act 1931 (PoR Minutes, 14 January 1932) and Cattle Levy Act 1934 (Alexander 2006:24). Progressive Presbyterians opposed these pieces of legislation and pushed for better treatment and more arable land for Africans as shown in chapters four and five above.

Retrogressive Presbyterians assisted in the endeavour through participation in the enactment of discriminating laws (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). The legal system which was enacted by whites without any contribution from Africans in Zimbabwe was used to justify the minority whites' claim on land and its use. When regressive PCSA members started to call for land reconciliation from the late 1930s, for instance, a call for the government to increase the area for reserves (PoR Minutes, 1935); they had realised that Africans were treated below the belt.

The land question in Zimbabwe was more than just an important policy cognitive content (Doesn't make sense.). It embraced land justice issues that stemmed from historical injustice. Historical injustice refers,

"...injustices committed in a setting that has become historical by some fundamental and lasting change in the sociopolitical structure such as the end of slavery, colonial rule, or non-representative government. Because of the break in continuity all these situations raise the question of how political institutions should deal with injustices that are not their own making..." (Du Bois 2008:116).

Colonialism left a profound legacy of unanswered questions about land justice that occurred through its system of forced removal of Africans, restrictions on occupied land and creation of reserves which saw many Africans dispossessed of their land and land rights. For innovative PCSA members, land issues exposed the existence of a profound racial difference and whites owned land illicitly (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). As such while, the retrogressive PCSA members later supported land reconciliation, the progressive called for a reversal of the whole enterprise (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The land was one of the most pressing issues in the country throughout the colonial era. While land was important for both whites and Africans, the scale tilted in favour of Africans. For an African having no land to settle on and use was viewed as incomplete. He felt a special attachment to sacred places such as cemeteries and ancestral worship places. For the Africans land was more valued than money (Gibson 2009:38). The land was a symbol of all that Africans were robbed of through colonialism. That propelled the PCSA to participate actively in political and economic undertakings through advocacy and later protests, party politics and the war of liberation as discussed in the preceding chapters four and five.

The church faces one fundamental question: what are Christians supposed to do, nor expected to do when they live under an unjust system which claims to be Christian, to be Godly? What do we tell God's oppressed children; what do we tell 'a purchased people; what do we tell the widow, the needy, the fatherless, and the landless? What form does Christian witness take in, in such circumstances?

The PCSA in Zimbabwe has not been prophetic enough in challenging the elite and standing with the excluded. The research has shown that the church has been found deficient when faced with extreme violence by the state. For over a century the PCSA has matured a theology that promotes the health and well-being of all instead of the prevailing situation where only the ruling elite are assured of a decent quality of life. It is my contention that only a preferential option for the excluded will ensure the PCSA's relevance. In other words, PCSA must align herself with or uphold the dignity of the poorest of the poor, instead of serving the interests of the ruling elite.

A reading of the PCSA's political participation in the politics and economics of the land in Zimbabwe using the clash of rights uncovered burning aspects of land ownership and use (Nxumalo, pers. comm., 6 December 2015). At this point, it is worthwhile to delineate the effects of these findings. Conclusions unearthed from both oral sources and archives that; PCSA was aware of the importance of land and attempted to persuade the colonial government to enforce land reconciliation in vain (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Africans in Zimbabwe had strong attachments to land and land was more than just a simple economic issue. For whites, the inequality was based on blacks' shortcomings and immaturity. PCSA laboured to convince the white minority to accept that from the 1930s onwards Africans demonstrated a level of maturity which proved that they could be treated as citizens rather than subjects. They challenged Africans to embrace co-existence as a strategy

for redressing land imbalances. Africans were focused on a reversal of colonialism which made the PCSA's task impossible.

Europeans were insensitive to the land crimes of their time. Whenever they negotiated with indigenous people both parties were reminded of justice Whites claimed that the past was of less significance and solutions sought were to concentrate on their present and future. Africans claimed that justice implicated both the past and present. The feuding parties' positions on land were rooted deeply in conflicting value systems so much that reconciliation was impossible. That explains why the influence of the PCSA failed to avoid war when they mediated between Africans and Europeans.

Africans were concerned with historical land injustices because of displacements, restrictions and overcrowding in reserves (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). They held a land grievance which was rooted in discrimination against blacks. The number of those aggrieved swelled rather than decreased as more Africans came to realise that their terrible conditions resulted from colonialism and discrimination against them.

Land issues were powerful motivators for Africans' involvement in political and economic activities in Zimbabwe. Settlers refused to acknowledge the magnitude of the land injustices they committed against Africans throughout the colonial era in Zimbabwe (The Rhodesia Herald of July 1893). The land issues as such had to go beyond material considerations.

Oral history, through the study of the PCSA in Zimbabwe, has revealed from chapter five that the relation between the church and state spared the church land when the land imbalance was corrected in Zimbabwe in the later years. Let us now focus on the analysis of race relationships.

6.3.2 Race Relationships

It is the argument of this study that during the colonial era in Zimbabwe that race was understood as a collection of people who shared a common genetic inheritance and were distinguished from others by biological factors (Chigwida, pers. comm., 27 January 2013). Race relationships were based on racism, divided into distinct biological races. Heywood (2007:221) proffers that racist theories are based on the species type differences among human beings and that the genetic categories are reflected in intellectual, cultural and moral differences which make them economically, politically or socially central. As seen from chapters four and five, socio-political separation and racism were practised in colonial Zimbabwe. It was unfortunate that racism was based on assumptions about nature and destinies of different racial groups in colonial Zimbabwe. The expectations had religious vindication, for instance, whites' attitudes towards Africans were justified by the alleged superiority of the European people over the Africans. The retrogressive Presbyterians were caught up in that network.

Of value to note, is that religion should not be abused for socio-political and economic power. The apartheid system in South Africa abused religion for political gains and that was wrong. Modise speaks on the role of the church in South Africa during the struggle for independence and after the struggle (Modise, 1991:19). The role of the church forms its involvement in the struggle against the oppressive forces it employs against the marginalised (Modise, 1991:18). In Zimbabwe the PCSA and their counterparts in other denominations abused religion for socio-political and economic power but to a lesser degree than the apartheid system in South Africa. The PCSA was correct when they fought against colonialism and racial discrimination, for that defined the role of the reformed traditional church as a liberating force.

During colonial Zimbabwe, race relationship could be interpreted comprehensively through two models. The first one is that government exists to protect its citizens' rights (Van Vuuren 1983:143). From both interfaith and non-religious viewpoints, every government has a duty to protect its citizens. Governments fulfil that obligation through making collective decisions for their respective nations and communities that comprise the nation. The nation has to benefit in that the decisions made are enforced. A central concept in this model is that government is concerned mainly with political activity (Blondel 1973:17) which is in two categories, process type, that deals with substance or character of decisions to be made and procedural type that deals with ways or procedures by which issues are to be resolved.

The conditions under which a government fulfils its absolute obligation exist when there are democratic structures (De Gruchy 1995:22-23), across the divide of the state. Each structure should be given space to contribute to the socio-economic and political activity. It is also important to explore how much the PCSA in Zimbabwe achieved through their socio-political and economic teaching as they addressed race relationships during the colonial period.

The study began with legislation passed by, and implemented during, the Rhodesian era, such as the Maize Control Act 1931, Land Apportionment Act 1931, Native Land Husbandry Act 1951 and Land Tenure Act 1969, and many others, as seen in chapters four and five above. Legislators, in a government, subsist to defend and support its citizens, and as such, laws are very important.

The Rhodesian government was expected to focus on defending respective and unit rights; it was supposed to ensure that nobody desecrated others' rights. The BSAC and the colonial government fell short of the expected. The Rhodesian laws divided the nation as we saw in chapters four and five. The PCSA also fell short of the expectation as they paid lip

service to Africans and enforced the colonial discrimination laws and policies. That became prime land for progressive PCSA's activities.

Chapters four and five deduced that laws that were enacted and enforced by the BSAC and colonial government in Southern Rhodesia were prejudiced and subjective against Africans so they failed to serve the nation. The Whites were justified by such subjective laws in their acts, without blacks' consent which was dissolute and infringed their human rights. Some regressive white Presbyterians were found wanting in the same manner as they isolated themselves against Africans in church affairs and promoted enforcement of discriminatory colonial regulation.

For the forward-looking PCSA, the laws of the land during Rhodesia fell short of national expectations. Laws are written to state rules and regulations stated and verified that they are predefined.

According to reformist Presbyterians, the colonial government in Zimbabwe failed to act out democratic laws, but rather those which desecrated rather than protected black Zimbabweans. They enslaved most of the Africans in Zimbabwe hence the need to be opposed and dealt with through punitive power. Whenever the PCSA became aware of the ill treatment of blacks by whites in Zimbabwe they challenged them to abandon their line of novice force against blacks (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). They at first wanted to address the race relationships issues through non-violent ways but the colonial government was inflexible. Africans aimed at claiming their rights by whatever means, which combined retrogressive PCSA's efforts in addressing racial issues.

By rights, this researcher refers to the fact that every person has a property in her or his own person, exclusive essential values. Rights state requirements for a person or group of people to benefit from rather than suffering from living and participating in a community. So,

a society or a nation can be beneficial to individuals, where there is no mutual protection of rights. Protection of black Zimbabweans' rights during the Rhodesian era fell below acceptable levels for them to exist as normal human beings. The colonial Zimbabwean context did not benefit blacks in terms of race relationships and rights instead they suffered. The PCSA voiced and charged that the colonial government in Zimbabwe violated Africans' rights to life, property, liberty, free expression and association, political expression and economic development. Generally, that led to the liberation war.

African nationalists, some PCSA members included, realised that the only way white racism could be dealt with was through punitive force, hence the war of liberation. The PCSA, at the official level, hoped to reach the settlement through peaceful dialogue, but their efforts faced resistance as was shown in chapters four and five. The whites were resolute to maintain the status-quo while on the other hand blacks, including most PCSA members, were resolute in their resolve to obtain their goal of defeating the Rhodesian government. The ideal situation should have been a nation where all subjects were shielded from any form of socio-political and economic control of government was instituted to fulfil that function. The PCSA failed to monitor the situation effectively; even if they inexhaustibly laboured against the war they unsuccessfully avoid it.

What this study has unearthed through this analysis of the PCSA is that; force destructs the ability to exercise one's capacity to reason, thereby defeats the person's quality of life. An individual or group's ability to survive in a community or nation suffers to the extent that force is employed. Each person or group of people must enjoy the protection of individual or group rights. Society booms to the degree that rights are furthered and secured. The government must be honourable for all the citizenry; it should protect rights of all citizens for members to benefit from society. The government is the immediate custodian of people's rights; people immigrate into or emigrate from a community or nation based on how

government protects human rights (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). A plausible regime enables citizens to live according to their nature, as rational beings, through observing, promoting and protecting rather than abusing their rights.

This was advocated for by the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa. The section on racial issues taught that The PCSA has to grapple with new and complex issues that include redressing socio-economic and political imbalances and redefining new identities for multicultural, inter-ethnic living. It cannot be overemphasised that because The PCSA has to engage in prophetic witness and advocacy in response to the salvific mission from God that is inclusive of all people. In this context, it has to maintain a creative dialogue with the state while maintaining its identity or emphasis. The analysis now focuses on the question of the Federation as discussed in chapter four.

6.3.3 The PCSA and Federation

It is important to reveal how the PCSA's socio-political and economic influence that was at play and what was there for both white and black communities who comprised territories that formed the Federation.

The PCSA expressed that the Federation had a lot of perceived benefits for whites. The whites were the sponsors of the federal program (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). On the other hand, Africans, who had to respond to the proposal and execution of the federal project, feared that the racist and discriminatory culture in Zimbabwe would be smuggled into their countries. They feared that promises made by Britain would not be fulfilled and also that Africans would not attain their goal of self-government, which would weaken their safety in land proprietorship and endangered Africans' socio-political and economic development (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013 and Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015).

The federal project was forced down the Zimbabweans' throats and they were determined to see it collapse. Zimbabwe Africans' responses to the federation, however, fell into two main classes. Some responded with mislaid hope as they regarded Federation as a step towards independence (Shamuyarira, 1965:15-16).

The optimism expressed in the quotation was lost. The discussion in chapter five indicated that most Africans were not happy with the Federation because of the continued dominance of whites. The other Presbyterian group was anti-federation and urged African nationalists to fight it at all cost. When the Federation was implemented there was little improvement in the African grounds. Other Africans opposed Federation unconditionally (Mlambo 2009: 90). They felt that the presence of the white community in the socio-economic and political fields was a hindrance to freedom, as they compared Zimbabwe with other African states in other parts of the continent whose independence had already been granted.

Federation was viewed as an impediment to Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic progress and as such intensified hostility towards the federal government and, therefore, aimed at doing away with the Federation instantly. As the neighbouring countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi moved into independence; Zimbabwe under the leadership of Ian Douglas Smith, a PCSA member, drifted towards the UDI.

A new political party for whites, the Rhodesia Front, was formed and most of the white PCSA in Zimbabwe became members of the party (Shamuyarira 1965:15 -16). It was under the Rhodesia Front that the UDI was made. That compounded the situation. What role did PCSA's socio-political and economic teaching play in that scenario? For the Africans UDI, had to be fought and destroyed at all costs. It resulted in the war of liberation in Zimbabwe. The official stance of the PCSA was to use negotiation in redressing the situation while

forward-looking Africans in the church were convinced that time for negotiation was over and it was time for an armed struggle against colonialism (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). The awareness moved them into active involvement in the war.

Despite warnings from their British counterparts that the Federation would not work (PoR Minutes, January 3, 1954), the PCSA was convinced that federation was the way to go. They encouraged the governments of the three countries and politicians to commit the federal process under the guidance of God and to be diligent in an implementation of the enterprise (PoR Minutes, January 23, 1959). Chapter four of this study deduced that the Christians were implored to pray for the Federation, encourage people to participate in the charter and refrain from upsetting activities. The PCSA pretended not to be noticing all prejudices committed against Africans, nor hearing their voices against injustices of their time (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013).

The PCSA's socio-political teaching was irrelevant, when compared to the reformer, John Calvin's example on sociopolitics, as discussed in chapter three. Retrogressive PCSA failed to implement the principle of equality amongst people irrespective of their race. So, Reformed Theology on socio-economic and political teachings was not observed. On the other hand, innovative PCSA continued with the reformation example. The PCSA was part of the white community in Zimbabwe. Whenever the church challenged the colonisers, regressive PCSA felt that their actions had negative effects on themselves for they were accused of compromising the whites' values or viewed by Africans as attempting to unsoften them (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). What they taught and practised amounted to a survival strategy. The analysis turns now to the views on war.

6.3.4 The PCSA and war in Zimbabwe

As we undertake to explain The PCSA's teaching on war it is necessary to consider how religion influenced politics and even war in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Religion legalised the political order, provided supernatural powers deemed necessary in daily life, confronted and challenged political power (Gray, 1990:3).

Important for this study, is that religion had a prophetic potential. Religion could express a radical critique. A rebellion could be initiated under a religious banner and weapons could be supplied in the name of religion as well as providing a base from which an attack is launched (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2013). Africans employed that understanding in their struggle against colonialism as seen in Chapter five. Such activities were carried out on a low scale. In situations where religion was used to legitimise a revolution, a political order would be provided. It is clear, therefore, that African traditional religions were adaptive, that uprisings were covered with respectability.

Zimbabweans' approach towards supernatural powers was practical and empirical; hence the shrines, ritual practices and religious beliefs formed a basis for legalising political command (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). It was in such a context that Christianity alongside the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa was introduced into Zimbabwe.

There was a new political order which threw Zimbabwe Africans into a difficult situation, this, their traditional religions needed to legitimise or refute (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). Many Africans accepted Christianity for several benefits which included a desire to acquire secrets of the conqueror's power and skills which were advanced by the white man's faith (Chikomo, pers. comm., 10 January 2013). Communities which formed around mission stations became the first to evangelise their fellow Africans, thus the spread of Christianity in Zimbabwe, resulting in a mission-educated elite and villagers' types of Christians (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). Mission-educated elites responded to

the sociopolitical and economic discrimination they suffered at the hand of whites (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). They also realised that while the gospel proclaimed that before God all people are equal, missionaries were conscious of racial differentials (Masaka, 18 January 2015: Interview at Harare).

On another front, villagers, both young and old, regardless of gender, embraced the new religion for the benefits they expected from it (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). They used their African heritage and started to test the new religion. Problems included diseases, poverty and new harsh afflictions which emanated from colonialism (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). When the PCSA, especially Africans, got involved in political activities as well as war, as we have seen in chapters four and five, and while the church condemned war officially, they tapped from the African concept that religion legitimises the socio-political orders.

An interesting scenario was when war broke out in Zimbabwe. An important question to address is why there was a sudden change by retrogressive white PCSA leadership from supporting the war to opposing it categorically. Some PCSA leaders interpreted the situation through the racist lenses of the minority white community in the country (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013 and Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). In the interpretation of the context, blood was thicker than water for white Presbyterians. That led most white Presbyterians to condemn the war of liberation as a rebellion and justified whites' involvement.

The official stance exposed in chapter four shows similarities with what happened in South Africa. The English speaking churches in South Africa during the apartheid era were characterised by their relationship with the British Empire and their missionary societies which enabled the spread of imperialism supporting imperial supremacy (De Gruchy,

1997:156). In Zimbabwe, the practice was preserved up to 1965 when the UDI was declared. The PCSA took it as a defilement of the British legal system and values. This study as such resolved that what was happening in South Africa influenced developments in Zimbabwe. The PCSA opinions were suppressed or ignored in the official church stance; however, the PCSA's stance was loud and clear as shown in chapter four.

Any analysis of the effects of the UDI exposes that; when the UDI was announced, many Christians opposed it (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). The Rhodesia Christian Council (now Zimbabwe Council of Churches), to which the PCSA belonged, and Rev. H. P. Chikomo was its first General Secretary, rejected it (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). Despite an ecumenical effort to counter the UDI, Smith's government went on to introduce amendments to the Land Apportionment Act aiming at instigating the action of land tenure along racial lines (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). According to Hallencreutz, that moves led to a dramatic process which culminated in the liberation war of the 1960s till 1980 when Zimbabwe got independence. When Smith realised that a way forward was needed to rescue the country from an absolute crash he proposed for a settlement which led to a further confrontation in the country (Hallencreutz, 1991:161-2). As seen from chapters four and five the PCSA opposed Smith's proposal for the settlement steadfastly.

The PCSA's response to the effects of the UDI and Smith's proposal for settlement were mainly through the Rhodesia Christian Council which led to an active support for the UANC, led by Bishop Abel Tendekai Muzorewa and Rev. Canaan Sodindo Banana. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference employed a different strategy from the Rhodesia Christian Council (Hallencreutz, 1991:162).

When compared to the Roman Catholic Church, the PCSA lagged in critical interaction with the colonial government and the disclosing of atrocities committed by

security forces (Chigwida, pers. comm., 2 January 2013). Even though a few atrocities were reported to the PCSA Zimbabwean Synod and General Assembly, there was no arm of the church in the likes of the CCJP to analyse and publish the cruelty. Because of that, the PCSA ended up locked in internal fighting and thereby diluting their contribution to the political development during the liberation war. The next section of this chapter offers a theological succinct summary of the finding.

6.4 Summary

This research has exposed that oral tradition has it that, Zimbabwe's compulsory acquisition of white-owned farms attracted a lot of international media attention. The church, however, is failing to share its land with the landless people its converts. Land redistribution, appears to be just a transfer of the colour of the skin pigment, from the former Smith's regime. A lesson was learned that the PCSA had an indeterminate relationship with the colonial government and as such continues in its failing to rebuke the state on the political forum as called for by the reformed teachings.

The African Approach displayed that the PCSA's involvement in socio-political and economic life is clearly a matter of faith. It means that it affirms the importance of political, social and economic life as the sphere of God's grace and involvement, which is a reformed theology. It is thus not surprising that, as was shown, the idea of unity in diversity pervades reformed thinking and theological teachings. I will now focus on what the PCSA should be doing.

It is clear that without the reformed theological influence and guidance the Zimbabwean society, which is largely Christian, stands in danger of becoming moribund. The fundamental thrust is that the PCSA must be the face of Christ in a hurting world so that it can bring about peace, justice and freedom to all. It is, therefore, paramount that the PCSA

and all other Church leaders should be able to discern God's plan for an effective ministry in any setting. I as such deduce that a Church without a relevant ministry to respond to socio-political and economic situations is like a lost coin in the sea. As a motivating factor, the post-modern PCSA in Zimbabwe can learn from the examples of the reformed tradition.

6.5 Prospects of PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings and practices in Zimbabwe

From the point of view of this study, were there any prospects for PCSA's socio-political and economic praxis in independent Zimbabwe? The study revealed that there was a vivid picture of historical land injustices which occurred in Zimbabwe during the colonial period. The political independence of the country ushered in a new socio-political and economic dispensation in which the PCSA had to contribute to the processes of land reconciliation. There were historical land concerns by independence time to the extent that the church had prospects to assist in national healing and reconciliation. This point shows that the role of the PCSA and the other denominations in Zimbabwe is not yet over.

Discriminatory policies in colonial Zimbabwe were designed to deprive Africans of their citizenship, human rights and enslave them in their homeland. When Zimbabwe became independent, the nation could not wish away the ills of the colonial rule. That became a virgin ground for PCSA's socio-political and economic teaching and practice. The church had to deal with reconciliation, in the first instance, as the PCSA loosened the evilness of separate development. After that then it was called upon to liberate the former colonisers and the colonised. The programme to liberate the two parties needed a sound contextual theological foundation so that a simple reversal of the colonial experience, where the colonised becomes the coloniser, would not occur so as to avoid the endurance of perpetual violence.

It is important to acknowledge that the new socio-political and economic order required input from the church. In an evaluation carried out by Mugambi (2003:42-43), it was pointed out that there is a serious challenge in our contemporary African socio-political state. A lot has been said or written about democracy in our contemporary African political order but there is little or no improvement at all (Mugambi 2003:43).

While Mugambi was addressing Africa in general, his evaluation informed the Zimbabwean situation. As suggested in chapter four above in an African worldview religion legitimises the sociopolitical and economic state. Any Democratic campaign that ignores or undermines religion will not succeed in delivering the desired goal. Therefore, the PCSA's socio-political and economic teaching was poised for bright prospects at independence time (Mugambi, 2003:43).

The situation in Africa called for and continues to call for the church and other faith-based organisations to serve as mediators between antagonistic political parties in our contemporary African political order. The church is also called upon to contribute to a process of addressing the political and economic crisis referred to. The researcher inclined that the invitation is based on the African worldview where spirit mediums served as mediators between adversaries.

Religion should not be relegated to the peripheries of the society but allowed to permeate all spheres of life for justice to flow like a river in political, economic and social domains. That involvement is in line with the sound reformed theological orientation (Douglass, 1999) as was shown in chapter four to justify PCSA's socio-political and economic teaching and practice in developing Zimbabwe. With such a concept the PCSA would hold politicians accountable to God and their constituencies.

To be reformed is to be ecumenical. For the Church to perform the role of mediation effectively and efficiently ecumenical cooperation is supposed to be considered seriously. The PCSA has an opportunity to contribute to African political and economic orders which are based on an African worldview and ecumenical theological principles. That would be achieved through contextualising the Christian message and reformed theological teachings on socio-political and economic issues. The aim of such a task would be to legitimise the political and economic orders with religious beliefs so that peace is restored and maintained for the prosperity of Zimbabwe.

Another fact which showed that the PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings had bright prospects in independent Zimbabwe was the role played by missionaries. We have seen that some of the PCSA were both racially partisan and colonial bullies but others were excellent shepherds, counsellors and teachers of religious values. Both positive and negative influences from the PCSA were acknowledged in the analysis of the PCSA's socio-political and economic influence in the development of Zimbabwe. The PCSA played a pivotal role in the shaping of the socio-political and economic destiny of the colonial state. The Zimbabwean PCSA needed to contextualise reformed theological, political and economic teachings and provide the PCSA's strength in the new political and economic influence.

The end of imperialism in Zimbabwe was an important historical era suitable for chances and challenges for the church to develop a new socio-political and economic impression. The PCSA being built on the influences, ethos and values of reformed tradition could not avoid reformed principles wherever it carried its mission. The church in Zimbabwe, PCSA included, needed to take an active role in responding to cultural, economic and political challenges ushered in by the end of colonialism.

The independence of Zimbabwe should be viewed as an entry point into Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic agenda, an awakening to assert Zimbabweans' position in the global village. In such a process the Christian message had a fundamental role in aiding Zimbabweans to break the circle of crises through sponsoring more favourable conditions for national and social harmony. Through that, the church becomes an agent of reconciliation.

The independence of Zimbabwe provided an opportunity for the PCSA and other Christians to accompany political institutions in a commitment to democratic values (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). The relationship between the PCSA and democratic Zimbabwe is ambiguous and has certainly been under-researched. It is a contribution of exceptional importance calling not only for an understanding of the Christian past but, for reshaping its present. Democracy needs to rediscover its spiritual attributes, while Christianity needs to develop a theology adequate for its participation in the realisation of a just democratic world order (De Gruchy, 1995: xv, 291). The current situation and the response of the PCSA to issues such as HIV and AIDS, economic development, crime and violence, truth and reconciliation and nation building are visible on an ecumenical platform, virtually under the emblem of The Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

The church and state had a common goal of serving Zimbabweans which compelled them to employ a spirit of mutual understanding and willingness to dialogue. From that view, the church was called upon to facilitate the mending and support of peace and stability. The church had a vital role in the democratization process of Zimbabwe. The eve of multiparty politics meant that the church had to contribute keenly in the political arena, but at the same time maintain a critical distance which would enable them to critique politicians whenever injustice, violation of human rights lack of transparency and accountability in dealing with national issues surfaced. So the PCSA's political and economic teachings had its place in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

In 1980 Zimbabwe rolled from a political order where government authorities and white politicians viewed criticisms from the church and other religious groups as direct confrontation (Masaka, pers. comm., 18 January 2015). That strained the relationship between the church and government authorities with each party accusing the other. The likes of what happened in the days of John Calvin in Geneva. The PCSA needed to re-think its mission in terms of political and economic involvement that would enable it to identify an appropriate approach to socio-political and economic issues. In my view, the church had a duty to contribute to the refurbishment of the nation using the principles of genuine freedom, justice, peace and reconciliation.

The task before the PCSA and others was not to raise public emotions but to understand and help others to comprehend the national situation and to work towards changing it for the better. The PCSA's role in that regard was modelled on reformed theological teaching on servanthood. In other words, the PCSA had an opportunity to impart a clear and motivating social ethic to its members, laying out the socio-political and economic implications of its teachings. The dawn of Zimbabwe provided the PCSA with a perfect sphere to employ the fundamentals of reformed theology in Zimbabwe.

Lastly, the study renders the prospects of the PCSA's socio-political and economic influence in the developments of Zimbabwe. It is the task of the Church to transform government structures from within. The Church, PCSA included, was called upon to work within national institutions in independent Zimbabwe to transform them towards God's intended consummation. That task would be impossible in a context of polarization. The PCSA in Zimbabwe needs to display maturity and to be in good standing in the eyes of the nation to accomplish that task. The major factor of the task is to be reconciling agents within a nation whose citizens were separated by mistrust, adversity, animosity, fear and discrimination. The PCSA is compelled to lead by example if that task is to be achieved.

They are supposed to carry out a self-contemplation exercise and confess the role they played in contributing to injustice, suffering and conflict among church members as well as in the nation.

The PCSA and any other churches have the role of preserving national and social structures to enable them to perform their God-given functions. The Church has a task of enabling national and social institutions in Zimbabwe, from her independence onwards, to deliver expected basic needs of citizens thus preserving the nation, Zimbabwe from decay. That will happen through promoting and maintaining peace, order and positive attitudes among citizens.

In the process, the church must guard against a temptation of usurping the power of national and social institutions instead of preserving them. That can be through the influence of its members who infused the institutions as employees. The PCSA is challenged by the new political dispensation in Zimbabwe to contribute constructively in re-shaping national institutions and making them serve their essential purpose.

The PCSA can be viewed as the light of the world by becoming a model to be emulated by all citizens. In that take, the PCSA has a challenge and opportunity at the same time to provide people with light and enable them to see the goodness of living in harmony and peace with each other as well as guiding them to the goodness of God. During early colonial Zimbabwe the PCSA failed to be a light of the nation. They fell victim to the political tactics of the colonisers and succumbed to political manipulation when they promoted colonial policies (Chigwida, pers. comm., 8 January 2013). At independence and beyond an opportunity presented itself for the PCSA in Zimbabwe to amend their ways and position itself as a light of the nation.

The study pointed out the prospects of the PCSA's socio-political and economic influence in the new Zimbabwe as was revealed by The African Approach in the study of African History, where oral tradition took the centre stage in taping the much-needed data. A harmonious approach in dealing with a multiparty political order was proposed which would foster a smooth transition into a just and humane socio-political and economic demand. The church would achieve that through encouraging dialogue instead of enforcement, cooperation and not unhealthy competition, avoiding blaming others and accepting responsibility. The PCSA has bright prospects in contributing to national integration and development, by transforming its reformed theological views.

6.6 Research gaps and recommendations for future research.

During this study, I have identified a few knowledge gaps that could become the focus of future researchers.

1. Firstly, there is the need for a study on the contribution of the indigenous ministers of the PCSA to the struggle for political independence in Zimbabwe.
2. Secondly, a study could be undertaken on the African Ministers and the Emergence of Resistance to Colonial Domination and the training of Presbyterian indigenous ministers.

These and others could contribute to our knowledge of the development of the early PCSA in Zimbabwe. Another study of great interest could be conducted on the role played by the PCSA's youth and women in the development of democracy from 1980 to the present. And, finally, the roles, played by the church youth of other denominations in the struggle for political freedom, would be a worthwhile topic to pursue.

6.7 Conclusion

The analysis of the socio-political and economic influence in the developments of Zimbabwe by the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa revealed several enlightening issues for this study. The PCSA's socio-political and economic teachings and activities amounted to the provision of moral justification of imperialism during the period 1890 to late 1950s. During that period PCSA's mission work and British imperial expansion were closely related. The era beginning in 1951, saw the influence of some PCSA, both clergy and laity, included in Zimbabwe affairs and alter a little the imperial agenda of the church and start to take the colonial government to task as they challenged colonialist policies.

Also, important to note is that the Zimbabwean socio-political and economic context and African opinions influenced PCSA life and work in Zimbabwe. The new situation compelled them to abandon the concept of collaboration with government and adopted one of justice and accountability, which later resulted in a dual response to the colonial challenge through peaceful negotiation and forceful confrontation by the PCSA.

Oral tradition helped to demonstrate how an interpretation of reformed theological teachings and activities on socio-political issues and economics condemns the activities during the years 1890 to 1950 and justified some of their activities for the period 1950 to 1990. Their task was complex as they had to balance their activities in view of influence from the British government, hard-heartedness of the colonisers, demands from uncompromising white Presbyterians (PCSA) in Zimbabwe and mounting pressure from ordinary Africans.

Oral traditions have shown that despite all that pressure PCSA contributed immeasurably to Zimbabwe's sociopolitical and economic journey from the time the country was occupied throughout and post-independence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Adamson, R. (ed.). (2003). *Presbyterian lay leaders Guidebooks*. Brixton: Uniting Presbyterian Church Publication.

Afigbo, A. E. (1984). "Oral Tradition and the History of Segmentary Societies." In *Perspectives and Methods of Studying African History*, edited by Erim O. Erim and Okon E. Uya. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers

Alexander, J. (2006). *The unsettled land, state-making & the politics of land in Zimbabwe 1893-2003*. Harare: Weaver Press.

Andrews, C. F. (1935). *John White of Mashonaland*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Publishers.

Bakare, S. (1993). *My Right to Land: In the Bible and in Zimbabwe – A Theology of Land in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

Ball, D. And McDonald, G. W. (1988). *Handbook for research on teacher Education*. New York: Macmillan.

Banana, C. S. (1989). *The role of the Church in the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe*, in Banana, C S ed., *Turmoil and tenacity, Zimbabwe 1890-1980*. Harare: The College Press: 197-201.

Banana, S. C. (1987). *Seminar on Socialism and Religion*. Harare: The College Press

Banana, S. C. (1991). *The politics of the Methodist Church*, in Banana, C S ed., *A century of Methodism in Zimbabwe 1891 -1991*. Harare: Methodist Church in Zimbabwe: 123-148.

Banana, C. S. (1996). *The church and the struggle for Zimbabwe: from the program to combat racism to combat theology*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

- Beach, D. (1973). 'The Initial Impact of Christianity on the Shona: The Protestants and the Southern Shona', in A.J. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi*. Volume 1, 25–40. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Beach, D. N. (1980). *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Bebbington, D. (1990). *Patterns in History, A Christian Perspective on historical thought*. Leicester: Apollos.
- Becken, H. (1993). *The use of oral tradition in historiography, some pitfalls and challenges*, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* XIX No.1:81-88.
- Bediako, K. (1988). *The Roots of African Theology*, presented in the autumn term of 1987 at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, New College, University of Edinburgh.
- Bernard, H.R. (2011). "Research Methods in Anthropology" 5th edition. Oxford: Altamira Press.
- Bettenson, H. (1950). *Documents of the Christian church*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bevans, S. B. (2002). *Models of Contextual Theology*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books
- Bevans, S. B. (2007). *Models of contextual theology* (revised and expanded edition). Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Beveridge, H. (1989). *John Calvin Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Grand Rapids: Eermans Publishing Company.
- Bhebe, N. M. B. (1973). *Missionary activity among the Ndebele and Kalanga, a survey*, in Dachs A. J ed., *Christianity south of the Zambezi*. Gweru: Mambo Press: 41-52.

- Bhebe, N. (1979). *Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe 1859 – 1923*. London: Longman Press.
- Bhebe, N. (1999). *The ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla warfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Bhila, H. (1977). *Trade and early missionaries in Southern Zambezia*, in Bourdillon, M F C (ed.). *Christianity south of the Zambezi, Vol. 2*. Gweru: Mambo Press: 25-42.
- Biecler, A. (1959). *John Calvin's Economic and Social Thought*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, English Translation 2005.
- Bickford-Smith, V. (1995). *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group identity and social practice, 1875—1902*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp. 190–192. Accessed on 16 January 2017.
- Blake, C. (1955). *Can History Be Objective Vol. 64?* London: Oxford University Press.
- Black, J. and MacRaild, D. (2007). *Studying History*. "E. P. Thompson's essay, 'History from below', in the *Times Literary Supplement* (1966). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bloch, M. (1954). *The historian's craft*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Blondel, J. (1973). *Comparing political systems*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Boesak, A. (2009). *At the heart of it all: perspectives on the struggle for the relevance of the reformed tradition in South Africa*. Address at the Calvin Conference, Stellenbosch, 30 August-2 September 2009.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklan, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to theory & methods*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

- Borg, W. R. & Gall, M. D. (1989). *Educational Research: An Introduction (5th Edition)*. New York and London: Longman Press.
- Bornstein, E. (2003). *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe*. New York: Routledge.
- Bosch, D. J. (1991). *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts on Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books
- Bosch, D.J. (1998). *Transforming mission*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Bosch, D. J. (2004). *Transforming mission, paradigm shifts in theology of mission, 19th print*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Botha, N. (2009). *John Calvin in missiological perspective: on church unity and social justice*. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Bourdillon, M. (1977). *Christianity South of Zambezi: Vol. 2*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Bourdillon, M. (1990). *Religion and society: A text for Africa*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Bradley, J. E. & Muller, R. A. (1995). *Church History, an introduction to research, reference works, and methods*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Brand, C. M. (1977). *African nationalists and the missionaries in Rhodesia*, in Bourdillon, M. F. C. (ed). *Christianity south of the Zambezi*, Vol. 2. Gweru: Mambo Press: 69-85.
- Burke, P. (1991). *Overture, the new history: its past and its future*, in Burke, P ed., 1991, *New perspectives on historical writing* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press: 1-24.
- Calvin, J. (1599). *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Trans. Henry Beveridge. London: Arnold Hatfield, for Bonham Norton, Internet resource. Accessed on 8 October 2015.
<http://www.ccel.org/c/calvin/institutes/institutes.html>.

- Calvin, J. (1935). *Institutes of the Christian Faith*. Philadelphia: Board of Presbyterian Church. *Institutes* 1935:14.7-8:439.
- Calvin, J. (1935). *Commentary on the book of the prophet Isaiah. Vol. 1*. Trans. by W. Pringle. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Calvin, J. (1936). *Institutes of the Christian Faith*. Philadelphia: Board of Presbyterian Church: *Institutes* 3.19.15.
- Calvin, J. (1948). *Institutes of the Christian Faith*. Philadelphia: Board of Presbyterian Church: *Institutes* 1948:445:269.
- Calvin, J. (1948). *Commentaries on the epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians*, Trans by W. Pringle. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Calvin, J. (1949). *Institutes of the Christian religion, instruction in faith*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Campbell, H. (2003). *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Car, E. H. (1961; 1990). *What is History?* London: Penguin Group.
- Carino, F. V. (2005). *Religions, politics and the state: some revisions and discordant notes, in de Santa Ana j ed., Religions today their challenge to the ecumenical movement*. Geneva: World Council of Churches Publication: 105-113.
- Carnegie, D. (1894). *Among the Matabele*. London: R.T.S.
- Chalton, J. (2000). *Nothing About Us Without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment New Edition*. Toronto Oxford: Altamira Press.

- Chitando, E. (2002a). *Church and Land in Zimbabwe: A Phenomenological Investigation*, *International Congregational Journal* 2 (2), 138–49.
- Chitando, E. (2002b). *For We Have Heard for Ourselves? A Critical Review of T. Ranger's Portrayal of Christianity as an Aspect of African Identity*. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 28 (1), 218–34.
- Chitando, E. (2004). *Canaan Banana and Religious Studies in Zimbabwe: A review*, in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Volume xxx, No.1, p. 187-203.
- Chitiyo, T. N. (2000). "Land Violence and Compensation," Richard Carver, "Zimbabwe: A Strategy of Tension," *Writenet*, June 2000. Vol. 14, No. 1. pp. 19-22.
<https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/zimbabwe/ZimLand> Accessed on 6 June 2015 at 2137 hours.
- Clarence-Smith, William G., and Fernand Braudel. (1977). "A Note on the 'École Des Annales' and the Historiography of Africa." *History in Africa: A Journal of Method* 4: 275–281.
- Comby, J. (1984). *How to read Church History: Vol. 1*. London: SCM Press.
- Cone, S. D. (2013). *Theology in the Present Age: Essays in Honor of John D. Castelein* edited by Christopher Ben Simpson, Steven D. Cone. USA: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Crabtree, D. (1993). *The Importance of History*, McKenzie Study Center, Gutenberg College, <http://msc.gutenberg.edu/2001/02/the-importance-of-history/> accessed on 4 December, 2015.
- Cross, F. L. (1957). *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dachs, A. J. and Rea. W. R. (1979). *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879–1979*. Gwelo: Mambo Press.
- Dalziel, J. (1982). *The beginnings of Presbyterianism*. Brixton: PCSA Publication.
- Daneel, I. (1987). *Quest for Belonging: Introduction to a study of African Independent Churches*. Harare: Mambo Press.
- Davidson, A. (1988). *Cecil Rhodes and his time*, Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Denis, P. (2008). *The Ethics of Oral History in South Africa*, in Philippe Denis and Ratikobo Ntsimane (eds.), *Oral History in a Wounded Country, Interactive interviewing in South Africa*, p. 64.
- De Gruchy, J. (1991). *Liberating reformed theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- De Gruchy, J. (1995; 2009). *John Calvin: Christian humanist, evangelical reformer*. Wellington: Lux Verbi. BM
- De Gruchy, J. W. (1995). *Christianity and Democracy: A Theology for a just world Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Gruchy, J. W. (1997). ‘*Christian witnessing in a secular state: Rethinking church-state relations in a new democratic South Africa*’, in M. Guman & L. Milton (eds.), *An African challenge to the church in the 21st century*, pp. 86–96. Cape Town: Salty Print.
- De Jong, A. (2000). *Mission and politics in Eastern Africa, Dutch Missionaries and African nationalism in Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi 1945 – 1965*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications.

- Denzin N. K, Lincoln YS (eds.) (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Derman, B. & Hellum, A. (2007). *Land, identity and violence in Zimbabwe*, in Derman, B, Odgaard, R & Sjaastad, E, ed., *Conflicts over land and water in Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press: 161-186.
- Dike, K. (1976). *African Historiography Vol. 6*. London: Macmillan and Free Press.
- Dreyer, W. A. (2005). *Church and government in Reformed perspective; Reformed theological college*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Du Bois, F. (2008). *Reparation and forms of justice*, in Du Bois F & Du Bois-Pedain A, ed., *Justice and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 116-143.
- Duncan, G. A. (1997). *Scottish Presbyterian church mission policy in South Africa, 1898-1923: M.Th. Dissertation*. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Duncan, G. (2003). *Lovedale – Coercive Agency: Power and resistance in mission education*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Cluster Publications.
- Edgington, S. D. (1996). *Economic and Social Dimensions of Mission Farms on the Mashonaland Highveld 1890–1930s*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Erickson, M. J. (1990). *Christian Theology*. Michigan: Grand Rapids.
- Evans, R. J. (1997). *In Defense of History*. Manchester: Metropolitan University Press.
- Flood, G. D. H. (1973). ‘*The Contribution of the London Missionary Society to African Education in Ndebeleland, 1859–1959*’, in A.J. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of*

the Zambezi. Volume 1, 97–107. Gwelo: Mambo Press. Focus. 2000. Parklands, South Africa, 18 June.

Gamble, R.C. (1992). *Calvin's thought on economic and social issues and the relationship of church and state*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Gaskell, I. (1991). *Visual history*, in Burke, P ed., 1991, *New perspectives on historical writing*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Garlake, P. S. (1973). *Great Zimbabwe*. London: Oxford University Press.

Gibbon, P. and Olukoshi, O. A. (1996). *Structural Adjustment and Socio-Economic Change in Sub-Saharan Africa. Some Conceptual, Methodological and Research Issues*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Research report no. 102.

Gibson, J. L. (2009). *Overcoming historical injustices, land reconciliation in South Africa*. Cambridge: University Press.

Goddard, W. & Melville, S. (2004). *“Research Methodology: An Introduction”*: 2nd edition. London: Blackwell Publishing Company.

Godwin, P. & Hancock, I. (1995). *Calvinism reformed theology South Africa, South African Council of Churches Kernbegrippe: Calvinisme gereformeerde teologie Suid-Rhodesians Never Die*. Harare: Baobab Books.

Graham, W. F. (1988). *'Calvin and the Political Order: An Analysis of the Three Explanatory Studies' Calviniana: Ideas and Influence of Jean Calvin R V Schnucker*. Ed Kirksvilles Ms: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers.

Gray, R. (1990). *Black Christians and white missionaries*. London: Yale University Press.

- Gray J. S. and Tucker J. C. (1986). *Presbyterian Polity for Church Officers*. Atlanta: John Knox Press.
- Gundani, P. (2002). *The Land Crisis in Zimbabwe and the Role of the Churches towards its Resolution*, University of South Africa: *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 28 (2), 122–69.
- Gundani, P. H. (2004). *Christian historiography and the Africa woman: a critical examination of the place of Felicity, Wallatta Pietros and Kimpa Vita in African Christian historiography*, Ethiopia: *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, XXX, No.1:75-89.
- Hall, D. W. (2010). *Tributes to John Calvin: A Celebration of his Quin centenary*, USA: P&R Publication Company.
- Hallencreutz, C. F. (1991). *Church and state in Zimbabwe and South Africa*, in Hallencreutz, C F & Palmberg, M ed., *Religion and politics in Southern Africa*, Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies: 159-168.
- Hallencreutz, C. F. (1998). *Religion and Politics in Harare, 1890–1980*. Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research.
- Hallencreutz, C. and A. Moyo (ed.). (1988). *Church and State in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Hammar, A. and B. Raftpoulus. (2003). 'Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation', in A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulus and S. Jensen (ed.), *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, 1–47. Harare: Weaver Press.

Hancock, R. C. (1989). *Calvin and the Foundations of Modern Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hantrians, L. and Mangen, S. (ed.), (1996). *Cross – National Research Methods in the social sciences*. London: Pinter.

Harold-Barry, D (2005). *Leaky cisterns: a reflection of our home-grown Tsunami*. Harare: Mukai Jesuit Journal for Zimbabwe.

Heidenheimer, A. J., Hugo, H. & Adam, C. T. (1983). *Comparative Public Policy*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Henige, D. (1988). "Oral, but Oral What? The Nomenclatures of Orality and Their Implications." *Oral Tradition* 3(1-2): 229-238. 232; Henige cites Jan Vansina. (1985). *Oral tradition as history*. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press) Accessed on April 4, 2015.

Heywood, A. (2007). *Political ideologies, an introduction 4th Edition*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Higson-Smith, C. Claire B. Ashraf K. (2007). *Fundamentals of social research methods: African perspective 4th ed*. Cape Town: Juta and Company Limited

Hofmeyr, J. W. & Pillay, G. J. (1994). *A History of Christianity in Southern Africa Vol.1*. Pretoria: Gutenberg Book Printers

Hood, R. E. (1990). *Must God Remain Greek? Afro Cultures and God-talk*. New York: Fortress Press.

Hudson, K. (1981). *A Social History of Archaeology: The British Experience*. London: Macmillan.

Hugo, H. and Adam, C. T. (1983). *Comparative Public Policy*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Hunter, G. G. (1996). *The church for the un-churched*, Nashville: Abington Press.
- Hurley, D. E. (1997). *The role of religion in politics* (1971), in Denis, P ed., *Facing the crisis, selected texts of Archbishop D. E. Hurley*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications:104-112.
- Isichei, E. (1995). *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present*. London: SPCK.
- Isichei, E. (1997). *A history of African societies to 1870*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Isichei, E. (2004). *The Religious Traditions of Africa: A History*. London: Westport Connecticut.
- Jardine, G. (1825). *Outline of Philosophical Education Illustrated by the method of teaching the logic or first class of Philosophy in the University of Glasgow*. Glasgow: Duncan, Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org>. (Accessed on 1 June 2015).
- Jasper, J. M. (1997). *The Art of Moral Protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Johann, M. and Marais, H. C. (1990). *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*. University of South Africa: Human Science Research Council, p.163.
- Kadenge, P. G.; Ndoro, H. & Zizwi, B. M. (1992). *Zimbabwe's Structural Adjustment Program: The First-Year Experience*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Kambudzi, A. (2000). *The church and the forthcoming general elections*, in Chikuku, T & Hungwe, A (ed.), *Democracy and good governance in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Kathari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology, methods and techniques 2nd ed*. Delhi: Dharmesh Printers.

- Kelly, D. R. (1973). *Francois Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Keiper, T. A. and Larson B. E. (2011). *Instructional Strategies for Middle and Secondary Social Studies: Methods*. New York: Routledge.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. ed. (1981). *General History of Africa Vol 1, Methodology and African Prehistory*. California: University of California Press.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. (1989). *Introduction in General history of Africa: (Abridged Edition)*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: 1-9 & 71
- Knight-Bruce, G. W. H. (1889). *From Bloemfontein to the Zambesi: Mission Fields, Vol. 34*. London: Burns and Oates.
- Kraft, C. H. (1979). *Christianity in culture: a study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross-cultural perspective*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Küng, H. (1984; 1987). *Paradigm change in Theology: A symposium for the future*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Kuperus, T. 2011, 'The political role and democratic contribution of churches in post-Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Church and State* 53 (2), 1–29.
- Kurebwa, J. (2002). *Crisis of Government: A report on Political violence in Zimbabwe Vol.1: The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Lancaster, G. (2005). *Research Methods in Management*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

- Lapsley, M. (1986). *Neutrality or Co-Option? Anglican Church and State from 1964 until the Independence of Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Leedy, T. H. (2000). *The Soil of Salvation: African Agriculture and American Methodism in Colonial Zimbabwe 1939–1962*. PhD Dissertation, University of Florida. (Unpublished)
- Leedy, P. D. and Ormrod, J.E. (2001). *Practical Research: Planning and Design 7th Edition*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Linden, I. (1980). *The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*. London: Longman.
- Little, D. (2016). “*Philosophy of History*” *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. Edward N. Z. (ed.). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University Press. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/history>
- Lodico, M.G., Spaulding, D.T & Voegtle, K.H. (2010) “*Methods in Educational Research: From Theory to Practice*”. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Lynn, M. R. (2006). *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History. 5th ed.* Boston: Bedford / St. Martin’s.
- Maluleke, T. S. (1994). *Book review: Bevens, Stephen B. Models of contextual theology*. Maryknoll: Orbis. 1992, *Missionalia*, Vol. 22, no. 2, August: 177-178.
- Manala, M. J. (2005). ‘*God is the most Superior physician*’: *Conqueror of witches and great restorer of health in Africa. Practical Theology in South Africa*: Pretoria: University of South Africa, 20(2), 53-71 Accessed on 13 December 2014.
- Maposa, I. (1995). *Land Reform in Zimbabwe*: Harare: CCJP.

- Marwick, A. (2001). *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*. Palgrave: University of Staffordshire 2001 pp. xvi, 334 Accessed on 12 December 2016
- Marongwe, N. (2002). *Conflicts over Land and other Natural Resources in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Zero Publications.
- Matikiti, R. (2009). *Church and State relations: The contribution of John Calvin to the understanding of church – state relationships in the 21st century Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1990). *African religions and philosophy*, London: Heinemann.
- McKim, D. K. (1984). *Readings in Calvin's theology*. Michigan: Baker Book House.
- McNeill, J. T. and Battles, F. L. ed. (1960). *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion Vol. 2. Battles Library of Christian Classics 20-21*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Meiring, P. G. J. (2010). *The influence of Calvin on the South African Council of Churches*, in die skriflig, Supplement 3, 313-328. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ids.v44i4.196> (Accessed on 9 April 2015 at 1000 hours).
- Mhloyi, M. (2003). *The role of the church in HIV and AIDS intervention and strategies in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Future Group International Consultancy Report.
- Mlambo, A. S. (2009). *From the second world war to UDI-1965*, in Raftopoulos, B & Modise, B (1991). The call of the ANC, in Hallencreutz, C F & Palmberg, M ed., *Religion and politics in Southern Africa*, Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies: 15-22.

- Modise, B. (1991). *The call of the ANC*, in Hallencreutz, C F & Palmberg, M ed., *Religion and politics in Southern Africa*, Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies: 15-22.
- Morton, A. L. (2008). *A People's History England*. Britain: Allyn and Bacon.
- Moyana, H. (1984). *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Moyo, J. (1992). *Politics of Administration: Understanding Bureaucracy in Africa*. Harare: Mambo Press.
- Moyo, S. (1995). *The Land Question in Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES Trust.
- Moyo, S. (1998). 'The Land Acquisition Process in Zimbabwe 1997/8: Socio-Economic and Political Impacts', *UNDP/SAPES Policy Monograph Series*, Environmental Security in Southern Africa: Sapes Books, No. 1.
- Moyo, S. (2001). "The Interaction of Market and Compulsory Land Acquisition Processes with Social Action," pp.28-30; Chitiyo, "Land Violence and Compensation," p.19. See also Sam Moyo, "The Land Occupations Movement and Democratization: The Contradictions of the Neoliberal Agenda in Zimbabwe" (unpublished paper, 2001).
- Moyo, S. (2013). *The scramble for land in Africa. Paper presented at the Round Table Dialogue on Land Reform, Land Grabbing and Agricultural Development in Africa in the 21st Century*, 17-18 June 2013, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Mugabe, R. G. (2001). *Inside the Third Chimurenga: Our Land is Our Prosperity*. Harare: Department of Information and Publicity, Office of the President and Cabinet.
- Mugambi, J. N. K. (2003). *Christian theology and social reconstruction*. Nairobi: Acton Publishers.
- Mukonyora, I. (1993). *Rewriting the Bible*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Munslow, A. (1997). *Deconstructing history*. New York: Routledge.

- Mushayavanhu, D. and Duncan, G.A., (2014). *The spiritual weakness of churches founded by Western missionaries: The cause of the rise of Africa Independent Churches in Zimbabwe with special reference to the Uniting Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa*, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 35(1), Art. #1254, 6 pages. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ve.v35i1.1254>
- Mutasa, D. (1987; 1974). *Black Behind Bars: Rhodesia, 1959–1974*. Harare: Longman Press.
- Muzorewa, A.T. (1978). *Rise Up and Walk: An Autobiography*. London: Evans Brothers.
- Nketia, K. (2008). *Reference Modes of Meaning as Strategies of Communication in Oral Tradition* " *Journal of African Christian Thought, Vol 11, no1, June 2008, p.3.*
- Nkomo, J. (2001). *The Story of My Life*. Harare: SAPES.
- Neuman, W. L. (2003). "Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches". London: Allyn and Bacon.
- Nicole, R. (1985). *John Calvin's view of Limited Atonement from Westminster Theological Journal* 47:212-214. Available online at Puritan's Mind. Retrieved on 6 June 2014 at 2015 hours.
- Obenga, T. (1989). *Sources and specific techniques used in Africa history: a general outline*, in Ki-Zerbo, J ed., *General history of Africa, abridged edition*. Paris: United Nations Education, Scientific and cultural Organization: 29-33.
- Omosini, O. (1995). *Evolution of African Historiography: An Overview* ISSN 01897845 21pp. Obafemi Awolowo University Press (Inaugural Lecture series, 97).
- Paas, S. (2006). *The faith moves south: A history of the church in Africa*. Malawi: Kachere Books (no. 27) series.

- Palmer, R. (1997a). *Contested Lands in Southern and Eastern Africa: A Literature Review*. Oxford: Oxfam UK.
- Palmer, R. (1977b). *Land and racial domination in Rhodesia*. London: Heinemann
- Patsanza, A. J. (1988). *Our Zimbabwe: An Element of Political Economy*. Harare: Govazvimwe Mukuruwenzira.
- Paul, T. (1988). *The voice of the past: Oral history, 2nd ed.* New York: Oxford Press.
- Peaden, R. (1984). *From mission to church, (a) The Roman Catholics in Zimbabwe, (b) The Anglicans in Zimbabwe, (c) The Methodists in Zimbabwe*, in Weller, J & Linden, J ed., *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press:52-100.
- Pillay, G. J. (1988). *The ongoing historical quest for meaning and relevance*. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 14:85-1. Accessed on 9 April 2016.
- Pillay, G. J. (1994). *The Relationship between Church History and General History: reflections on Adolf von Harnack's view*, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae XX* (no. 2) 156-168.
- Pillay, J. (2015). 'An exploration of the idea of ecomomy in Calvin's view of God and the world: Its implications for churches in South Africa today', *Verbum et. Ecclesia* 36(3), Art. #1474, 10 pages. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ve.v36i3.1474> (Accessed on 5 August 2016 at 1315 hours).
- Pillay, J. (2016). *Address of the President 2016 WCRC Executive Committee*. Nova, Germany: WCRC.
- Pillay, J. (2016). 'Presbyterian Indians in South Africa', *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 72(1), a3402. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i1.3402> (accessed on 12 January 2016 at 2200 hours).

- Pons, E. S. (1982). *The Southern and Central Streams of Presbyterianism in Africa*. Johannesburg: Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.
- Pringle, J. (2005). *John Calvin Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.
- Prins, G. (1991). "Oral History", in Burke, Peter (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Prins, G. (1992). "Oral History", in Burke, Peter (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Prete, R. A. (2005). "How Has God Intervened in History?" in *Window of Faith: Latter-day Saint Perspectives on World History*, ed. Roy A. Prete (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University), 175–95.
- Quinn, F and Greg, C. (1979). *Presbyterianism in Cape Town: a history of St. Andrew's Church, 1829-1979*. Cape Town: world Cat.
- Ranger, T. (1995). *Are we not also men? The Samkange family and African politics in Zimbabwe 1920-64*. Harare: Baobab.
- Rea, W. F. (1977). *The economics of the Zambezi missions 1580- 1759*, in Bourdillon, M F C S.J. ed., *Christianity south of the Zambezi Vol.2*. Gweru: Mambo Press: 13-24.
- Renfrew, C. (1991). Foreword, in James, P, Thorpe, I, Kokkinos, N, Morkot, R and Frankish (ed.) *Centuries of Darkness. A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*, London: xiii-xv.
- Renier, G. J. (1950). *History: its purpose and method*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Ritchie, D. A. (2003). *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide, 2nd (ed.)*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ritchie, J. (2014). *Qualitative Research Practice a Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers 2nd Edition*. London: National Centre for Social Research.

- Roberts, B. (1988). *Cecil Rhodes: Flawed Colossus*. New York: Norton.
- Robert, D. L. (2008). *Introduction, in Robert D L, ed., Converting colonialism, visions and realities in mission history 1706-1914*, Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: 1-20.
- Rodger, A. (1998) *A short history of the structures of general assembly*. Brixton: PCSA Publication.
- Rotenstreich, N. (2012). *Time and Meaning in History*. Lancaster: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S. (2006). *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data 2nd Edition*. London: SAGE.
- Sanneh, L. (1989). *Translating the message: the missionary impact on culture*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Sanneh, L. (2009). *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture. American Society of Missiology Series 13. Rev. and exp. ed.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- Saunders, R. (1996). *Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) 's Fables 11*. Zimbabwe. Vol 11, No 4, July 1996 page 8. Zimbabwe: SAR.
- Schaff, P. (1979). *History of the Christian church*. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids.
- Scheff, T. (1997) *Emotions, the social bond, and human reality: part / whole analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schlabach, G. C. (1996). *A Sense of History: Some Components*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schreiter, R. J. (2002). *Constructing local theologies*. MaryKnoll: Orbis Books.
- Shamuyarira, N. M. (1965). *Crisis in Rhodesia*. London: Andre Deutsch.

- Sharpe, J. (1991). *History from below*, in Burke, P ed., *New perspectives on historical writing*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press: 25-42.
- Shaw, W. H. (2003). *They Stole our Land: Debating the Expropriation of White Farms in Zimbabwe*. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (1), 75–89. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X02004159>. Published online: 05 March 2003.
- Shopes, L. (2002). *Making Sense of Oral History*. New York: Oxford Press.
- Shopes, L. (2012). *Making sense of oral history*. In D. Boyd, S. Cohen, B. Rakerd, & D. Rehberger (Eds.), *Oral history in the digital age*. Institute of Library and Museum Services. <http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/making-sense-of-oral-history//Chicago>
Accessed on 6 March 2017
- Sithole, N. (1959). *African Nationalism*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, K. & Nothling, F. J. (1993). *North of the Limpopo, Africa since 1800*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. ABC Book Printers.
- Spear, T. (1981). *Kenya's Past*. Harlow: Longman.
- Stearn, P. N. (1998). *Why study history?* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Steward, C. F. (1994). *Africa America church Growth*. Nashville: Abington Press.
- Sundkler, B. & Steed, C. (2000). *A history of the church in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, E. P. (1966). 'History from Below', *The Times Literary Supplement* issue 3345. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- Thompson, P. (2000). *The Voice of the Past (3rd edition, OUP 2000)*; and Perks R. & Thomson A., eds., *The Oral History Reader* (1998). London: Routledge.
- Thorpe, C. (1951). *Limpopo to Zambezi, sixty years of Methodism in Southern Rhodesia*. London: The Cargate Press.
- Tillich, P. (1936). *The Interpretation of History*. New York: Norton.
- Tillich, P. (1948). *The Protestant era*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tosh, J. (1984). *The pursuit of history, aims methods and new directions in the study of modern history 2nd ed*. London: Longman Press.
- Trigger. B. G. (1990). *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University
- Tuck, R. (1991). *History of political thought*, in Burke, P. ed., *New perspectives on historical writing*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press: 218-232.
- Van Ruler, A. A. (1989). *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics - Essays Toward a Public Theology*. John Bolt Trans Lewiston/Queenstown/ Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989 page 157.
- Vansina, J. (1965). *Oral tradition: A study in Historical Methodology*. Chicago: University Press
- Vansina, J. (1967). *The Use of Oral Tradition in African Culture History: in C. Gabel and N. R. Bennet (ed.), Reconstructing African Culture History*. Boston: Boston University Press.
- Vansina, J. (1985). *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Vansina, J.; Wright, H. M. and Tonkin, E. (2006). *Oral Tradition: A study in historical methodology*. Chicago: Aldine Transaction.
- Vansina, J. (2009). *Oral Tradition: A study in Historical methodology*. London: New Brunswick.

- Van Vuuren, D. J. (1983). *The unitary state*, in Van Vuuren D. J. & Kriek D. J. ed. Political alternatives for Southern Africa principles and perspectives, Durban: Butterworths:141-168.
- Van Wyk, I. W. C. (2005). 'The political responsibility of the church: On the necessity and boundaries of the theory of the two kingdoms,' HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 61(3), 647–682, ISSN: 0259-9422 2072-8050 (Online) AOSIS.
- Vasira, J. (1935). *Oral Tradition as History*. London: James Curreny Books.
- Verstraelen, F. J. (1998). *Zimbabwean realities and Christian responses*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Verstraelen, F. (2002). *History of Christianity in Africa in the context of Africa history, a comparative assessment of four recent historiographical contributions*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Verstraelen-Gilhius, G. (1992). *A new look at Christianity in Africa, essays on apartheid, African education and a new history*, Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Vischer, L. & Nyomi, S. (2008). *The legacy of John Calvin*. Geneva: WARC, John Knox Center.
- Wade, M. (2013). *The New left, National Identity, and the Break-up of Britain*. BRILL: pp. 20-21.
- Wallis, J. P. R. ed. (1945). *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860, Vol. 1*, Oppenheimer Series, no. 1. London: Chatto and Windus, 3-31.
- Wallis, J. P. R. ed. (1945). *The Matabele Mission, 1858-1878*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Webster, J. B. C. (1981). *An Introduction to History*. London: Macmillan.
- Weerda, J. (1954). *Calvin*, in *Evangelisches Soziallexikon, col 201*. Toronto: York University.

- Weller, J. & Linden, J. (1984). *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Whiteside, J. (1906). *History of the Wesleyan Methodists Church of South Africa*. Cape Town: Juta & Co.
- Wolfe, S. (2014). *John Calvin and Winthrop Between the ages: Medievalism hierarchy and modernity (part 2 of 4)*. Geneva: Chillon Castle.
- Woodward, D. and Lewis, M. G. (editors). (1998). *The History of Cartography, Volume 2, and Book 3: Cartography in the Traditional African*. American: Australian and Pacific Societies.
- Zimbabwe Council of Churches and Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (2006). *The Zimbabwe we want: towards a national vision for Zimbabwe*. Harare: Zimbabwe Council of Churches www.africamission-mafr.org/zimbabwe.doc Accessed on 3 April 2015 at 1530 hours.
- Zvobgo, C. J. M. (1973). *The influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Southern Rhodesia, 1891-1923*, in Dachs, J A ed., *Christianity South of the Zambezi*. Gweru: Mambo Press: 63-70.
- Zvobgo, C. J. M. (1991). *The Wesleyan Methodist missions in Zimbabwe 1891-1945*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Zvobgo, R. J. (1994). *Colonialism and Education in Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES.
- Zvobgo, C.J.M. (1996). *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890–1939*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Internet and Electronic References

<http://christiananswers.net/q-faith/fc-warperspectives.html>: accessed August, 4, 2016 at 1542 hours

Mugabe, R. G, (2014). *Interview on state television on the eve of his birthday*, 20 February 2014, Harare, Zimbabwe, interview recorded by Tatenda Victor Mushayavanhu during a live broadcast.

UPCSA (PCSA) Archives

a) Minutes:

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Johannesburg Tiyo Soga House, Assembly Papers, 22 July 1931.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare City Church, Assembly Decisions, 13 February 1963.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare City Church, Assembly Decisions, Assembly Decisions, 5 June 1965.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, Assembly Decisions, Rules for mission farms, 11 January 1922.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Presbytery Office, Assembly Decisions, Minutes, 17 January 1923.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoZ, Minutes, 9 January 1924.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoZ, Minutes, 4 January 1935.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare PoZ Office, PoZ, Minutes, 5 January 1965.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoZ, Minutes, 12 September 1965.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoZ, Minutes, 13 June 1972.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Johannesburg Tiyo Soga House, Presbytery of Transvaal, Minutes, 29 July 1890.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare City Church, PoR, Minutes, 5 September 1892.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 28 June 1895.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 3 January 1920.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Church and Nation Report, 11 January 1922.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes 13 May 1935.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Moderators Address, 8 January 1941.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Church and Nation Report, 28 February 1951.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 28
February 1951.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 3
January 1954.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 13
April 1954.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 15
January 1959.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 8
January 1960.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 28
January 1962.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 6
January 1965.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 8
January 1969.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoR, Minutes, 12
January 1970.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoMas, Minutes, 6
January 1971.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoMat, Minutes, 18
February 1976.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, PoZ, Minutes, 21
February 1998.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, SoR, Minutes, 10
January 1974.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, SoR, Minutes, 10
June 1974.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, SoR, Minutes, 24
January 1976.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, SoR, Minutes. 16
October 1977.

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa Archives, Harare Trinity Church, SoR, Minutes, 17
November 1983.

b) National Archives of Zimbabwe

ZCC, April, 1985. *Our call to Peace and Justice as the Nation is born*. Harare: Zimbabwe
Council of Churches

ZCC, September, 2009. *"The Zimbabwe We Want"*. Harare: Zimbabwe Council of Churches

ZCC, January, 2013. *Work for Peace in Zimbabwe: Pray for It! Speak It! Do It!* (Isaiah 60:1-
22). Harare: Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

ZCC, ZCBC, EFZ, September, 2006. *The Zimbabwe We Want*. Harare: Zimbabwe Council of
Churches.

The Daily Mirror: 19 May 2005a:22.

The Daily Mirror: 16 June 2005b:11.

The Daily Mirror: 17 June 2005c:17

Herald, News Paper: 2 August 1935:09

Herald, News Paper: 11 September 1952:1

Herald, Harare: 1 May 2002:1&3

Herald, Harare: 19 November 2002:5

Manica Post, Mutare: 26 June 1989:1&9

Manica Post, Mutare: 24 March 1990

Moto: April 1996:2

Moto: August 1996:3

Moto: December 1997:3&5

Moto: June 2002:2

Moto: May 2006:4

Parade: April 1945:3

Parade: June 1993:3

c) Oral Sources: Interviews:

Banda, Morgan, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 3 March 2016 in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Bhaskar Saidi, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 4 April 2015, in Masvingo, Zimbabwe.

Bhiri, Simbiso Ngoni, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 2 March 2016, Masvingo,
Zimbabwe.

Charumbira, Fortune, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 2 June 2016, in Masvingo,
Zimbabwe.

Charumbira, Fortune, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 11 January 2015, in Masvingo,
Zimbabwe.

Chigwedere, Pedzisai, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 1 May 2014, in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chigwida, Max Tichaona, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 2 January 2013, in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chigwida, Max Tichaona, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 8 January 2013, in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chigwida, Max Tichaona, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 27 January 2013, in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chikohora, Mavhu Runesu, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 4 April 2015, Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chikomo, Herbert Peter, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 16 March 2014, in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chikomo, Herbert Peter, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 29 June 2014, Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chikomo, Herbert Peter, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 10 January 2015, Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chikomo, Herbert Peter, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 12 January 2015, Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Chirau Nyaradzai Hura, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 1 July 2015, in Mutare,
Zimbabwe.

Gwemende, Saul Vimbiso, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 19 March 2016, Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Mabhena, Xobile Pius, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 10 May 2016, in Bulawayo,
Zimbabwe.

Machukera, Chamwaita Johnson, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 19 April 2014 in
Chipinga, Zimbabwe.

Mararike, Samuel, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 12 June 2015 in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Masaka, Jonah, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 18 January 2015 in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Moyo Nobuhle, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 18 December 2014 in Bulawayo,
Zimbabwe.

Mthimkulu, Xolani, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 4 November 2014, in Bulawayo,
Zimbabwe.

Mungwira, Wilson, interview with David Mushayavanhu on 24 May 2015 in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Mtubi, Boniface, interview with David Mushayavanhu on 13 January 2016 in Nyanga,
Zimbabwe.

Ndou Jabavhu Marius, interview with David Mushayavanhu on 19 February 2014, in Kwekwe,
Zimbabwe

Nxumalo, Sibusiso Bonny, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 6 December 2015, in
Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

Paterson Pious Kennedy, interview with David Mushayavanhu on 1 June 2014 in Bulawayo,
Zimbabwe.

Ryce, Pete William, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 12 April 2015, in Harare,
Zimbabwe.

Steele, Jim, interview with David Mushayavanhu, on 22 January 2016, Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe.

Appendix 1: Interview questions

- 1) How was the land problem an issue during the colonial era in Zimbabwe?
- 2) How did you understand racism and what impact did that view have on PCSA's ministry?
- 3) How did you view the formation of the Federation and what impact did the Federation have on PCSA's ministry?

- 4) What were your views on the war of liberation in Zimbabwe and the stance of PCSA? What are your experiences of the following events in Zimbabwe: Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina, land reform?
- 5) How did John Calvin's teaching on politics and economics influence PCSA's ministry?
- 6) In summary, how would you describe the influence of PCSA in the developments of Zimbabwe?