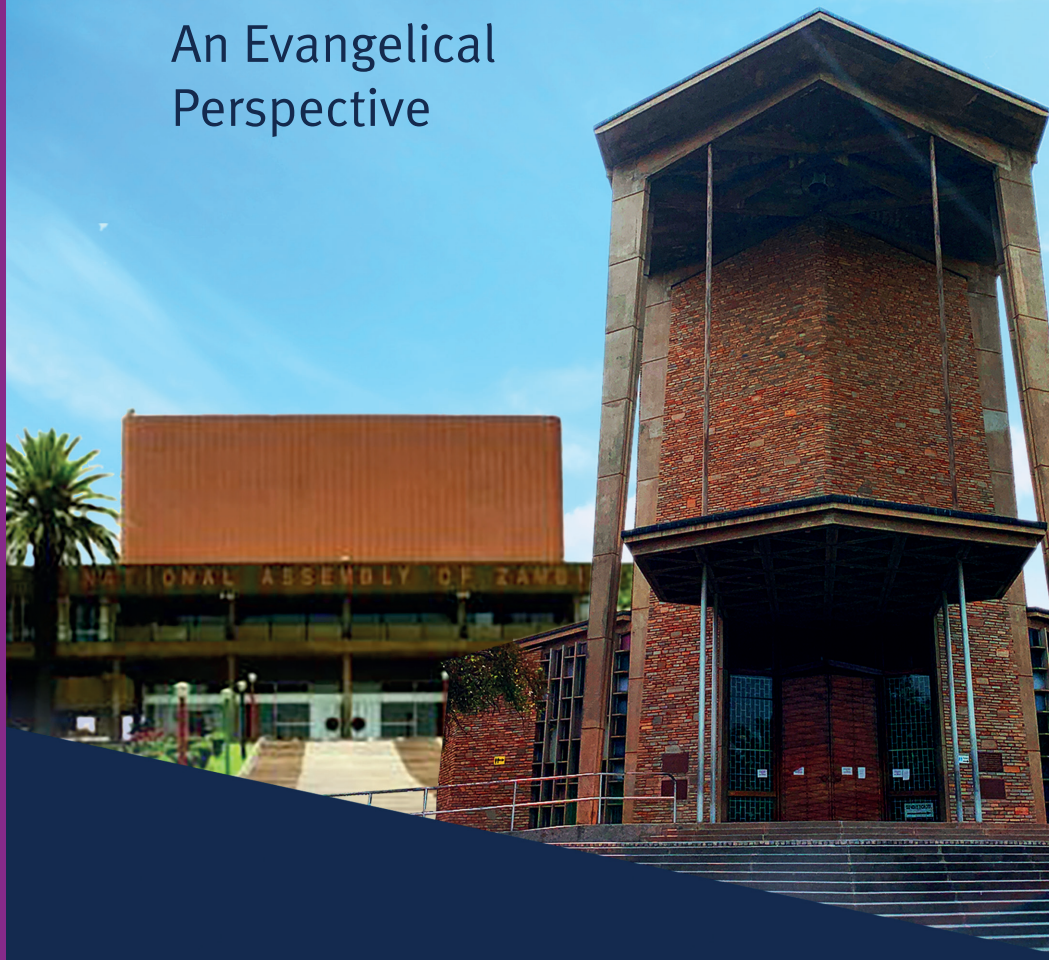


Elias Munshya

# Church and State Relations in Zambia

An Evangelical  
Perspective





Elias Munshya

**Church and State Relations in Zambia**

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**Church and State Relations in Zambia**  
**An Evangelical Perspective**

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# Dedication

To Kubambwa Elizabeth Pumulo Munshya

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## Abstract

*Church and State Relations in Zambia: An Evangelical Perspective* contributes to the debate regarding how Church and state relations emerged in Zambia and how religion plays a massive role in Zambia's political development and civic engagement. Tracing the history of religion's impact on pre-independence and post-independence Zambia, this study examines three impacts of religion on politics and government: religion legitimating government, religion providing checks and balances and religion providing the tools for change and revolution.

This study used qualitative methods and is guided by a literature review on the historical development of Church and state relations in Zambia. Nevertheless, this literature data is analysed and framed within Osmer's (2008:4) practical theology approach, which first examines the descriptive-empirical task and then moves to the interpretative task. It then examines the normative task and, finally, proposes a pragmatic approach upon which a practical action can be based.

Past studies on Church-state relations in Zambia have ignored the Evangelical contribution. Furthermore, some have neglected to account for the impact of the African Traditional Religion world-view on Zambia's religious character that mainly explains why Zambians have had few problems with a political worldview that synergizes the religious and the temporal. Unlike the European models of Church and state, the models in much of Africa, and hence Zambia, are not about which of the two institutions controlled the other between the Church and the state – but rather, how the Church, in this case, the Evangelical Church, should live in political space and in a state that has officially declared itself to be a Christian nation.

This official declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation presents both the opportunities and the challenges for the Evangelical Churches in Zambia to live out their spiritual mission without being perceived as the arm of the Christian state. Specifically, how can the Evangelical Church live out its mission in a state that has declared itself Christian?



## Abbreviations

African Initiated Churches	AICs
African Traditional Religions	ATR
British South African Company	BSAC
Copperbelt University	CBU
Council of Churches in Zambia	CCZ
Dominion Theology	DT
Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia	EFZ
Grace Ministries Mission International	GMMI
Movement for Multiparty Democracy	MMD
National Citizens' Coalition	NCC
Patriotic Front	PF
Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches	PCC
Reformed Church in Zambia	RCZ
United Church of Zambia	UCZ
United National Independence Party	UNIP
University of Zambia	UNZA
Zambia Congress of Trade Unions	ZCTU
Zambia Council of Catholic Bishops	ZCCB
Zambia Episcopal Conference	ZEC
Zambia Traditional Religions	ZTRs

## Timeline of Political History

An outline of a timeline that this study covers is important to help organise this study.

PRE-COLONIAL ERA	until 1890
BSA RULE	1890 to 1920
BRITISH COLONIAL RULE	1920 to 1964
ZAMBIA'S INDEPENDENCE FROM GREAT BRITAIN	October 24, 1964
FIRST REPUBLIC – UNDER PRESIDENT KAUNDA	1964 to 1973
SECOND REPUBLIC – UNDER PRESIDENT KAUNDA	1973 to 1991
THIRD REPUBLIC – UNDER PRESIDENT CHILUBA	1991 to 2001
LEVY MWANAWASA PRESIDENCY	2001 to 2008
RUPIAH BANDA PRESIDENCY	2008 to 2011
MICHAEL SATA PRESIDENCY	2011 to 2015
EDGAR LUNGU PRESIDENCY	2015 to Present

# Introduction and Methodology

## The Problem: Background and Rationale

By stating that “religion and politics are dangerous topics,” Storkey (2005:11) expressed many theologians’ and historians’ views. There exist many theological and philosophical controversies throughout history concerning the relationship between the Church and the state and between religion and politics in general (Guerra 2010; Turaki 2020). Even a definition of what should constitute a healthy model of church-state relations remains elusive.

This research explores Zambian Church and state relations from an evangelical perspective using the literature review method. It argues that until recently, much of the theological and historical analysis of Zambian politics and religious history had not given much attention to understanding the interplay between evangelicals and the state in Zambia (Hinfelaar 2008, 2003; Kaunda 2018; M’fundisi-Holloway 2018). In fact, political theology in Zambia is a field that has not received attention and the few that have engaged in it have done so from the perspective of Western epistemologies (Turaki 2020).

## The Problem

A review of the literature has revealed that in many cases, numerous church-state relation studies have concentrated on analysing which of the two institutions controlled the other at any given time in history and context (Sturzo 1962). Nevertheless, recent theological interest has shifted from analysis of church-state relations in terms of a diarchy (Sturzo 1962) – that is, which one controlled or was more powerful than the other – to how the Church, specifically, as part of the civil society should relate to the institutions of the wider community, culture, and government (Fergusson 2004; and Cooper 2007).

Within the diarchic perspective (Sturzo 1962), church-state relations in Zambia have followed a pattern of both cooperation and opposition throughout the republic’s history. However, what Strauss (1997) and Guerra (2010:2) describe as “the theologico-political problem” was complicated further, in Zambia, by former President Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba’s 1991 presidential declaration which made Zambia a Christian nation (“the Declaration” henceforth in this study). In 1996, the Declaration was

embedded in the preamble of the republic of Zambia's constitution (Constitution of Zambia, 1993, as amended in 1996). The preamble then read as follows:

**WE, THE PEOPLE OF ZAMBIA** by our representatives, assembled in our Parliament, having solemnly resolved to maintain Zambia as a Sovereign Democratic Republic;

**DETERMINED** to uphold and exercise our inherent and inviolable right as a people to decide, appoint and proclaim the means and style to govern ourselves;

**RECOGNISE** the equal worth of men and women in their rights to participate, and freely determine and build a political, economic and social system of their own free choice;

**PLEDGE** to ourselves that we shall ensure that the state shall respect the rights and dignity of the human family, uphold the laws of the state and conduct the affairs of the state in such manner as to preserve, develop, and utilise its resources for this and future generations;

**DECLARE** *the Republic a Christian nation while upholding the right of every person to enjoy that person's freedom of conscience or religion;*

**RESOLVE** to uphold the values of democracy, transparency, accountability, and good governance.

*(Constitution of the Republic of Zambia 1996: Preamble)*

This constitutional amendment gave the so-called "Christian Nation Declaration" some official state recognition and constitutional legitimacy. Specifically, the Declaration led to:

1. a renewed interest, debate, and analysis of how Church and state should relate.
2. New interest in the question of what should constitute an appropriate model of such relations and the nature of the relationship between Church and state.

The idea behind the Declaration was a public proclamation that Zambia was going to be governed by the "righteous principles of the Word of God" (Kaunda 2018:1). This was underlined in the "speech from the pillar" where former President Chiluba stated:

The Bible, which is the Word of God, abounds with proof that a nation is blessed whenever it enters into a covenant with God and obeys the word of God ... on behalf of the nation, I have now entered into a covenant with the living God ... I submit the Government and the entire nation of Zambia to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. I further declare that Zambia is a Christian

Nation that will seek to be governed by the righteous principles of God's word. Righteousness and justice must prevail in all levels of authority, and then we shall see the righteousness of God-exalting Zambia (Chiluba, 1991).

In 1996, a few years after this presidential proclamation, the declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation attained constitutional status when it was incorporated into the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia

Six years after this constitutional provision, Chiluba's successor, Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, then newly elected, promised to uphold the Declaration (Cheyeka 2002: 183). On December 29, 2008, during the seventeenth anniversary of the Declaration, the Chief Government spokesman Lt. Gen. Ronnie Shikapwashya vowed that Zambia, then under its fourth leader President Rupiah Banda, would continue to be a Christian Nation. At the same meeting, Shikapwashya encouraged Zambians to continue lifting "the nation before Jesus Christ" in prayer to God (*Zambia Daily Mail* November 30, 2008). Consequently, many have generally recognised that Zambia is inherently a Christian nation (*Post Newspapers* 2004).

In 2016, Zambia introduced a new constitution for the nation. The preamble to the 2016 constitution included a similar provision as the 1996 constitution – Zambia remained a "Christian nation." However, the Declaration, both in its original in 1991 and subsequent constitutionalisation, has encountered opposition from both religious sectors and some politicians. As Kaunda (2017:297) stated, the Declaration appears to have been a "double-edged sword".

First, it created a political problem for former President Chiluba. He was accused of having made the declaration as a political ploy in an attempt to use it as opium to dull the painful effects of his political and economic policies upon the masses – as Karl Marx (1970) had suggested religion did many years ago (Kaunda 2018). However, this is not unique to Chiluba alone. All his successors, Levy Mwanawasa, Rupiah Banda, Michael Sata, and Edgar Lungu have faced similar accusations of using Christianity as an opium for the masses.

The *second* problem was within the Christian Church. The Declaration sharply divided the church denominations. The significant points of division were on how the Declaration was going to be interpreted and what role the Church was now expected to play in the Zambian society, given the Declaration. To what extent was Zambia becoming a Christian state? Some churches supported the Declaration while others did not. Some churches felt that by making the Declaration, Chiluba was unduly meddling in religious matters. This, it was believed, should not be the civil government's

duty at all. Other churches did not see anything wrong with the Declaration and hoped that the fusion of Church and state would lead to a more moral nation. Both positions utilised the Bible to justify their theological positions and argued that theirs were more Biblical than others.

Third, specifically, the Declaration has triggered questions on how Christians should relate to the state. The Declaration has also elicited questions about whether a Christian Head of State had the moral, political or, indeed, theological rights to declare a nation Christian and, consequently, to some extent, create a union of Church and state (Kaunda 2018).

The Declaration prompted questions of whether Zambia replicated the Christendom model that, unfortunately, is outmoded in the Western world. Indeed, it is necessary to evaluate the impact of the Declaration and examine how the Church can relate to the state in such a situation. While the Declaration of Zambia is a new phenomenon, the debate about who the Christian is within the civil society or the State “is an ancient one, continuously refracted and contested” (Elshtain 2002: 102).

The *fourth* problem that the Declaration created mainly within the evangelical Church was in the face of the Declaration and a state that has proclaimed itself Christian, how the Church was going to relate to the state. This final problem remains a challenge as the Evangelical Church in Zambia is yet to formulate a political theology that can help them adequately relate with the state within the Christian nation’s framework. Because of this problem, this study seeks to analyse and propose a political, theological framework of how evangelicals can live God’s mission in a nation that claims to be a “Christian nation.” As stated by Atkinson (1982:3), “The relationship between Christianity and the civilization in which it finds itself may perhaps be one of the profound questions Christians have to face. What is the relation of their community to that of the general community in which they live?”

## **The Rationale**

Given the above, it is necessary to study Zambian evangelical and state relations from two perspectives: an evangelical perspective and a perspective that is more consistent with African theoretical models and African epistememes of religions and politics in general and, specifically, models of religion and state. Scholars paying attention to African political theology have argued that theological story is a more viable approach (Katongole 2005, 2011, 2014, 2017a, 2017b, Turaki 2020).

With specific regard to Zambia, an evaluation of its political history has usually been carried out without recourse or engaging of theological

stories of the Church in general and religion concerning the national life. A new insight into the history of Zambian political theology is necessary. And an Evangelical appraisal of the relationship between the Church and the state in Zambia needs to be investigated and told afresh.

This study is both a historical inquiry into the relationship between Evangelicalism and the state and a practical theological demonstration of how the Evangelical Church can best utilise its Biblical, theological, and sociological resources to know how to practically relate to the Zambian state, that is historically Christian and has by the national Constitution declared itself to be so. In so doing, this study should not just be a bland history of Evangelical Christian relationship with the state in Zambia instead of an investigation into Evangelicals' religious experiences concerning the state.

As such, this study recognises the unique contribution of the African Traditional Religions (ATR) and the African worldview to the subsequent Evangelical interactions with the state in Zambia.

## Definitions

This section aims to provide a brief definition of at least four concepts that are the focus of this study. These four concepts are as follows: The **Church**, the **state**, **Evangelical**, and **Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches (PCCs)**.

### *Church*

Snyder (1977:12) defines the Church as “the community of God’s people – a people called to serve him and called to live together in the true Christian community as a witness to the character and values of his Kingdom”. “The Church is the society in which the universal kingship of God is acknowledged ... it is the instrument by which the rest of creation is to be restored and conformed to the image of his Son” (Robinson 1960:20). In its statement, the American Lutheran Church has made the following statement:

The Church is the fellowship of such forgiven and reconciled persons united in Jesus Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit to be sons and daughters of the Father. In and through that fellowship, Christians express their love for, confidence in, and reliance upon God through worship, education, social action, and service. 3) The Church is also the people of God called and sent to minister under his authority in his world. God also calls the Church to be a creative critic of the social order, an advocate for the needy and distressed, a pioneer in developing and improving services through which care is offered, and human dignity is enhanced, and a supportive voice for the establishment and maintenance of good order, Justice, and concord. Another

mark of the presence of the Church in the world is in its ministries involving activities, agencies, and institutions through which the Church and society seek to fulfil their goals in mutual respect and cooperation.

*(The Nature of the Church and its Relationship with the Government, A statement of the American Lutheran Church, 16 May 1979).*

DeLashmutt states that the Church's purpose is to fulfil the Great Commission (Matt. 28:19) and the Great Commandment (Jn. 13:34, 35). "The Church," he says, "is not responsible to usher in God's kingdom (Jesus will do that at His return), but to bear witness to God's Kingdom by proclamation and community" (DeLashmutt 2003).

### State

Webster (1959:1424) defines the state as (1) "the power or authority represented by a body of people politically organized under one government, especially an independent government, within a territory or territories having definite boundaries," (2) "Political organization constituting the basis of civil government".

Government is (1) "the exercise of authority over an organization, institution, state, district, etc.," (2) "an established system of political administration by which a state, district, etc. is governed" (Webster 1959:626). Politics is defined as "the science and art of political government" (Webster 1959:1132).

### Evangelical

In this study Evangelical, and Evangelicalism are used almost interchangeably. According to Balcomb (2016:118–119), *Evangelicalism* is defined as:

that aspect of the Christian faith that emphasizes the good news of the gospel of Jesus Christ, literally the 'evangel', which is proclaimed as an invitation to whoever believes and receives it into a personal encounter with God through Christ that leads to the transformation and renewal of the lives of its recipients.

An Evangelical essentially belongs to Evangelicalism as a movement emphasising the elements mentioned by Balcomb (2016). Zambian Evangelicals are not a cohesive body under one Bishop or one Pope. Specifically, the Evangelical movement in Zambia is a collection of several Churches and independent ministries. The most prominent denominations within the Evangelical movement are the Evangelical Church in Zambia (ECZ), the



classical Pentecostal denominations such as Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAOG), the Church of God, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church. In addition to these classical groups, however, there are several new and independent ministries among which are Bread of Life Church, Praise Christian Centre, Victory Ministries International and many others.

Adding to the Evangelical community's blend and diversity in Zambia are several Churches, which broke away from the historic mainline Churches. These Churches include the Grace Ministries Mission International (GMMI), formed after the UCZ expelled some Charismatic youths, and the Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA), which was formed as a splinter group from the Reformed Church in Zambia. The appropriate title for this mix of Pentecostal and charismatics is Pentecostal-Charismatic Church, shortened to PCC for this study.

What then distinguishes Evangelicals from the other Christian traditions? Butler and Zuber (2008:69) attribute at least five characteristics to the Evangelical movement. These are:

- a) using the Bible as the final authority,
- b) believing the Bible's stories of God's intervention in human affairs,
- c) receiving salvation based on Christ's death,
- d) engaging in missions and evangelism, and
- e) experiencing a spiritually transformed life.

### *Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches (PCCs)*

In Zambia, the charismatic Pentecostal Christians, or Churches and the Pentecostal/charismatic movements are classified as Evangelical. In fact, some of these movements are members of Evangelical organisations such as the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. This study, therefore, does not create a distinction between PCCs, and other Evangelicals. Therefore, the terms Evangelicals and PCCs are used interchangeably in this study.

If a specific reference is required that distinguishes between the broader Evangelical community and the PCCs, such a distinction is explained in the study. For example, former President Chiluba could have been a member of the Evangelical Church and the PCC.

## **Purpose and Value of The Study**

This researcher has been motivated to engage in this study due to this researcher's long-held desire to integrate the Christian faith and politics. The researcher has been long fascinated by politics. So, after becoming a

Christian (“Christian conversion” in the Evangelical sense), the researcher wanted to study how politics and the Christian faith relate.

This interest was, precisely, precipitated when Zambia was declared a Christian nation and the subsequent debate this generated in 1991 and beyond. However, beyond the researcher’s curiosity, this study is valuable for many reasons. These are explained below.

This study has both historical and theological value. It will help the Church in Zambia to appreciate and understand the Declaration within its historical perspective. Additionally, while being very valuable for Evangelicals, this study’s significance goes beyond the Evangelical tradition. This study should also be valuable to Christians of various denominations. By analysing Church and state relations and the Declaration from an Evangelical perspective, this study provides insight into Evangelical political theology that proves valuable to Evangelicals and non-Evangelicals alike.

Theologically, this study will help contribute to the body of knowledge on Church and state relations in general and Church and state relations in Zambia, in particular.

This study has complementary and harmonising value. Specifically, we hope that this study will help illuminate and complement various other studies that have been conducted on the phenomenon.

This study is also politically relevant. Zambian Church and state relations have developed within a political context that affected and influenced the nature and practice of the Church’s political action. For example, by looking at how a single political act by a president can have such a theological and political consequence for both the Church and the state, this study’s Church and state approach are politically invaluable. Additionally, this study attempted to inform the Church of how it can effectively carry out God’s mission within a Christian nation.

This study focusses focuses on practical theology and has practical value. The practical framework includes specific objectives and clear steps designed for the benefit of Church leaders and politicians. Specifically, this study develops guidelines for the Evangelical Churches’ participation in national life and the Evangelical Churches’ relationship with the state that has declared itself Christian.

This study has value in that it is a study that focuses on African Traditional Religions and how they inform both the Evangelical theology and the Zambian understanding of the relationship between church and state. Further, by looking at the influence of ATR on Zambians, this study attempted to show just how Evangelical political praxis in Zambia has been influenced by ATR. This study is, therefore, a study of ATR as well as Evangelical political theology.

## Objective and Key Questions

The main objective of this study is to examine church-state relations in Zambia from an Evangelical perspective.

Because of all the theological and practical confusion surrounding an appropriate model of how the Evangelical Church ought to respond in a state that has declared itself to be a Christian nation, there is a need to examine and ask: ***How might an Evangelical perspective contribute to Church-state relations in Zambia?*** This question will be answered using Osmer's (2008) four tasks of practical theology as the methodology because it is the best suited to answer the research questions.

The four tasks or stages of practical theology as espoused by Osmer (2008) are as follows: (1) the descriptive-empirical task, (2) the interpretative task, (3) the normative task, and (4) the pragmatic task.

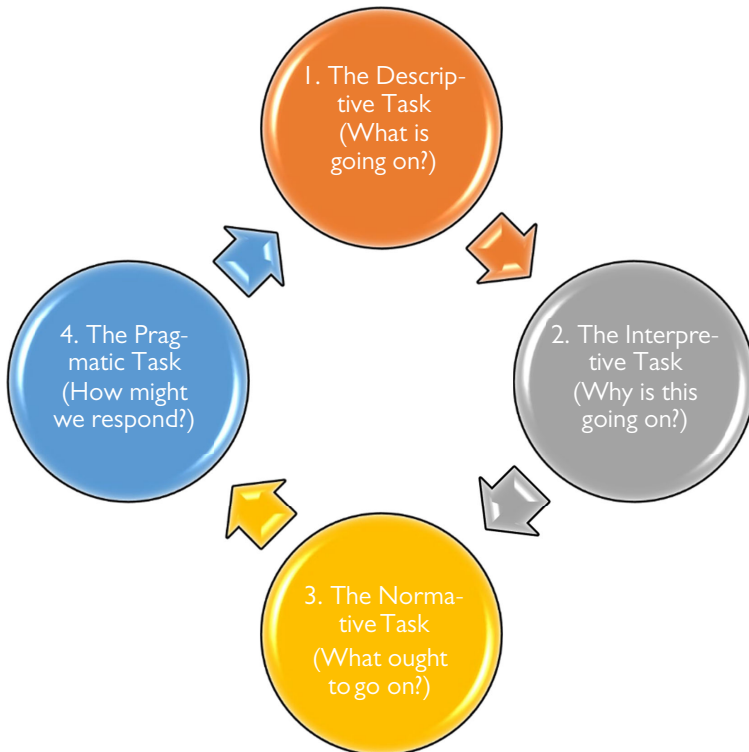


Figure 1: Osmer's (2008) Tasks of Practical Theology and Approach

The following subsidiary questions, which have been derived from Osmer's practical theology methodology (2008:4), will assist in answering the main question:

1. *What are the Views Regarding Church-State Relations in Zambia?*  
This first question answers Osmer's first question – what is going on?
2. *Does the history of religion and Church-state relations explain the status quo?*  
This second question answers Osmer's second question – why is this going on?
3. *What is the appropriate Biblical and theological foundation upon which the Zambian Evangelical Church should react to the Declaration?*  
This third question will answer Osmer's third question – what ought to go on?
4. *How might the Zambian Evangelical Church relate to a modern state which has declared itself a Christian?*  
This fourth question will answer Osmer's (2008) last question – how might we respond?

## **Research Design and Methods**

Research design simply refers to how a research study will be designed. This study will use qualitative research methods (Osmer 2008:5–4). Qualitative research is chosen because it can help us “gain understanding about some phenomenon” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008:319). This study is fundamentally guided by literature review only, which utilises “observations, videos, documents, drawings, diaries, memoirs, newspapers, biographies, historical documents, autobiographies, and other sources” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 27) to help address the research problem.

This qualitative study is primarily about telling the story of Church-state relations in Zambia from an African Evangelical perspective. According to Katongole (2011:2), Africans should begin employing their own “*stories and imagination*” to describe their historical, political, and religious experience. “Africans telling their own story about Christianity in Africa gives us their perspective rooted in their understanding of Christianity” (Turaki 2020:58). “Christian social ethics in Africa,” Katongole states, “must shift its exclusive focus on strategies for fixing the structures of democracy and development and get into the business of stories” (2011:3). Turaki (2020) cautions that the use of African stories must not be at the

end of the extreme ideological level. It must be more pragmatic and faithful to the Biblical story and the redemptive work of Christ.

The qualitative research method is employed chiefly because its more extraordinary richness and depth were more likely to present an accurate picture of people's experiences, perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about the Declaration's impact on Church-state relations.

The data for this study were gleaned from several research outlets such as libraries in Canada, United State, South Africa and Zambia and various research engines such as Google Scholar, Google Books, World-WideScience, Educational Resources Information Centre, ResearchGate, The Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE) and many others. Other sources consulted include Zambian and international newspapers, Christian magazines such as Christianity Today.

Further, this study shall use content analysis when analysing the data of the literature review. The content analysis helped with the analysis and interpretation of the contents of the documents and video materials. According to Neuman (2000: 292), content analysis is the appropriate technique for gathering and analysing the contents of texts, newspaper articles, books, historical documents, official documents, audios, and videos.

Since this study involves an analysis of the Biblical text, the research will provide a biblical analysis of key passages of Scripture that would help inform the Evangelical approach to Church and State relations. A biblical analysis shall make use of the various resources within the Libronix Digital Library System. Specifically, among various tools used include the *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains (DBL)*.

## **Research Approach and Theoretical Framework**

### **Practical Theology through the African Story**

Katongole (2011:3) mentions how "Christian social ethics must uncover the underlying stories of the key social institutions in Africa that affect both their performance and the types of characters they produce." In the context of this study, a description of the current political and religious climate is taken from the historical perspective that is responsible for the current situation. A description of the African situation: "... requires a different story that assumes the sacred value and dignity of Africa and Africans and is thus able to shape practices and policies, or new forms of politics, that reflect this sacredness and dignity" (Katongole 2011:21).

In keeping with this approach, this study endeavours to, as much as possible, cast Zambian political theology within the broader category of

narrative and story consistent with what Osmer (2008:4) discusses as drawing “on theories of the arts and sciences to understand better” patterns and dynamics. “Christians are invited to be a people of memory. Among other things, this means that to be a Christian is to be able to locate one’s life within the ongoing drama of God’s action in the world, through Israel and the Church” (Katongole 2005:23).

Given the power of the story, telling a story such as Church-state relations in Zambia requires an interdisciplinary approach that utilises story-telling, review of historical documents, and review of the literature. Therefore, the most appropriate form of this inter-disciplinary approach involves “practical theology.”

### **Practical and Public Theology**

According to Percy (2001:59), practical theology brings a “deliberate methodological syncretism that is concerned with making sense of the contemporary Church and culture.” In this study, this syncretism involves a multi-disciplinary approach drawing from theological, political, legal, and historical resources. All these disciplines should help us make sense of the contemporary Church and the culture. The culture, in this case, is the political and state culture.

Pattison (2007:19) states that practical theology is committed to “understanding the social, organisational and institutional forces that shape individual and communal lives.” A concept closely related to the idea of practical theology is political or public theology. According to Breitenberg (2010:5), as an academic discipline and as a branch of practical theology, public theology is:

Concerned with issues, institutions, interactions, and processes that are of importance and pertinence both to the Church or other religious communities and to the larger society, including those of the same religious tradition, those of other faiths, and those who claim no religious beliefs and maintain no formal religious ties (Breitenberg 2010:5).

For Heitink (1999:6), practical theology seeks to derive theories that mediate the Christian faith in modern society’s praxis through empirical study. Swinton and Mowat (2006:2) have defined practical theology as a “critical, theological reflection on the practices of the Church as they interact with the practices of the world, with a view to ensuring and enabling faithful participation in God’s redemption plan in, to and for the world.” Osmer and Schweitzer (2003:6) also noted the importance of practical theology as

it “strives to become involved with the social and political attempts of shaping the future of society.”

In this study’s context, therefore, there is the Christian tradition as expressed in the Evangelical Church in Zambia, on the one hand, and the challenge to the praxis of that Christian tradition. This Christian tradition is demonstrated by the country’s history of Church-state relations in general and, in particular, the 1991 Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation by the nation’s President.

Practical theology, therefore, seeks to answer the questions of how the practices of the Church (Evangelical political theology) interact with the practices of the world (Church and state relations in Zambia in general and specifically, former Chiluba’s Declaration), with a view of ensuring and enabling faithful participation of the Church in Church-state relations, vis-à-vis a nation that has declared itself Christian.

## **An Evangelical Hermeneutic**

Biblical analysis, however, should not be done in a vacuum. There is a particular hermeneutic that must guide its analysis. In the context of this study, the guiding political hermeneutic must comprise the following principles:

Firstly, an Evangelical political hermeneutic should postulate that the Bible is the inspired revelation. It is a supernatural book of confluent authorship, which is authoritative and true. It is the rule of faith and conduct. It is authoritative in its factuality, faithfulness, and completeness.

Secondly, the Bible is a spiritual document. Therefore, to discern the Scriptural truth properly, this study utilised the following principles adopted from Smith (2008):

1. Scripture must be interpreted literally.
2. Unless the text itself suggests a secondary meaning. The researcher limited the use of allegories.
3. No doctrine should be built simply on one Scripture but that there must be an analogy of faith. Every Scripture must be taken and understood within the standard of other Scriptures. The principle that Scripture interprets Scripture is in this regard very helpful.
4. The text must be understood within its context. Removing a text from its context does not reflect the contents of Biblical truth but an interpreter’s truth. Therefore, in order to remain faithful to the meaning of the text, context is inevitable.

This study adopted the above mentioned hermeneutic to guide the interpretation of the passages of Scripture studied. Since this study engages cross-disciplinary methods, the passages of Scriptures studied as part of the normative task are exploratory and are an overview.

## **Osmer's (2008) Tasks of Practical and Political Theology**

### *The Descriptive Task: What is Going On?*

The first task is *the descriptive task*. This task answers the question of “what is going on?”

This stage helps gather the information that discerns “patterns and dynamics in particular episodes, situations, or contexts” (Osmer 2008:4). In this study's framework, then, stage one describes and focuses on the present situation and the present state of Church-state relations in the Zambian context from an Evangelical perspective.

Nevertheless, since the present Church-state relations in Zambia can only be understood from its historical context, it is necessary to analyse it. Hence using Osmer's (2008) model, we must move to the interpretive stage.

### *The Interpretative Task: Why is This Going On?*

The interpretative task draws “on theories of the arts and sciences to better understand and explain why these patterns and dynamics are occurring” (Osmer 2008:4). Further, this stage should focus on the actual, observable state of some form of religious praxis in a particular social context (Osmer and Schweitzer (2003:2). In this study, the theories from arts and science involve a study that engages with ATR worldviews and a historical analysis of Church and state relations in Zambia, from the pre-colonial era to the present.

The interpretative task attempted to provide answers of how Church and state have related throughout Church history in general and the history of the church and state relations in Zambia. The major players of such a history are western civilization and Christendom. This historical analysis is prudent if we are to evaluate Church-state relations.

Additionally, the historical question should try to answer the question of whether current issues facing Church-state relations in Zambia do have any historical parallel. Indeed, while history is a great teacher, it must be acknowledged that it is not always fair (Sartre 2006:114). However, by looking at how Church-state relations have been conducted throughout history, we may garner the lessons that may be pertinent to Church-state relations in Zambia today.



### *The Normative Task: What Ought to Go On?*

The third stage's concern, the normative stage, is to ask the question: what ought to go on? This stage seeks to interpret both the Biblical and the theological tradition to discover the preferred scenario (Osmer 2008). Additionally, it attempts to present a critical reflection on the Church's practices, considering Scripture and tradition. The Biblical and the theological factors have to do with what principles could be drawn from pertinent Scriptures of what should constitute an appropriate relationship between Church and the state. The theological factors should evaluate how Christian theology has looked at Church and state relations.

### *The Pragmatic Task: How Might We Respond?*

The fourth task/stage is the *pragmatic stage*. At this stage, the following question is asked: "how might we respond?". This stage, as it will be shown in this study, focuses on "the development of the rules of the art" (Osmer 2008). These are open-ended guidelines that can assist those who are leading or participating in a particular form of religious praxis (Osmer 2008). That the world has now become a global village is a given fact. A study of this nature while being local and contextual should also be situated within the global village.

In this regard, Budziszewski (2006:18–19), has observed that an adequate Evangelical political theory will include at least three elements, an orienting doctrine, a practical doctrine, and a cultural apologetic:

1. *An orienting doctrine*, or a guide of thought, explaining the place of government in the world as a whole;
2. *a practical doctrine*, or a guide to action, explaining in broad but practical terms how Christians should conduct themselves in the civic realm; and,
3. *a cultural apologetic*, or a guide to persuasion, explaining how to go about making the specific proposals of those who do share the other two elements plausible to those who do not.

In addition to the three elements, the practical suggestions will take the form of a concise statement of the Evangelical Church's response to the state encompassing the following elements proposed by Gray (1990): (1) the Church's role in legitimating the state, (2) the Church's role in providing checks and balances, and (3) the Church's role in aiding a revolution against the political establishment that is undesirable (Gray 1990).

## Research Structure

This study's main objective is to examine Church-State relations in Zambia from an Evangelical perspective using Osmer's (2008:4) practical theology research method. This study is divided into nine chapters structured around the following subsidiary questions:

### **What are the Views Regarding Church-State Relations in Zambia?**

Specifically, chapters two and three seek to answer Osmer's (2008) first question, "what is going on?" (The descriptive-empirical task). The addressed subsidiary question is: *What are the views regarding Church-state relations in Zambia?*

### **Does the History of Religion and Church-State Relations Explain the Status Quo?**

Chapters four, five and six, seek to answer Osmer's second question of why this is going on (interpretative task). The addressed subsidiary question is *"does the history of religion, and Church-state relations explain the status quo?"*

Chapter four situates ATR as the background from which Evangelicals get their perspective of church and state relations in Zambia. Chapter five and six explain the history of church and state relations in Zambia and present it as the "why" of the current church-state relations.

Capon (1968:180) is instructive when emphasising the importance of history and historical theology, wrote: "no age is safe until it knows its roots in all other ages." Therefore, this study should first begin with a historical analysis of Zambia's Church-state relations from pre-colonial times to the present. A historical sketch is necessary for several reasons. It is necessary for contextual necessity. It would be futile to critically engage in Church-state relations issues in Zambia exclusive of its historical context. The *contextual* analysis attempts to address the Church-state relations within Zambia's historical setting, cultural milieu and social context. Furthermore, context is necessary since much of Church-state relations have taken place within a particular setting of both the institutional Church and state. Hessel (1993:11) has rightly stated, "Contextual ethical reflection requires theological reflection linked with a social analysis that would grasp the common meanings of our lives."

Villa-Vicencio (1992:275) argues that "for theology to be contextually grounded, it must emerge from, and concerning, the actual, prevailing

situation which it seeks to address.” As such, a study of this nature should consider the reality that Zambia is a young nation whose Church-state relations may not be as complicated or as intricate as that of Europe or the USA but has nevertheless taken place within a particular context of both time and space (Gamwell 2005:1; and Gaustad 2003). Every country is different from another, and as such, a contextual analysis is necessary if Church-state relations in Zambia are to be given a fair analysis.

### **What is the Appropriate Biblical and Theological Foundation Upon Which the Zambian Evangelical Church Should React to the Declaration?**

Chapter seven seeks to answer Osmer’s (2008) third question: what ought to go on – (the normative task). It is the focus of chapter seven, which engages the Biblical resources of how the Zambian Evangelical Church can respond to the state that has declared itself Christian.

The subsidiary question addressed in chapter seven is: What is the appropriate Biblical and theological foundation upon which the Zambian Evangelical Church should react to the Declaration?

### **How Might the Zambian Evangelical Church, Relate to a Modern State Which has Declared Itself Christian?**

Chapter eight seeks to answer Osmer’s (2008) fourth question: How can we respond? This task is also known as the “pragmatic response”. The subsidiary question addressed in chapter eight is: *How might the Zambian Evangelical Church relate to the state which has declared itself to be Christian?*

Chapter nine will then recap this dissertation, conclude it and summarise it.

## **Chapters**

### **Chapter One: Introduction and Methodology**

The introduction deals with the background to the problem, statement of the problem, the aims of this study, the methodology to be used, and the data analysis and evaluation criteria.

## **Chapter Two: Church-State Relations and Zambian Evangelicals**

Through the means of literature study, this chapter shall evaluate the current understanding of church and state relations in Zambia from the point of view of Evangelical Churches.

## **Chapter Three: Church and State in African Scholarship**

This chapter is a review of the literature presenting the various models of understanding the Church's relationship with the state. It is concerned with examining the academic tradition that should inform a study of this nature. The chapter provides a review of both theological and ecclesiastical models of Church and state.

## **Chapter Four: Church and State in ATR Worldviews**

The interpretive task in Osmer's (2008) practical theology methodology seeks to use theories from arts and sciences to understand why something is happening. In the context of this study, the Evangelical responses to the Zambian state are inspired by ATR worldviews. To interpret the Evangelical response, it is essential to look at it from the perspective of ATR worldviews. Therefore, it is the focus of Chapter four to highlight and discuss ATR as it relates to how religion and politics intersect.

## **Chapter Five: Church and State: Pre-Colonial Era to the Kaunda Era**

Chapter five deals with the pre-colonial era to the Kaunda era.

In keeping with this study's thesis, a historical analysis of pertinent issues in Zambian Church-state relations should begin from an analysis of pre-colonial and pre-Christian formulations. It is only after the history is studied from the perspective of pre-colonialism that the accurate picture emerges. A discussion of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and its impact on Church and state relations has to begin from historical sources.

## **Chapter Six: Church and State: the Chiluba and Post-Chiluba Eras**

This chapter shall also present, through a literature study, historical, religious, and political factors leading to the Declaration of Zambia as a

Christian nation. Both primary and secondary data shall be used in this chapter. Primary data shall be taken from government documents and Church policy statements that are relevant to the Church-state relationship in Zambia.

## **Chapter Seven: Church and State in the Bible**

This chapter shall present a Biblical exposition of Church and state from passages taken from both the New and Old Testament. A Biblical analysis will involve searching the Scriptures to find an appropriate Biblical model of the Church-state relationship. This inquiry of relevant Biblical passages will include a description of the survey of the relationship between the Church and state as it appears in both the Old and the New Testament. Additionally, a study of relevant passages from Scripture that impact the understanding of Church-state relations shall be conducted.

Former president Chiluba appealed to Scripture in the Declaration. Those who oppose Chiluba's declaration appeal to Scripture and accuse former president Chiluba of misinterpreting the Bible when declaring Zambia, a Christian nation. Consequently, this chapter will cover Old Testament and New Testament books and passages: the Pentateuch, Judges, Psalms, Historical and Prophetic books, some sections of the Gospels, and finally some sections of the letter to Romans, Pastoral Epistles and Petrine corpus.

In addition, if it is justified answering this question will help put the Declaration within a Biblical context. A Biblical analysis is also necessary to discover the biblical model of what should constitute a healthy relationship between Church and state. There is no better guide to how the Church in Zambia should relate to the state than appealing to the Bible itself.

## **Chapter Eight: Evangelical Political Theology: a Framework**

This chapter will summarise the research and make suggestions for the Evangelical Church in Zambia. It proposes constructing a conceptual framework for understanding how the Church and state should relate to each other.

The proposed conceptual framework shall encompass at least three elements: the state's attitude towards the Church, the attitude of the Church towards the state, and the policy of harmony or conflict between them (Sanders 1964:2). Specifically, this chapter will include at least three elements: an orienting doctrine, a practical doctrine, and a cultural apologetic (Budziszewski 2006:18-19).

## **Chapter Nine: Conclusion and Summary**

The last chapter of this study is the conclusion and summary. It will recap the thesis and summarise its contents and principal findings.

# Church-State Relations and **Zambian Evangelicals**

## Introduction

This chapter answers Osmer's (2008) first question, "what is going on?" by asking:

*What are the Views Regarding Church-State Relations in Zambia?*

This chapter utilises the literature review and presents specific ways in which the **Zambian Evangelical Church** reacted to the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and how Zambia's Evangelicals relate to the Zambian state.

## Evangelicals and Church-State Relations in Zambia

Cheyeka (2002), Freston (2005), Gifford (1998), Kaunda (2018), Njovu (2002), Phiri (1996; 1998; 1999; 2001), and Phiri (2003) have all adequately documented Evangelical reactions to Former President Chiluba's Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. What remains for us in this section is to analyse those reactions and evaluate their merits and demerits. Consequently, this study will rely upon these works in evaluating the Evangelical reaction to the declaration and practical and theological difficulties Evangelicals faced when dealing with a Christian nation. Only after these difficulties are identified will an adequate practical proposal be made in the subsequent chapters.

While it is members of the Evangelical Church who were the most vocal in advocating for the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation as noted by Njovu (2002), the reasons given for this gesture were neither appropriately articulated nor did Evangelicals offer clear apologetics of their public theology. Consequently, when the Declaration materialised, the Evangelical Church was lamentably unprepared for what the Christian state meant for them and their Christian mission.

Caught unprepared, the Declaration exposed the Evangelical Church's lack of theological depth and practical incapability to deal with a government that claims to be deeply rooted in Christian values.

## The Christian Nation Declaration in Discourse

While the subjects of “Church and State in Zambia,” in general, and “the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation,” in particular, are still in their infancy as academic subjects, they have received attention from academicians, civil society, church leaders and the general populace at large (Kangwa 2017: 174).

Banda (2003), Cheyeka (2002), and Njovu (2002) have argued that the Declaration lacked both Biblical basis and theological foundation. Specifically, Cheyeka has concluded that the Declaration was heresy and was discriminatory towards non-Christians (Cheyeka 2002).

Phiri’s (2003) study on the Declaration has highlighted just how Chiluba failed to live up to the very tenets he sought to espouse through the Declaration. Phiri (2003) has also underscored how the Declaration has been inconsistent, as a unilateral (and therefore undemocratic) act of the president, with his commitment to democracy and democratic values. Phiri (1999) posited that the Declaration was no more than a Christian president’s faith that he sought to project upon the entire nation to address this problem. In contrast, when analysing the declaration from a Hindu perspective, Seshamani (2000) noted that the Declaration was not necessarily inconsistent with Hinduism and, therefore, was not a direct threat to the Hindu religion.

Kaunda (2018) recognised the role of Pentecostalism as a faith and as a movement in national political thinking. This thinking is deeply rooted in ATR worldviews and Pentecostal praxis. The Declaration, therefore, must be understood as a fulfilment of longstanding and long-held beliefs among Zambians in general, as well as among the vocal sections of the Evangelical groups of Pentecostals.

All these works outlined above have studied, to some extent, the phenomena of Church and state relations in Zambia and the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Njovu’s (2002) explorative study addressed the Declaration’s religious implications and recommended further study on the subject. Banda (2003) equally addressed the Declaration’s issue from the Roman Catholic Church’s perspective (RCC) and proposed a more comprehensive policy framework for the implementation of Church-state relations in Zambia. That said, Banda’s recommendations were mainly focused on the Roman Catholic Church. However, several gaps are noticeable in the current scholarship on Church and state relations in Zambia and the Declaration.

First, Njovu’s (2002) study did not consider Evangelical Theology or input at all, dealing mainly with non-Evangelicals. As an example, only one of the people he interviewed for his study was Evangelical.



Second, Banda (2003) studied the Church and state relations from a Roman Catholic perspective and did not take any Evangelical perspectives on the Church and state and the Declaration in his analysis. Banda was dismissive of Evangelical views on this phenomenon. Apart from the missing Evangelical dimension in the previous study on Zambian church and state relations and the Declaration, recent developments in Zambia's church-state relations require further analysis.

Third, all these studies (Cheyeka's, Njovu's, Kaunda's and Banda's) have neglected the state's essential part in their findings. For instance, they have dwelt too much on how Chiluba's government (The Executive Branch) interacted with the Church and religion but have neglected to mention how the judiciary interpreted the Declaration and religious freedom in Zambia. This anomaly has tended to evaluate the impact of Church and state relations only from the Executive's viewpoint without emphasizing the judiciary's views.

Therefore, this study seeks to address Church and state relations in Zambia, in general, and the Declaration by building on the studies of Banda (2003) and Njovu (2002) and including an Evangelical perspective, which is noticeably lacking in both Banda and Njovu's analyses. Indeed, an Evangelical perspective to the Declaration is necessary since the president who made the initial declaration is himself an Evangelical, and the Declaration itself has received the most significant support from Evangelical Church leaders. Additionally, this study seeks to complement those of Banda and Njovu by accounting for newer developments, both in the Zambian state and in the Church, from the time Njovu and Banda did their studies.

## **The Bible and the Biblical Motifs**

### **The Bible as an Evangelical Doctrinal Distinctive**

According to Budziszewski (2006:20), a distinctive feature of Evangelical Theology hinges on the Bible. Although presumably, all Christians believe in the Bible, Evangelicals surpass all other traditional Christians in their commitment and determination to read it, study it, and follow it. As such, while Evangelical theology has lagged in other Christian thought fields, such as systematic theology and political theology, it has nevertheless excelled in Biblical exegesis (Budziszewski 2006:20). Evangelicals look to the Bible as the rule of faith and conduct and as the primary textbook for an adequate political theology.

In Zambia, the Bible has been used in public life and private life in a very fundamentalist manner. Notably, the legalistic use of the Bible in the

context of Zambia is not limited to the Evangelicals alone. Almost all denominations in Zambia look to the Bible to explain their religious and practical life (Adamo 2010: 26).

Jenkins (2006) discusses how the Bible has played a massive role in African politics in general and, by extension, in Zambian politics. Nevertheless, such an approach to the Bible is not unique to Africa or even to Zambia alone. Toulouse (2006:60) affirmed the almost universal belief in the Bible when he noted that Americans, just like Zambians, “hold superstitious, quasi-religious reverence for the Bible that has little to do with any real knowledge of its contents.”

### **Biblical Motif in Zambian Politics**

Biblical motifs and imagery have been used in Zambian political discourse, from Zambian independence to the present. As stated by Adamo (2010:26), African Christians – both in politics and generally – “see themselves in the Bible.”

#### *Moses*

The *first* motif used is that of “Moses.” In 1964, at Zambia’s independence from Great Britain, Biblical motifs were used to describe Kaunda as Zambia’s new leader. At the turn of the new political dispensation in 1991, the same use of Biblical imagery was applied to Chiluba, the man who, at that time, was campaigning to take over leadership from Kaunda. Cheyeka (2002:179) noted that “right from the start, in 1991, Chiluba likened himself to the Biblical Moses”. At the *Kasanda Malombe* rally in Kabwe, Chiluba claimed he was leading Zambians out of Egypt. He saw himself “as a messiah, prophet, and king” (Cheyeka 2002). Additionally, many Christians and non-Christians alike cast Chiluba as a Moses coming to take Zambia out of Egypt – out of Pharaoh’s oppression.

#### *Egypt and Canaan*

The second Bible-based theme used in Zambian political discourse is that of Egypt and Canaan. This motif was used to describe Zambia’s transformation from a one-party participatory democracy to a multi-party democracy. In this case, then, religion in general and, specifically, Christianity was used almost on a mythical basis as a narrative of Zambia’s emergence from the one-party dictatorship.

Little described the resulting situation very well, apart from the use of Biblical and religious imagery that most Zambians associate with. The consequence of this motif is that it created, in the mind of Chiluba and other leaders, the image that Zambia was symbolically Biblical Israel. This “Israel” symbol especially received much attention during Chiluba’s presidency and shortly after his presidency. This motif will be developed further in the chapter.

### *Joshua*

The third motif that has been used widely in Zambian politics is the one that cast Chiluba as not only a Moses but also a Joshua, leading Zambians into the Promised Land. Taking Kaunda as a Moses, some took Chiluba as a Joshua who should now lead the people into the Promised Land. This Promised Land was going to be a land of both spiritual and material prosperity.

Regarding the Declaration, Former President Frederick Chiluba relied on the story of Joshua to justify it. He proclaimed that the Declaration is just like the statement Joshua made, “choose today whom you shall serve but for my house and me, we shall serve the Lord” (Chiluba 1992). All this use of Biblical imagery confirms the researcher’s thesis that the use of religious and Biblical imagery is very prominent among Zambians – be it politicians or ordinary Zambians.

*“The Hour Has Come”.*

The fourth motif comes from The Gospel of St. Matthew 26:45. From this verse, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, the party formed in 1990 to rally democratic forces against Kaunda, derived its party motto, “The Hour has come”. According to Phiri (1999:341), “Chiluba responded to the Church’s support by beginning his campaign rallied with prayers and Bible readings” and “his speeches carried many Biblical references”.

### *David and Goliath*

Fifthly, the David versus Goliath motif also found its way into Zambian political discourse. During the 1991 epic political struggle between Kaunda and Chiluba, Chiluba was widely characterised as a David fighting against Goliath (Smith 1998:153). Indeed, taking the heights of the two men facing each other, Chiluba at just four feet tall, was a diminutive figure to Kaunda’s 6 feet height. The Bible, again, was used to provide a narrative for politics.

### *The Covenant*

The sixth motif – the Biblical covenant motif – deserves more paragraphs than space here would allow. As such, it is dealt with in detail elsewhere. Suffice it here to mention that it was a powerful motif used by Chiluba to justify the Declaration. In fact, the covenant motif has been used by many Evangelicals concerning the special place that Zambia has before God as a Christian nation.

Former President Frederick Chiluba used the Bible precisely in the text of his speech when he declared Zambia a Christian nation. Chiluba said, “The Bible abounds with proof.” His approach to the Bible here assumes that the Bible does make definitive statements that should prove how the Christian and the nation could be governed. Chiluba approached the Bible with a very fundamentalist perspective.

Covenant is an element that expresses the Evangelical Church’s inadequate theological and social ethic concerns [of] their covenantal interpretation of Scripture (Kaunda 2018:109; O’Donovan and O’Donovan 2004:285). Zambian Evangelicals view the Church and God in covenantal terms. That is, “they declare the mercy and grace of a covenant-keeping God who gives a second chance to the continent” (Kalu 2008:215). As such, they see the Declaration as a way of the national leadership, on behalf of the nation, covenanting with God. Chiluba himself cast the Declaration in this terminology: it was a covenant he had entered with God on behalf of the nation.

In 2008, almost seven years after leaving office, former President Chiluba still believed that the Declaration was a covenant he made with God. Speaking to Christians at his residence on June 7, 2008, Chiluba stated:

The moment I stood by that pillar in 1991 and I said this country is your country oh Lord, we bring ourselves to you God and every piece of this soil belongs to you, that day we entered into a covenant with the living God... God honours the covenant; God has never nullified that covenant (The Post Newspapers June 7, 2008).

In Zambia, the use of covenantal language in explaining the relationship between church and state or between the people and God is not only found in the Bible and does not belong in the Bible times alone, but it is something that is experienced now. This likely has some foundation in extra-Biblical resources such as the ATR worldview, which takes life and society as existing in some form of a covenant with a divine being. Evangelicals see the Church as an agent of change and renewal in the nation. As a result, the Declaration is seen as a tool that can be used to “guide the country on governance” (Makangila 2008).

The assumption that the Biblical pattern of covenant represents the divine blueprint for all political authority is inadequate to help Evangelicals garner an adequate theory of how they can relate to the State in the Zambian context. According to Budziszewski (2006), this assumption has several weaknesses.

Firstly, it is unwarranted. While a covenant provides a pattern for individual institutions such as marriage, it cannot be deduced that such a covenant provides a pattern for civic and governmental institutions.

Secondly, the divine covenant between Israel and her civic institutions and Yahweh does not create a normative pattern in which a modern nation may covenant with Yahweh according to the Israelite model.

Nowhere does Scripture teach that God covenants with another nation in the way he covenanted with Israel, nor does it ever suggest that the relationship between each government and its subjects is intrinsically based on a covenant or that it must be based on a covenant (Budziszewski 2006:29).

## **Evangelical Distinctives and Church and State in Zambia**

Since the Declaration is perhaps the most significant event underlying Church and state relations in Zambia, it forms the essential backdrop of this study's analysis. As such, the Evangelical Church's reaction to the Declaration is an integral part of this study. In fact, former President Chiluba received the most incredible support over the Declaration from Evangelicals in general. However, most notably from Evangelicals and as a result, former President Chiluba openly favoured them. Such open favour, especially towards Pentecostals, has led to criticism that Chiluba's Declaration "opened the road to Pentecostal naivety in politics" (Kalu 2008:198).

However, to do justice to the theme of how the Evangelicals reacted to the Declaration, it would be essential to discuss, firstly, the distinctives that mark the Evangelical community in Zambia. Like Evangelicals worldwide, it is not easy to define Zambian Evangelicals because the Evangelical movement in Zambia, and elsewhere, is not a single Church, sect, or denomination with a clearly defined membership list (Shah 2009:115; Butler and Zuber 2008:68, 69). Instead, it is a movement whose defining characteristic insists that authentic Christianity requires more than just ecclesial membership.

Nevertheless, this study's reference to Evangelical theology assumes the existence of a theological tradition and philosophy which can, in some

way, be described as Evangelical (De Chirico 2003:27). However, as De Chirico (2003:27) has aptly stated, Evangelical theology cannot be referred to as a given which is self-evident, nor can the expression simply be asserted. What Evangelicals believe is typically what other Christians believe. These historic Christian beliefs include the Trinity; creation, the fall and redemption; the incarnation of God the Son, Jesus Christ; Christ's atoning sacrifice and resurrection; the necessity of personal and communal faith; and the life of the world to come.

### **The Priesthood of all Believers**

Whereas Catholics bestow "ecclesiastical" powers in their Bishops and their Pope, Evangelicals do not have such a hierarchy. In fact, leadership is so fluid among Zambian Evangelicals that anyone who feels "called" by God can go ahead, form a faction, and start his Church. Among Pentecostals, for example, the Spirit speaks to everyone and can speak to anyone (Kaunda 2018). Therefore, they would have no problem with Chiluba's Declaration since he could make a legitimate prophetic statement regarding the nation by declaring it Christian. In this regard, then, Chiluba needed no hierarchy or consultation to dedicate the nation to God and declare it Christian. Chiluba could have functioned as a prophet and priest in his own right.

### **Yahweh as Sovereign Ruler**

Evangelicals presuppose a "vision of a theocracy, where Yahweh rules" (Kalu 2008:221). And as such, human rights do not take precedence over God's precepts. So, in discussing whether the Declaration did violate human rights or not, Evangelicals would rather be more concerned about whether the Declaration violated God's will in the world. As far as Evangelicals are concerned, the Declaration has not necessarily violated human rights, which in any case should be subordinated to the interests of God.

### **Universality of Evangelism**

Zambian Evangelicals see providence in the Declaration as a call of the Zambian Church to worldwide mission. Subsequently, the character of the Zambian Evangelicals' mission is that it is cast as a calling to take the gospel to other non-Christian nations. In this regard, Zambia, a Christian nation, is the springboard upon which this called nation can reach out to the rest of the world.

Additionally, Evangelicals in Zambia are wary of the spread of Islam, and they see the Declaration as a way God has provided to avert its spread. In fact, two prominent Evangelical leaders were the earliest to moot the idea of declaring Zambia a Christian Nation during the waning years of Kaunda's presidency but before Chiluba became president.

Reverend Joe Imakando submitted to the 1990 Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) that Zambia should be declared a Christian Nation. And Dr. Nevers Mumba supported this submission and asserted that Zambia needed to be declared a Christian Nation to forestall the country's Islamic takeover (Njovu 2002).

### **The Blessing of Providence**

Many supporters of the Declaration have argued that since Zambia has been declared a Christian nation, it will be blessed. Such a perspective has several origins. First, it originates from within the traditional African worldview, which believes in "blessing". This blessing may take several forms, but somehow it is believed that religion confers invisible blessings. This worldview also believes that the spiritual world is real and, therefore, what happens in this spiritual world has an impact on what occurs in the physical world. Usually, it is believed that invisible spirits are typically responsible for misfortunes in people and in nations.

This mindset led to most Zambians, believing that Kaunda's visible affinity for Eastern Mysticism may have been responsible for Zambia's economic misfortunes (Kaunda 2018). There was, therefore, a strong connection between Zambia's economic misfortunes and what happens in the "spiritual world."

The Evangelical worldview found this ATR worldview very fertile and implanted into this worldview Christian terms and rhetoric. Broadly, Evangelicals came to understand the fight against Kaunda's regime as a fight against spiritual evil. Once this spiritual evil is eliminated, a spiritual blessing will be assured and lead to Zambia's prosperity. However, this was not just restricted to Evangelicals. By anointing Chiluba with oil and charging him to lead according to God's law, Lusaka's Anglican Bishop demonstrated this worldview.

From the history presented hereto, the Declaration cannot be confined to the Evangelical Churches alone. Even though the Evangelicals and the Pentecostals were the most vocal supporters of the Declaration, it touched on all Christians in Zambia.

Christian rulers in western civilization saw their responsibility for public justice as extending to the public duty of rendering to God the worship

of thankful, humble, obedient, and contrite hearts owing to him (O'Donovan and O'Donovan 2004:285). In the context of Zambia, Former President Chiluba looked at himself as a Biblical Josiah who should return the nation to the worship of God. The speech in which he declared Zambia a Christian nation was entitled, '*A Speech from the Pillar*' – taking it from the reforms of Josiah.

Consequently, under Levy Mwanawasa's presidency, Chiluba's successor, Mwanawasa, on several occasions, called upon the Church to institute a National Day of Prayer and thanksgiving. As such, the public acknowledgement of God was limited to an overtly Evangelical Chiluba. Chiluba saw himself as a leader who had the responsibility to show the nation God's ways. He justified his invitation of various Evangelists from the United States of America by claiming that "Zambia needs proper healing by bringing in servants of God to liberate it from sin" (Cheyeka 2002:170).

By renouncing witchcraft and idols, former President Chiluba played to the popular sentiments within the Christian Evangelical circles that evil spirits had taken over the nation during Kaunda's reign. Some even suggested that Kaunda had made a covenant with the devil to destroy Zambia. Kaunda's affinity for Eastern Mysticism, which he brought to clear visibility towards the end of his presidency, only helped legitimise these rumours. In their research, Phiri (2003, 2008) mentions that some security personnel at State House during Kaunda's regime reported how they would leave the gates open at midnight so that a mythical demon could be allowed access.

### **The State of Israel as a Model for Zambia**

Zambian Evangelicals, both in the government and outside government, have interpreted Zambia's nationhood as a symbolic Israel. In this symbolism, Israel's present nation should be "blessed just as the Bible says that he who blesses Israel shall also be blessed". According to O'Donovan (2004:284), Israel's model played a leading role in the contemporary understanding and formation of nations, especially in Western civilization. Examples abound historically: beginning from the Ostrogothic or the Burgundian kingdoms, to the Germanic or Roman Imperial, to the modern European nations such as Germany, Britain, and France. In the Israel model, "Christian rulers knew that their territorial kingdoms and their people's prosperity were, not only, given by God but were removable by him in the event of their own and their subjects' rebellion against the manifest will" (2004:285). Additionally, in the Israel model, political rulers "cast themselves and were cast in



the roles of Israelite rulers as they carried out their responsibilities of judging, legislating, and waging war” (2004:284).

This Israel model also fits in very well with the traditional African mindset which is predominantly religious, and attributes national and communal prosperity to the gods. Once Zambia had become predominantly Christian, a religious model for nationhood came to be founded on Israel. This concept of Zambia as an Israel was more pronounced under Chiluba’s Christian nation. Therefore, a combination of both a Christian and an ATR background may have played a role in president Chiluba’s concept of a Christian nation. Modelling a contemporary nation on Israel is always a perilous theological route, however. This is because such an understanding reveals an ever-present temptation “to so identify with God’s *one elect nation* as to deny the absolute historical uniqueness and universal representativeness of Israel’s political vocation” (O’Donovan and O’Donovan 2004:285).

Israel, as a model of nationhood, has failed lamentably in the western tradition. O’Donovan (2004:285) has cited several reasons why. Firstly, this concept led to destructive political ends, such as the Holy War, theocratic legalism, and Messianism. Secondly, and consequently, the so-called Christian nations refused to be Christian as they refused to follow through with the pattern of Christ. They refused to follow Israel into exile, and they refused the confrontation of Christ’s rule of righteousness and love.

In Zambia’s context, the concept that Zambia’s nationhood parallels that of Israel has equally been problematic theologically. The Zambian Evangelicals have predominantly promoted this concept. Chiluba himself conceptualised Zambia in that manner. The concept of Zambia as Israel is even heard in selected popular Christian songs.

The assumption from the text of the Declaration itself was a radical identification of Israel as a nation in the Bible with Zambia’s nation. When Chiluba said, “The Bible abounds with proof that a nation is blessed once it enters a covenant with God,” Chiluba meant Biblical Israel since Israel is the only nation that would be said to have benefited from a covenant with Yahweh in the Bible. In this case, then, Chiluba believed that somehow, mythically, a modern nation that enters a covenant with God would be blessed just as ancient Israel was blessed. Additionally, by explicitly referring to his speech as ‘*A Speech from the Pillar*’, mirroring the story of Josiah, Chiluba was making a clear identification of himself as the leader with the roles that a king of Biblical Israel would play in the nation.

The use of the Biblical nation of Israel as a model for a modern-day state such as Zambia is a serious theological anomaly in Zambian Evangelicals’ doctrine – both in the government and in the Church. In some cases,

Evangelicals in Zambia have proposed to adopt the ancient Israeli code as the blueprint for all civil law in Zambia.

This assumption is wrong, for several reasons, as presented by Budziszewski (2006:28). Firstly, this assumption ignores the fact that the law of Israel was given expressly to Israel. Secondly, the Old Testament code itself did not fully express God's moral intentions even for ancient Israel. Matthew 19:8 adequately depicts certain things, such as divorce, were permitted under the Old Testament code due to human hearts' sinfulness, even if they did not adequately express God's moral intention. Thirdly, the Old Testament does not universalise the details of some of its commands. For example, while the underlying principle of social assistance can be found in the law to leave the corners of the fields for the poor to glean, this law cannot be applied to all situations and contexts.

Evangelicals in the Zambian government and, indeed, in the Church cannot rely on the Israel model to adequately express a Biblical or more theologically balanced Church and state theory. If the Evangelical Church is to understand how it can relate to a nation that has declared itself Christian, it would be necessary to move beyond the use of Israel as a model.

### **The Anointing, Leadership, and the Christian Nation**

Some Evangelical Christians from the Pentecostal circles interpreted Chiluba's anointing at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross when he became president to have been a very significant event. According to Phiri (2008), some Pentecostals believed that "because the president is the anointed one of God, nobody has the right to question or disagree with him. They believe the opposition represents the devil because they resist the will of God's chosen leader" (Phiri 2008:102). As an anointed leader over Zambia, the Evangelical Church's belief that Chiluba should not be criticised simply shows underdevelopment of their theology and of their social ethic of power and political process.

### **Government Theocracy**

Evangelicals demonstrated a lack of theological depth when they advocated for a "Bible-based, clergy-based" Christian government in one of the several meetings they held with Chiluba's government leaders. Both Gifford (1998) and Phiri (2008:105) formulated the report of a meeting between the government and some Evangelical Church representatives in 1995. This meeting was called to, among other things, discuss the direction of the Christian nation. At this meeting, "the Church representatives said

they expected that all political leaders would subsequently be drawn from the Church and that the Church and state would be partners in running the government” (Phiri 2008:105).

Additionally, according to Gifford (1998:217), Bishop John Mambo, an overseer of the Church of God, specifically, surmised that the president of a Christian nation should appoint Christian clergy to parliament and that his closest advisors should be Christian leaders. Evangelicals, in general, and Pentecostals, in particular, affirm the rule of believers as essential for the recovery of the nation (Kalu 2008:219). Moreover, in keeping with the precedence of ATR, Zambian Evangelicals do not differentiate between the sacred and the secular and between the religion and what is outside of the religious sphere. Their theology is inspired by the OT motif of “possessing the land.” This means that they have been called as believers by God to permeate all the levels of society to influence those structures for God. To possess the land means that believers, indeed the Church, take an interest in economics, science, and, consequently, politics. This ideology was the underlying factor behind several Evangelical pastors serving both as clergy and as government ministers at the same time. Among these Charismatic clerics are Pastor Daniel ‘Danny’ Pule, Reverend Peter Chintala, Reverend Stan Kristafor, Reverend Anosh Chipawa, and Bishop Kaunda Lembalemba (Cheyeka 2008:157).

For a long time, Evangelicals had been overshadowed politically by their non-Evangelical counterparts. The Catholics, ZEC, and the CCZ had long been the leading political players compared to their EFZ contemporaries. The EFZ, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, became more politically outspoken towards the end of Kaunda’s era and at the beginning of Chiluba’s era. The Evangelical political activism started to grow with the appointment of Reverend Joseph Imakando as the Executive Director of the EFZ in 1987.

It has already been shown that Reverend Imakando and his counterpart, Nevers Mumba, were among the first Evangelical leaders to publicly advocate for the Declaration towards the end of Kaunda’s presidency. It was Chiluba who, however, acted according to their wishes and declared Zambia a Christian nation. Consequently, the Declaration impacted Evangelicals’ participation in politics.

## **Chiluba’s Evangelical Vision for the Nation**

Former president Chiluba sought to radically transform Zambia from a socialist, one-party authoritarian state to a free-market, democratic, and God-fearing nation (Jefferson 2002:76). However, Christian Churches were

divided over the extent to which Chiluba's government was truly representative of Zambians and whether the government was as interested in fundamental democratic freedoms as it proclaimed (Jefferson 2002:78; Kanda 2018).

After the Declaration, some Evangelical pastors felt that it was incumbent upon them, as representatives of the Christian Nation, to evangelize in other parts of Africa. Several pastors left Zambia to go and start Churches in neighbouring countries such as Botswana, Swaziland, and Namibia. The Christian nation had to start taking the gospel of Christ to other nations. One such envoy of the gospel is the Reverend Margaret Mwale, the Founder and Senior Pastor of Christ Faith Impact Ministries based in Windhoek, Namibia. She led this Church for many years, spearheading its expansion into Angola, Namibia, and Zambia. Reverend Mwale has since passed away – she died in January 2021 in the Zambian town of Mufulira. The ministry has been left in the hands of her children.

## Conclusion

Zambian Evangelicals, including the PCCs, were primarily euphoric when former President Chiluba declared Zambia a Christian Nation. Many reasons could be advanced for the Evangelicals' favourable response to the Declaration. In the preceding sections, this study has shown the Evangelicals' rebuttal against those that were opposed to the Declaration. However, this study's thesis is that the Evangelical Church's reaction and reasons for the Declaration's support are inadequate for them to hold and promote a healthy view of the relationship between Church and state. The Zambian Evangelicals' blind support and loyalty to a Head of State, simply because he was an Evangelical Christian, brought about many questions of how and what should be an appropriate relationship between the Church and the state which has declared itself Christian. The Evangelical Church's reaction leaves much to be desired.

This study, therefore, seeks to enlighten the Evangelicals, and the Church in general, on how they could Biblically and adequately relate to a government or a state that has declared itself Christian and a state that commits itself to the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

This study is not about whether former President Chiluba was right or wrong in making the Declaration. However, it is about how the Church in general, and the Evangelical Church, should react and relate to a president or a government that has declared itself Christian. The fact that Zambia is declared a Christian nation is a historical fact. However, within the purview of this reality, it becomes necessary to paint a picture of how the

Church ought to relate to such a state. It matters how the Church relates to a self-proclaimed Christian State since, under this relationship, the Church will show how much it is committed to its mission and the human person's dignity.



# Church and State in African Scholarship

## Introduction

This chapter continues to answer Osmer's (2008) first question, "*what is going on?*" and the question: What are the views regarding Church-state relations in Zambia?

That being the case, church and state relations in Zambia must be studied more closely, and more detailed analyses of the theological and ecclesiastical models of the relationship between church and state than currently available in scholarship, are needed.

This chapter provides a literature review of Church and state. It is divided into several sections: Firstly, it deals with ecclesiastical views of Church and state relations throughout Church history. Secondly, it discusses various theological models of Church and state. Finally, it explains Ferguson's model of conceptualising Church and state relations in Zambia.

## Historical Journey of Church and State Relationship

Studies on African or Zambian Church and state relations in general and the Declaration usually use Western empirical epistemology to analyse African political theology. The use of these Western typologies inadequately describes the African situation. In most cases, these typologies simply do not express an accurate picture of the African situation.

Africa needs a study that is oriented and founded on its own philosophical and theological foundations. As stated by Katongole (2011:58–59), "the socio-political problems in Africa may require personnel, geographical, and structural adjustments, but the first and crucial adjustment is a mythological adjustment that addresses the underlying stories that shape the imagination".

## Roman Catholic Church

This present study would be incomplete, if not impossible, without discussing the role that the Roman Catholic Church has played in the political process over the years the world over, and in Zambia, specifically. Accordingly, the role of the Catholic Church cannot be properly understood without first considering the theological underpinnings of the Catholic Church's response to state institutions and secular governance over the

years. The Roman Catholic response has sometimes guided the political response of Zambia's Evangelical movements. Even in those moments where the Evangelicals have differed radically in their political response to the Catholic response, it is clear that such an Evangelical response would still need to be evaluated from the Catholic perspective. These reasons, and many others, make a discussion of Catholic Theology of church and State not only necessary but crucial to our present study.

An enquiry into Catholic theology is necessary for several reasons. Firstly, it is the largest religious denomination in Zambia. Secondly, it has had a strong political influence within the Zambian political sphere. Thirdly, Zambian Evangelicals have, in part, reacted politically with some audacity inspired by Roman Catholic courage and principles. Fourthly, Catholic Theology is critical due to the prominent role it has played in Zambia's political sphere. Fifthly, as Shelledy (2009:16) rightly pointed out, "Catholicism provides a large body of theological reflection on the state", this, in my opinion, has even guided the Zambian Evangelical's reflection on the state.

In general terms, Catholic Theology has several distinctions. These, according to Black (2008:141), include (a) *the incarnation*, (b) *the sacraments*, (c) *community*, and (d) *concern for the poor*. From these theological distinctions, Catholicism develops its broader perspective of other beliefs such as Church-state relations.

Christ as fully man and fully God makes Catholics place a high value on humanity and the natural world, therefore, striving for justice and the common good (Black 2008:141). In terms of sacraments, Catholics believe that they connect man to God. Therefore, they are essential parts of the Christian communal experience. Regarding concern for the poor, their long-standing duty to those less fortunate in society inclines Roman Catholics more towards the commitment to operate schools, hospitals, and charitable organisations (Black 2008:141). Furthermore, in their practical desire to operate these public institutions, the Catholic Church inevitably confronts the state – as both complementary to the state and critical of the state.

A Catholic perspective, on what should constitute an appropriate model of the relationship between Church and state, is as complex as the historicity, constitution, and diversity of the Catholic Church itself. These three elements, as mentioned earlier, make it more difficult to quickly pinpoint what could be considered the Catholic perspective on relevant issues such as Church-state relations.

In its historicity, we see the Catholic Church, at one historical period, supportive of the state and, at another time, hostile towards it. Additionally, through its history, we encounter the Catholic Church itself func-



tioning as the state – as the temporal power and political leader. Much of Western civilization and history has the Catholic Church as the dominant secular power in society. It is only later in history that the Catholic Church lost its temporal powers. Even then, it remained a very influential temporal organisation.

As such, what was regarded as the Church's position on Church-state relations during those times when the Catholic Church was the dominant political and religious organisation, would be markedly different from what the Catholic Church taught later in its history when it lost its temporal privilege and its monopoly on religious matters. An enquiry, then, into a Catholic perspective of Church and state, should take its historicity seriously, for it is its historicity that helps the Catholic Church to bequeath on modern theological reflection, "a large body of theological reflection on the state" (Shelledy 2009:16).

The Catholic Church constitution is also another element that adds to the difficulties of formulating a Catholic perspective on Church and state. It is no doubt that the Catholic Church has a robust hierarchical structure. The Pope is at the top with the College of Cardinals under him, and then the faithful are at the end of that hierarchy. Shelledy (2009:16) put it very well, stating that "every Catholic is responsible to his or her bishop, which in turn is responsible to the pope, who is head of the Church". As such, the bishops all around the world hierarchically preside over their diocese. In this constitution, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint who precisely is speaking for the Catholic Church. Would it be the Pope alone, or the Cardinals, or the bishops? Recently, the rise of lay Catholic theologians further increases the confusion of who precisely is speaking on behalf of the Church. Again, an appreciation of the Catholic Church's complex constitution should be considered when attempting to formulate a Catholic theology of Church and state.

In terms of diversity, the Catholic Church may as well boast of being the most diverse religious organisation in the world. It can be found all over the world. This diversity means that there is no longer one Roman Catholicism. It would be fair to say that Roman Catholicism now comes in different forms and characteristics. As such, this diversity has led to very different and diverse answers to the Church's question and its relationship to the state. This could perhaps explain why Liberation Theology's rise in predominantly Catholic Latin America was met with relatively benign opposition from the Vatican. However, liberation theology still maintained its Catholic identity. This diversity is another factor that we should consider when looking at the difficulties in formulating a Catholic perspective of Church and state.

Given all this historicity, constitution and diversity, no far-reaching documents have been a pinnacle at clarifying the Catholic perspective on the state's role and the Church's relationship to it in the modern world than the documents arising from Vatican II. As noted by both Black (2008:141) and Brendan Carmody (2002:13), contemporary Catholic understanding of church and state is deeply rooted in the reforms of the *Second Vatican Council* of 1962 to 1966.

According to Shelledy (2009:22), it is in Vatican II that "the Catholic Church rejected an establishment model of Church-state relations and the thesis-hypothesis reasoning". Drinan (2004:109) also added that "The Declaration on Religious Freedom issued by the Second Vatican Council had a profound effect on Catholic thinking everywhere in the world."

From Vatican II, the Church moved towards more tolerance of pluralism and the promotion of religious freedom. A proper understanding of the Catholic perspective of church-state relations originates in Vatican II documents, supplemented by the Social Teachings of the Church and by various theological discourses of Catholic theologians.

Therefore, in the Vatican II and its documents, we find the Church's perspective on Church-state relations that is relevant for contemporary discourse in Zambia and elsewhere. These documents are the *Gaudium et Spes*, the *Dignitatis Humanae*, and the *Lumen Gentium*. Specifically, Fergusson (2004:130) notes that *Gaudium et Spes* is the Second Vatican Council's pastoral constitution. These documents contain several principles that reveal Catholic Theology's attitude towards the state, politics, and the Christian's participation in politics.

According to Black (2008:142), Catholic social teaching has seven important aspects. These seven are the dignity of human life; the call to family, community, and participation; rights and responsibilities; preferential care for the poor and the vulnerable; the dignity of work; solidarity, and care for God's creation.

Catholic Theology views the state as a legitimate part of God's creation (Black 2008:141; Shelledy 2009:17). It is in *Gaudium et Spes*, in paragraph 74, where it asserts that the state is founded on human nature and hence belongs to the order designed by God.

*Firstly*, the Catholic Church takes the conservative view that the state is, and must be, a positive and irreplaceable component of civil life. As such, the state is responsible for promoting the particular purpose of the common good (Shelledy 2009:17).

The *second* aspect of the Catholic Theology of church and state assigns the state to temporality and the Church to eternity. As such, even if the

state is a legitimate part of God's creation, it nevertheless is subordinate to, and lesser than, the Church.

The *third* aspect of the Catholic Theology of church and state tries to create a clear separation of roles between the Church on the one hand and the state on the other. In other words, Church and state should be separate. According to Black (2008:141), Church and state need some separation to guarantee religious freedom, but the Church can and should cooperate with the government to achieve shared goals.

Fourthly, the Catholic Church teaches that while Catholic lay Christians are encouraged to participate in politics, the Church itself, or the Church clergy, cannot be politicians or serve in political office, in theory at least.

Clarke Cochran (2007:41, 42) a Catholic theologian, describes five aspects of the Church's relationship with politics, culture, and society:

1. Cooperating with the government to meet certain needs,
2. Challenging government policies Catholics believe are wrong,
3. Competing with the government to provide similar services,
4. Transcending government to further the gospel and
5. Encouraging Subsidiarity.

The principle of subsidiarity offers guidance in determining what problems government should address and what should be left to the grassroots to address.

## **St. Augustine of Hippo**

The political thought, theology, and philosophy of St. Augustine are primarily contained in his book, *De civitate Dei* (The City of God). In this enormous work, St. Augustine articulated several principles of what he believed to be an appropriate relationship between the secular and sacred spheres. Notably, he explains his philosophy in terms of two cities: The *City of God* and the *City of the World*. These two cities issue from two different desires or loves – the love for self and the love for God. The city of the world with its love for self is “driven by a rapacious individualism, a lust for power and a desire both to possess and use the temporal good of this world” (Hoelzl and Ward 2006:27). On the other hand, the *City of God* is governed by a liberality expressed in terms of adoration towards the Supreme good, a denial of self, a care for one's neighbour, and enjoyment of the temporal goods of this world (Hoelzl and Ward: 27). In this regard, Augustine believed that only Christians could genuinely be good citizens of both

the secular and heavenly cities. Nevertheless, despite his optimistic view of the city of man, he saw its limitations. As a citizen of the City of God, the Christian is ruled by God but is also called to exist in the secular world.

Augustine's seminal ideas have been subject to much interpretation and reinterpretation in Christian political and public theology. Undoubtedly, these ideas impact how Church and state relations can be understood in the Zambian context, especially concerning the Declaration. Several Augustinian principles of Church and state are in order:

1. St. Augustine regarded the state as a restraint on evildoers and a promoter of relative justice in human society with authority rooted in natural law (Atkinson 1982:36),
2. Augustine, in his celebrated work, *'The City of God,'* reasoned that the civil government is an independent body and that all Christians must obey its laws, except in the case the state should command its subjects do anything contrary to the teachings of the Bible and the Church (Hyma 1938:14),
3. a good Christian was not expected to withdraw himself from public life or public duties,
4. warfare was permissible,
5. civil rulers had full power to administer justice, to inflict punishments, and to exercise their proper duties,
6. all rulers owed their respective powers to God, and they remained in His power at all times, not only good rulers but evil rulers, too.

Augustine, however, poses a challenge for understanding the Declaration. Augustine's dualism of the City of God and the City of Man does not exist within the cultural milieu of the Zambian people. As mentioned above, Zambians have difficulty tolerating such a dualism.

### **St. Thomas Aquinas**

In his work *De regimine* Thomas Aquinas sets forth his philosophy of politics and government. Undoubtedly, Aquinas was a very influential figure alongside Augustine within the Catholic tradition and indeed in Western philosophy. In *De regimine*, he sets forth the following principles (Aquinas 2002).

Firstly, in Book 1 and Chapter 1, he explains the purpose of political leadership. According to him, political leaders, such as kings, are necessary because humans need guidance towards personal and social goals by nature of their creation. Man is a social animal, and this social character of humans makes leadership necessary.

Secondly, Aquinas defines a king or political leader as one who rules over the community or province and does so for the common good. This definition, therefore, repudiates dictators or oligarchs, suggesting that authentic political leadership leads to the common good.

Thirdly, in chapter 3 of book 1 of *De regimine*, Aquinas prefers political leadership by a singular king instead of that of a group of leaders. According to him, a plurality of rulers will in no way preserve a community if they are wholly at odds with one another. To forestall this disunity, one ruler (monarchy) is preferable to many (collegial) (Aquinas 2002).

Much of Aquinas' ideas are contrary to modern political realities. It may have applied more readily to Aquinas' time. However, it is very unhelpful to resolve the Church-state dilemma in a nation like Zambia, which is democratic, and whose president is elected directly by the people. Besides, in Zambia, it is expected that the president would not rule alone but instead would rule with his cabinet and alongside the other two branches of government. In that regard, then, Aquinas' theory would find limited application in the Zambian context.

On the other hand, Aquinas' principle has been nevertheless upheld by many of Zambia's presidents. Additionally, the Zambian traditional worldview resonates well with Aquinas at this very point. However, in order to find an appropriate model of how the Church should live in a Christian nation, Aquinas is, to some extent, inadequate.

## **Martin Luther and Lutheran Views**

Luther's political ideology is relevant to our present discussion since it provides one of the many frameworks from which Church-state relations could be understood in our contemporary world (Waring 1968). It is relevant to discuss Lutheran political theology within the Zambian setting as it helps to analyse the Zambian situation. According to Black (2008:143), the hallmarks of Lutheran theology include:

1. the doctrine of justification by faith alone,
2. emphasis on human sinfulness,
3. the priority of the Word and
4. sacraments as signs of the gospel.

Particular works of Luther's that are primarily significant concerning political theology are his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nationality", and "On the Limits of Secular Authority: how far does the Obedience Owed to it Extend".

At the heart of Luther's political theology is the principle of two kingdoms: The Kingdom of God, expressed through the Church, and the Kingdom of this World, expressed through the state and political systems (Redekop 2007:45). The two governments "establish very different roles and powers for the Church and the state" (Black 2008:143). According to Redekop (2007), both Kingdoms "are subject to the rule of God, and both are subjects of his love and wrath." As such, Christians are subject to both civil and Church authority.

Luther thought of Church and state, not in terms of passive associations of people or externally structured institutions, but, rather, as realms in which the active and immanent God works through people for good in the world in two ways (Atkinson 1982:37). Additionally, according to the Lutheran doctrine, the Christian regiment or, rather, the Church consists of all true believers in Christ (Redekop 2007:45). God has specifically called and ordained the Church to do at least three duties: firstly, it is to preach the gospel; then, it is to teach the Word of God; and, finally, to administer the sacraments. Concerning the state, while it is only necessary because of the fall, it is nevertheless "as truly divine in its origin as the creation of man himself" (Waring 1968:276). Therefore, God created a human government in the form of the state "both to restrain those who do not have God and therefore fall into wickedness and to protect citizens and ensure justice for them" (Black 2008:143, 144).

Luther, building on the two kingdoms' ideology, posited that the Church as the Kingdom of God should not involve itself in politics. Nevertheless, he held that individual Christians, as dual citizens of both kingdoms, could participate in politics. Christians can then accordingly participate in the state since, firstly, the state is a part of God's established order; and secondly, the state provides one of the avenues for living out love for one's neighbour (Black 2008:144). According to Luther, it is in politics that "Christians must walk the extra mile of the Sermon on the Mount" (Lomperis 2009:39).

In contemporary settings, subsequently, the Lutherans have come to apply the two-government principle by encouraging the individual believers to participate in politics while letting the Church, as an institution, concentrate on spreading the gospel.

While Lutheranism was close to the Calvinistic view of the relationship between the Church and civil government, Lutheranism, unlike Calvinism, did not believe that Christians had the right to use the state to promote Christianity or to Christianise the world. Therefore, the Lutheran view, as noted by Eidsmoe (1984:15), does not enforce the Church's authority over the unbelievers who are under the authority of the state alone.

Redekop's (2007:48–49) analysis of the weaknesses of Luther's political or public theology is applicable in the Zambian context. Remarkably, Luther's distinction between the two kingdoms is too simplistic as it compartmentalises life into two – the sacred and the secular. As stated above, this dualism is non-existent in the Zambian traditional worldview and how Zambians have appropriated the Christian faith. To many Zambians, religion in general, and Christianity in particular, cannot be divorced from temporal concerns. To the Zambian, religion should answer to both secular and sacred interests.

## John Calvin

The reformed theological tradition developed from John Calvin, John Knox, and Ulrich Zwingli (Black 2008:146; Van Dusen, Calhoun, Chamberlain, Coffin, Cavert 1937:29). Central theological beliefs in Reform Christianity include an emphasis on God's sovereignty and the use of the narrative of creation, fall, and redemption as a framework for understanding God's interaction with humanity.

Reformed theology believes that sin has pervaded the otherwise good nature of man. However, through special grace and common grace, God extends his hand of fellowship to redeem fallen humanity. Special grace is salvific, while common grace is provided for the wellbeing of humanity. The State, therefore, belongs to common grace; it is an agent of this common grace.

John Calvin's philosophy of political theology may be as well termed as a "theocracy" because of its emphasis on God transforming all aspects of his creation (Redekop 2007:50). According to Calvin, there are two kingdoms – the Church and the state – which both derive their power directly from God. He wrote that God ordained government and holds its leaders accountable to him, so Christians must obey and respect the state. For Calvin, contempt for human government is inexcusable. Consequently, then, Christians were also encouraged to participate in politics.

In the contemporary setting, Reformed political theology was applied in the concept of "principled pluralism" derived from Abraham Kuyper, a Dutch reformed theologian and former Prime Minister of Holland. Kuyper also held the view of *sphere sovereignty*, which states that "society includes different and important institutions, or spheres, ordained by God, serving different roles" (Black 2008:147). This view is somewhat antithetical to the African worldview, which tolerates no distinction between the sacred and the secular.

## Anabaptists

The Anabaptist view teaches that the state is part of the evil world system from which believers separate themselves (Eidsmoe, 1984:13). This view, then, advocates the complete separation of Church and state. Anabaptists adopted the two government positions of the Lutheran Churches. Consequently, they espouse that the government and the state are “ordained by God so Christians must obey secular authorities unless their teachings violate God’s commands” (Black 2008:145).

However, they differed primarily from the Lutherans because, while the Lutheran point of view encouraged individual Christians to participate in the political process of their respective nations, Anabaptists found it rather unacceptable for Christians to participate in politics. According to Anabaptists, since the temporal government ruled by force, coercion, and war, these things run contrary to the pacifist teachings of Christ. Hence, by nature, the Christian cannot be part of the secular government that, by its very character, runs contrary to God’s teachings.

In Anabaptism, “government exists within the world with a particular function – to provide order” (Joireman 2009:77). Consequently, the order that the state will provide can inadvertently allow the Church to grow and the gospel to spread. According to Joireman (2009:77), contemporary Anabaptists view the Church and the state as separate and unequal, with an elevation of the Church above the state.

Anabaptists developed a series of principles concerning Church-state relations within the context of primarily despotic and brutal political regimes in which they found themselves. The principles are as follows:

1. The principle of *radical separation and differentiation*. Anabaptists believed that the Christian Church, as a faithful body of believers, functions, largely, as an alternative society (Redekop 2007:63). As such, the Church and the non-Christian world are two opposite and different societies and entities.  
The consequence of such a principle is that it led to Anabaptists becoming the “first champions of the separation of Church and state” (Redekop 2007:64). Additionally, this principle led to Anabaptists’ desire to withdraw from the malaise of the sin-infested world.
2. The Anabaptists adopted the *utilitarian* concept of the state. In this concept, the state exists to maintain law and order among non-Christians and consequently, the state “ranks far below the Church in significance” (Redekop 2007:64).



The state, therefore, functions in the realm where Satan has domination.

3. Anabaptist philosophy of church and state was opposed to political office. They held that, even if God ordained the political magistracy, Christians should not hold office in it (Redekop 2007:64).

In advocating for a complete separation of Church and state, the Anabaptist theological perspective claims that the teachings of Jesus Christ are contradictory to secular political ambitions. Accordingly, Jesus discouraged political involvement. Scriptures such as, “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s, and to God what is God’s” (Matt. 22:21, NIV), are quoted to justify the Church’s opposition to political aspirations. Consequently, the Church and the state are separate institutions, and that issues of faith cannot be mixed with worldly issues such as politics.

Given *Anabaptist Theology*, it is clear that the development of Church and state relations in Zambia, including the Declaration, has gone against Anabaptist theology. The Zambian State, in declaring itself Christian, has blurred the line of complete separation between Church and state.

## Theological Models of Church-State Relations

Stott (1995; 1999), Eidsmoe (1984), Sturzo (1962), and Einwechter (2003) have all undertaken to draw up theological models that would offer explanations and paradigms of Church-state relations. Considered together, a review of these theologians’ literature on Church-state relations yields at least seven theological models that serve as a theological explanation for the interaction between Church and state. These theological models are (1) *Erastianism*, (2) *Theocracy*, (3) *Establishment*, (4) *Constantianism*, (5) *Separatist – Secularism Model*, (6) *Confessionalist Model* and (7) the *Partnership Model*.

Each of these models is analysed in turn below. Following this, this study offers an evaluation of these models, applies them to the Declaration, and determines which one of these models are supported by the Zambian context.

### Erastianism

*Erastianism* is named after German-Swiss theologian Thomas Erastus (1524–1583). It emerged as a “reaction to the imposition of clerical government by the Reformed Protestants in post-Reformation Europe (Glass 1994:79). As a Church and state theological model, it assumes “supreme

authority of the State in Church matters” (Webster 1959:492) and tolerates the state control of the Church (Stott 1995:352).

According to Einwechter (2003), in *Erastianism*, the state governs the Church’s affairs, establishing the Church’s doctrine, worship, and ministers. As such, the state is considered the head of the Church and the final court of appeal in all ecclesiastical matters.

## Theocracy

According to Sturzo (1962), in a *theocracy*, the Church’s authority or the religion is more decisive over the state and society as a whole. Webster (1959:1511) defines theocracy as “the rule of the State by God or a god, a government by priests claiming to rule with divine authority”. As such, in a *theocracy*, the Church holds ultimate authority in all spheres and has the power to dictate policy to the state since “political and religious associations are the same” (Apter 1963:70).

An example of a theocracy includes the Old Testament concept of the Hebrew Republic established by God through Moses (Apter 1963:71; and Einwechter 2003). In modern times, Iran, Ethiopia, and Sudan would be examples of theocracies. Mazrui (2001) stated that Ethiopia, before 1974, was a theocratic state. Sudan also, since 1983, could be said to be an Islamic theocracy. According to Mazrui (2001), the Sudanese Islamic theocracy began with the Presidency of Ja’afar Numeriry, who attempted to base Sudan’s legal order upon the *Shari’a* (the Islamic law). Consequently, under General Umar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir’s presidency, the Sudanese state had moved even deeper into Islamisation.

## Reconstructionism and Dominion Theology

Closely related to the *theocracy model* is a movement called *Reconstructionism*, which thrives under an idea known as *Dominion Theology*, which teaches that Christians must march to take over the world so that Christ can then return to claim it as His Kingdom. *Ecclesiocracy* is another term used for theocracy; specifically, an *Ecclesiocracy* is a union of Church and state that grants the Church power over the state. The Church holds ultimate authority in all spheres and has the power to dictate policy to the state.

## Establishment

In the *Establishment Model*, one denomination is established as the ‘State Church’. It alone receives the state’s countenance and support; all other

denominations, or independent Christian congregations, are either tolerated or suppressed. The State Church retains its independence from the control of the state (at least in theory). Great Britain would be an example of this model since the Anglican Church is her official Church. Fergusson (2004:168) pointed out that *Establishment* refers to a partnership between Church and state that recognises the integration of civil and Church life. Further, Fergusson (2004:168) noted the following as characteristic of *Establishment*:

The Church may receive special privileges from the state in return for services rendered; (2) Some decisions of the Church may need ratification by the state; (3) The office-bearers may need approval from the state; (4) The head of state may stand in ceremonial relationship to the course and services of the Church.

### **Constantinianism**

According to Stott, (1995:352), Constantinianism is a model that advocates a compromise in which the state favours the Church, and the Church accommodates the state in order to retain its favour. It is named after the historical Constantine, whose leadership provided a compromise between the state and the Church.

### **Separatist-Secularism**

The *Separatist-Secularism* model incorporates two aspects of separation. The first one, *Separatism*, is the separation of Church and state from the Church's perspective, while the second one, *Secularism* is the separation of Church and state from the state's standpoint. Specifically, *Separatism* happens when the Church or a section of the Church separates itself from secular society. *Separatism* is the same model Eidsmoe (1984:13) named the *Anabaptist view*. This view holds that the state is part of the evil world system from which believers are to separate themselves.

In Secularism, the state is forbidden to interest itself in any way with the Christian faith (or, with any religion). According to Turaki (2020: 15), secularism is a "philosophy that guarantees the autonomy of the state, society, institutions, individuals, fields of work, and powers from religion." Thus, the state must maintain a clear wall of separation between Church and state and give no support or countenance to any religion at all. Although secularism may endorse a form of religious "liberty," it excludes Christ and the Church from the public square (Einwechter, 2003).

## Partnership

According to Stott (1995:352), both Church and state recognise and encourage each other's distinct God-given responsibilities in a spirit of constructive collaboration in the Partnership model.

## National Confessionalism

*National confessionalism* is a model recently proposed by Einwechter (2003). According to him, this model happens when the state recognises the governing authority of Jesus Christ and His Word. Here, there is a clear institutional separation between Church and state, and both remain independent of the control of the other, while there is an informal union of Church and state, in that, both confess the same Lord. The submission of the state to Christ formally establishes a Christian nation that requires Christian civil servants and Biblically based laws. However, it does not establish a formal institutional union between Church and state.

In Sturzo's (1962) diarchy model, *Confessionalism* is what took place in primarily post-reformation Europe when different cities and princes promoted specific Christian confessions. Additionally, according to Torok (2000:6), confessionalism "meant the unlimited superposition of state, its complete power even in the reformed Churches' inner life. The prince became the head of the Church."

## Marxian Approach

Even if this is not a "theological model", the Marxian approach is definitely an influential model of understanding Church and state relations. According to Karl Marx (1970), religion has been used primarily to exploit people. In his introduction to the Critique of Hegel's "Philosophy of Right", Marx set out his views about how religion and society relate, especially regarding the relationship between religion and politics. According to Marx, even if the Church was a particularly significant part of European civilization, the Age of Rationalization brought a reassessment of religion's importance in society. He described religion as the creation of humans. "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of the soulless condition. It is the opium of the people" (Marx 1970).

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin depended heavily on Karl Marx for the development of his anti-Christian socialist propaganda. Zambia's first President, Kaunda, experimented with this worldview in the early eighties (Mukuka 2009).

This view of religion, and its relationship to the state, is inadequate in resolving the Church and state dilemma in the context of Zambia. Indeed, Hinfelaar (2008) has observed that many of those who observe Zambian history had, following in the footsteps of Marxian and Marxist doctrines, chosen to ignore religion's significance and impact Zambian society. However, there has been a rediscovery of the role that religion has played in the life of Zambia in general and, specifically, Christianity. This rediscovery was catalysed by Former President Chiluba's 1991 Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation.

Marxian theory of religion and politics does not hold to the traditional Zambian worldview because being an opiate of the people is just one way in which religion has functioned in Zambian society. However, it is not the only way.

Sometimes religion has, like an opiate, led to political docility. Conversely, religion has also led to radical political rebellion within the Zambian political spheres. Religion in Zambia is not simply the opiate of the people; it is a powerful revolutionising force.

## **Church and State Relations in African Scholarship**

### **Haynes**

In stating that "we should regard religion's role in politics in contemporary Africa as arising from the multiple changes occasioned by European colonialism," Haynes (1996:25) inaccurately assumes that African history should begin from the time that Europeans first "discovered" Africa (note: Europeans did not discover Africa). This ought not to be the case. Africa and her people have an existence that subsisted long before the advent of European settlers.

Haynes' 1996 study on the relationship between religion and state in Africa proposes that the Colonial Era should be the beginning point of any relevant discussion of Church and state in Africa.

Haynes' approach is weak and insufficient in practical theology. Unfortunately, this approach ignores the role that African pre-colonial and pre-Christian conceptions of the relationship between religion and state played in the subsequent history of the discourse, including the history of early Christian missions itself. History for the African and the Zambian must commence from a time earlier than Haynes suggests.

## Tengatenga

The Haynessian oversight mentioned above is not unique to European scholars. An African scholar, Tengatenga (2006), seems to have stated positions similar to those of Haynes. Tengatenga (2006:9), in his study on Church and State in Malawi, also restates the same anomaly. According to him:

Extant mainline mission histories have demonstrated that the political history of Malawi cannot be understood without understanding the work of the missions. The missions' stories demonstrate that from the very beginning of the different missions there was a political consciousness in their work and that the politicians of the new Malawi were products of the Church's involvement (Tengatenga 2006: 9).

Again, Tengatenga (2006:9) misses that the underlying response of the Africans to the issues of the relationship between Church and state goes far beyond the historical missions and their respective mission Churches. Our position in this study is that the underlying response to African Church and state relationships should lie within the African ethos and religious heritage. As stated by McCracken (2008:45), "Africans, most of the time, found satisfactory answers to the moral problems which confronted them in the extraordinary variety of religious institutions which they possessed." The possession here should be derived as much as possible from the Africans' religious heritage.

## Cheyeka

Cheyeka (2008a; 2008b), a Zambian scholar, repeats the same outlook. In his study *Church, State, and Political Ethics in a Post-Colonial State: The Case of Zambia* (2008b: 11), Cheyeka approaches a discussion of the Church and State relations in Zambia by use of Adrian Hastings' "European" oriented patterns. According to Cheyeka (2008b: 11), "Church-state relationships in Zambia must, of necessity, be considered in the context of Church-state typologies that have been developed over the years." He then goes on to discuss Adrian Hasting's five typologies (Cheyeka, 2008b: 11) which are:

- (1) The state avoids any sort of interest in the affairs of the Church,
- (2) The state suppresses or oppresses the Church,
- (3) the state cooperates with the Church without favouring any one particular denomination,
- (4) the state shows a clear preference for one particular denomination, and
- (5) where there is no distinction between Church and state, either the Church controls the state or vice-versa.

Even though Cheyeka (2008b) acknowledges the European origin of these typologies, he does not offer an alternative pattern that would be more suitable for understanding or appreciating the African situation. This, in our opinion, is an anomaly that needs addressing.

## **Kunhiyop**

In his work on *African Christian Ethics*, Kunhiyop (2008:83) recognises how European Christian missionaries, whom Lutheran priests influenced, advocated for a strict separation of Church and state. However, this being the case, our argument in this study is that the European missionaries' strict separation of religion and politics did not comport well with the Africans' mind-set. Despite the missionaries' separatist concept the natives still, following their own religious and traditional mindsets, conceptualised an apparent harmony between religion and politics.

As such, Mission Christianity changed and adapted to the African mind-set, even if the missionaries may have desired, intended, or wanted otherwise. This, therefore, corresponds with one of the significant findings of this study: the fact that it is European mission Christianity that changed to accommodate African realities as far the relationship between the Church and the state were concerned.

Fundamentally then, an authentically African Christianity never practically divorced God or the divine from politics or from "bread and butter" issues. Therefore, when Kunhiyop (2008: 83,84) refers to a president of the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) as encouraging Christian political participation, such a position should not be seen as a new African innovation inspired by Western Christian ideals but should rather be seen as a revival of an earlier African worldview, flowing from pre-colonial and pre-Christian worldviews.

In other words, encouraging Africans and African Christians to participate in politics is not a call to spiritual innovation for the African. Africans have always been spiritual people whose spirituality has continuously been closely related to politics.

## **M'fundisi**

M'fundisi's (2014) dissertation studied Pentecostal and Charismatic spiritualities and civic engagement in Zambia involving the Pentecostal response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The study covered the period from independence in 1964 to 2002, just after Frederick Chiluba left office. The structure of M'fundisi's study is significant for the researcher's present study as this

present study utilises the same political eras as his, except that the present study includes the pre-independence and the post-Chiluba eras.

The present study, therefore, covers a broader history than that of M'fundisi's. Further, M'fundisi ignores the pre-Christian and pre-colonial religious attitudes toward Zambians' religious behaviour in the post-independence period. As will be shown in this study, the best way to understand Zambians' attitude toward Church and state relations must begin, not at independence, but decades before that. Zambians behave the way they do regarding Church and state relations because that is their religious heritage which they espoused even before the missionaries came to Africa's shores to Christianise Zambia.

Further, M'fundisi's analysis is more specific to the Pentecostal/Charismatic tradition. On the other hand, this study is a little bit more general as it covers Evangelical theology, which is a broader tradition than Pentecostalism.

## **The Differentiated Approach**

In modern western theological circles, the *differentiated model* is gaining ground. Many church-state relationship theologians such as Sturzo (1962) and Parker (1955) focused on which of the two institutions between the Church and the state controlled the other throughout Church history and how the Church and state dichotomy developed.

Fergusson (2004:1) noted that many theological studies on church-state relations have often cast church-state relations in terms of two dominant institutions existing in a close and exclusive relationship. There are several reasons for this view. Firstly, the Church had so ingrained itself within society that it was the central hub of society in general. Secondly, the Church played a significant role in shaping Western civilization's identity, which was known as Christendom. Thirdly, since it was only the Church and the state that were the most significant players in general society, it was natural, then, to focus on the struggles of their relationship when studying them.

There is a need to look at Church and state relations in a newer light in the contemporary post-Christendom and post-modern era. One of the foremost thinkers in this novel way of evaluating Church-state relations is Fergusson's (2004) "Differentiated Model".

The "end of Christendom" has necessitated this shift both structurally and ideologically – as stated in the above sections. Structurally, the Church is no longer the dominant social force within society; the ideological role played by the Church in previous centuries no longer exists (Turaki 2020).



Fergusson (2004: 164) notes that:

The Church no longer directly controls education, access to political office, or the welfare services. These are in part under the control of the state, and in part influenced by organisations and agencies other than the Church. We need to increasingly think of the Church as belonging with these other bodies in civil society and seeking to promote its particular vision of the common good through influence, conversation, shared resources and the making of a common cause. In doing so, we require to develop a differentiated model for the Church's social contribution, which leads to neither domination, nor cultural captivity, nor isolation.

The modern state has increasingly been expanding its claims over many things that, in the past centuries, were considered to be the preservation of the Church or religion. Besides, the Church has been on the decline, especially in the Western world, which has been, for many centuries, the bulwark of civilisation. With this decline of the Church, it has come to an ideological shift in which the Church is no longer considered the only representative of the necessarily mystical qualities. Finally, the dichotomy that saw the Church and the state as competing claimants to leadership no longer exists. The Church now stands as one among many institutions within civil society.

These and many other factors make it necessary, in contemporary studies, to give up the diarchal models of Church-state relations (cf. Sturzo 1962) to newer ones (cf. Fergusson 2004). It is not that the diarchal models have no value for the contemporary world – they do – instead, they have become increasingly difficult to apply within the present post-modern and post-Christendom Era.

Fergusson (2004:1) has noted that the diarchal models of Church and state are outmoded in as far as they have often cast Church-state relations in terms of the relations that prevail between two dominant institutions existing in a close and exclusive partnership. In place of these outdated models, he has proposed a more “differentiated approach” which “positions the Church in positive relation to a range of other institutions within civil society, thus more effectively presenting its public significance”.

Fergusson (2004:165, 167) notes several reasons why his differentiated model is necessary:

1. Attention to civil society's concept can disclose important ways in which Christian groups *inter alia* can promote the common good and make a constructive public contribution.

2. Beyond Christendom, the differentiated model's use can help the Church exercise a publicly significant role without functioning as an established, state-recognized Church.
3. By functioning as an institution of civil society in partnership with other groups, Churches can continue to be significant in more pluralist settings where the state cannot be identified with any one religious party.

As observed by Long (1993:285), it is undoubted that “practices involving relationships between Church and state have been undergoing a considerable transformation.” Additionally, Bartley (2006) observed that with the end of Christendom, the Church is no longer a dominant force in society. If it is, then it is one among many other forces. As Turaki states (2020:10), “today Christianity and western culture no longer hold the premier place in Western societies”. This, therefore, means that the theological field of Church-state relations should begin shifting its focus from how the Church can relate to the state in an exclusive or close relationship to how it, as part of civil society, can help contribute to the welfare of the people to whom both the state and the Church have a unique call to serve.

## Conclusion

Theological models that were used to study Church-state relations when the Church was a dominant social institution are not credible enough to be used when evaluating the contemporary situation. This is so primarily because of the changes that have taken place in the perceived role of the Church and in the conception of the state. A model of duality does not work anymore because the Church exists as part of multiple societal bodies.

There is a need for new paradigms when discussing the issue of Church and state relations. Any valid model for evaluating Church-state relations in the contemporary front should take this important change into account. Moreover, when it comes to the African and, indeed, the Zambian model, one must consider the existence of a pre-colonial narrative that informed the status quo.

While certain of the models are simply inadequate or lacking when applied to the Zambian framework, many of the models discussed in this chapter help answer the question of what is going on in Church and state relations in Zambia. It is worth noting that, though the Evangelical Church in Zambia has not been considered in Church-state literature previously, it has played a significant role in the Declaration and derives some of its self-understanding from the historical and ecclesiastical models of Church and State.

# Church and State in African Traditional Religion

## Introduction

This chapter addresses Osmer's (2008) second task of, "why is this going on?" or the interpretative task. This researcher is concerned with the question: *Does the history of religion and Church-state relations explain the status quo?*

An Evangelical theology of Church and state that is faithful to the African situation must consider several elements found in ATR worldviews. These worldviews remain influential on the African's and, therefore, the Zambian's political imagination.

## Religion and Political Power in the Pre-colonial state

In the local context, there exist three ways in which Zambian Traditional Religion functioned in society regarding political involvement, and Gray (1990) outlines them as follows, (a) *religion as legitimizing political power*, (b) *religion as providing checks and balances to political power*, and (c) *religion as justifying opposition and rebellion to the status quo*.

Moreover, all three approaches need to be appreciated if a fair analysis of Church and state in a modern state such as Zambia can be comprehended. All these approaches are authentically African in that sense.

Several scholars have analysed the political roles that religion plays in society. According to philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (2006:180), "religion prostrates at the same time as it liberates". In other words, religion in society, as it relates to politics, can help either surrender the people to the political status quo; or force a demand for political liberation. In the terminology of sociologist Baum (1975), these two roles are said to be "utopian" or "ideological".

*Utopian* models question society's dominant values and challenge authority, while the *ideological* models seek to defend the existing social order. Most commentators on Baum's theories emphasise that religion's "ideological" role is more dominant throughout history than its utopian counterpart (Gifford 1991:81).

## Religion's Role of Legitimation of Political Power

In ancient Zambia, religion was used to provide and confer spiritual and political legitimacy to political leadership. In the form of royal leaders, political leaders could not preside over the people without the support of priests and ritual custodians. In most cases, the palace also served as the altar for the religion of the tribe. As noted above, the sacred and the secular were integrated into African traditional worldviews, and it was expected that royal leaders would also be faithful adherents of the religion (Kangwa 2017).

In fact, no one legitimately led the tribes without receiving religious validity. According to Asante and Nwadiora (2007:15), "Chiefs and kings have a dual role to play in African societies. They are not only political or administrative officials but also religious personages". Smith (1971:2) adds that in African traditional worldviews, "The ruler was either a god or an agent of a god, and the ideological basis of the state was provided entirely by religious ideas".

Religion legitimatised leadership through inaugurations, coronations, and continued adherence to the political rulers' observance of rituals. For example, among the Bemba people, the Chitimukulu (from the ruling *bena Ng'andu* [crocodile] clan) was the political leader and the spiritual leader of the people. The Bemba people are particularly relevant to this study because they are among the largest ethnic groups in Zambia (Kaunda and Kaunda 2019:472). Effectively, the "Bemba developed a state religion centred on the ancestral spirits of the *bena Ng'andu*" (Werner 1971-72, 12).

Nevertheless, both Binsbergen (1981:120) and Grotpeter (1979:16) recognise that as a political leader, the *Chitimukulu* did not have a monopoly over religion since he, too, depended upon a different priestly clan, called the *Bakabilo*, for religious and priestly service. The parallel to *Bakabilo* among other Zambian tribes is the *Bakalunda* for the Lundas, the *Bantungwa* for the Bisas, and *Bena Milenda* among the Lambas.

## Religion's Role of Checks and Balances to Political Power

Among ancient Zambians, religion provided checks and balances to political power. As noted above, chieftainships always involved a claim to supernatural powers. However, this claim to the supernatural did not just legitimate political systems but also provided a critical and prophetic dimension that could challenge the political leadership if the rituals are not rigorously adhered to (Gray 1990:3). As such, the gods did not automatically support the rule of kings or elders.

While the chiefs were also expected to be the guardians of the tribal religions, this responsibility fell on a clan different from the royal clan. As such, the chief's "power and efficacy depended on the assistance of many ritual experts" (Gray 1990:3) who, in most cases, came from a different clan. Having a different clan serve as religious leaders was significant since it provided an internal system of checks and balances. The monarch's sovereign powers were always kept in check by these rigorous demands of ritual and taboo, which were mainly presided over by a different clan altogether.

Such an arrangement finds its counterpart in the Old Testament (OT) religious and political set-up in which the ruling clan was separate from the priestly clan. As such, while there were different ruling dynasties throughout the historical periods of the OT, it is interesting to note that only those of the tribe of Levi and the clan of Aaron could preside as priests.

### **Religion Providing Tools of Revolution Against Political Power**

Religion in ancient Zambia was used as a justification for political opposition or even rebellion. Gray (1990:4) observed that in the African religious and political worldview, the prophetic potential of religion in royal leadership expressed itself in radical critique and, sometimes, outright opposition.

Religion could supply the weapons and provide the base from which an attack could be launched against the holders of power who have betrayed the religion. Consequently, a rebellion could be initiated under a religious banner. Occasionally, religion could justify a political or military attempt to transform the entire political system. However, "this critical function was confined to the correction of sporadic, specific abuses, and it constrained the corrupting influences of power. Religion, therefore, mobilized and legitimated an opposition" (Gray 1990:3).

Even in Zambian politics' ensuing history, the most ardent critics of the political status usually used religion as a partial justification of their actions. As such, as a leader challenging the colonial power of Britain in the 1950s, Kaunda used the Christian religion and rhetoric to vindicate his fight against the British colonial policy. Kaunda did this even to the consternation of some formal Church groups and leaders who were more amenable to the colonial powers. Additionally, Christian groups overwhelmingly supported Former President Chiluba's ascension to the Zambian presidency in 1991. As discussed below, Chiluba himself used the Christian

faith and rhetoric to launch a successful challenge to Kaunda's rule. In this case, religion provided the necessary arsenal for political revolution.

## **An ATR Worldview and Church-State Implications**

### **Typologies, Symbols and Mythologies**

ATR philosophy and worldviews are relevant in our evaluation of contemporary reactions to the relationships between religion and politics on the African scene. We contend that the coming of Christianity did not alter the reality of African religious' interpretation of the role of religion in politics. This is because, as stated by Turaki (2006:19), "anyone introducing a new religion needs to be aware that the traditional religious system will persist if a new religion fails to both address and assuage the same social and psychological needs as the older religion." On mythologies, Kaunda and Pokol (2019: 9) state that "[mythologies] offer insight into what Africans think about the universe, about the place of humans within that universe, and about humans' relationship with each other and the rest of creation."

In this regard, then, the African religious outlook that makes politics thoroughly religious still persisted in the missionaries' Africa. This is because a, perceptively, foreign Christianity, as revealed by the missionaries, failed to both tackle and mitigate the political and social implications of the relationship between religion and politics already being practised in ATR. Therefore, as originally taught by the missionaries, Christianity did not bring any radical differentiation, but instead, it became a continuation of the African's traditional conceptualisation.

This is not to suggest that Christian missionaries deliberately created such a conceptualisation, merely that several complex factors made it easy for Africans, and for their European counterparts, to depart from the European separatist or dualist outlook of Church and state to a more unified view supported by the ATR worldviews. Kalu (2000:104) rightly asserted, "Africans were not passive recipients of the gospel."

Several scholars, including Turaki (2006; 2020), Ellis and Ter Haar (2004), O'Donovan (1996), and Kunhiyop (2008), have propounded on the relationship between religion and politics in Africa, and the elements within African religious and cultural background, that impact on the Africans' perception of politics, culture, and religious symbols. Ranger (1975:86) stated that African religions "were deeply involved with African social systems before the coming of Christianity". Turaki (2020: 66) further expresses that "the African pre-Christian religious heritage is African Traditional Religion."

Politically and socially, Zambia's pre-colonial peoples were organised around villages and settlements governed by their kings, chiefs, headmen, and other political leaders. Typically, chiefs were of royal birth; however, anyone could militarily take over the tribe and thereby create a royal line of his own.

In terms of religion, the Zambian peoples were profoundly spiritual and followed strict taboos and rituals. In presenting the relationship between religion and politics among pre-colonial Zambians, which inadvertently remains very present among contemporary Zambians, we must first overview the relevant components within traditional Zambian religious philosophy that affect and have affected Christianity and its impact on contemporary Church and state relations in Zambia.

### **Religious and Political Significance of Land and Territory**

In African cosmology, the land is an important aspect of social and religious living (Amobi 2018). In his book on *Church and State in Uganda*, Hansen (1984) has rightly observed the critical role that land played in Africans' religious outlook. An African is attached to land so much that, in some religious expressions, the land takes up the form of divinity. Regarding the Zambian traditional worldview, therefore, prevalent both in pre-Christian Zambia and in contemporary society, the role of religion is to preserve the persons or the community and do so within the ambit of land rights. Expressly, in the Zambian perspective, land rights are conferred based on religious claims more than any other claim. People possess the land because the spirits, the gods, or God conferred that land upon them. In this regard, then, such a concept would be close to the Hebrews' inheritance of the land of Canaan.

Land, however, is not an isolated or abstract idea but one that is actualised daily in people's activity. These activities include land fertility rites and subsequent cultivation of land to produce food. Additionally, closely connected to the idea of land is the fact that God does not only rule over the people but also that God rules over the land. Therefore, in pre-Christian times, even the African conquerors of other African lands or territories acknowledged the gods of those conquered territories. This was the case with Lunda Kazembe's Empire. In conquering the Luapula valleys' peoples, Kazembe never sought to dislodge the gods of those valleys. In fact, he protected the Ushi people's Makumba shrine, although he had come to lay claim to Ushi land. In the African setting, the land is governed and preserved by the gods. And to have peace on the land, the people must please the gods.

Mack (2008) stated that people's land is the place where its members live and have lived. It is "marked, mapped, and storied ... it is a home to the people as a social identity and if it is attacked or invaded by another people it may well be defended by those living there" (Mack 2008:53).

This African connection to land made the European's abrogation of Africans' land rights even more painful for the African. In many cases, the Europeans divided lands amongst themselves without recourse or respect to those lands' gods. Europeans not only "dispossessed Africans of their land, but they also forced them to work on the land" (Sindima 1995:18).

Nevertheless, when the natives received the gospel from these Europeans, they understood the God of Christianity as the God of all the earth; therefore, the God of land. As such, God became, for the Zambians, the protector of their lands. God had become the protector of Zambia, not just as a nation in terms of a political system but also in soil and territory. As a result, when Chiluba declared Zambia a Christian nation, he did it partially because in Chiluba's, and many of the Zambian's, theology God as the actual owner of every inch of Zambian land and soil, reigned supreme.

### **Spiritualism: How the Spiritual World Bears on Culture**

The next component has to do with the concept that Turaki (2006:33) terms, 'Spiritualism'. It is a concept that involves the Africans' belief in God and the spiritual world. There are two schools of thought concerning how Africans conceptualised God before the coming of European missionaries. The first version states that Africans did not have a view of a "high god". Instead, their view was more pantheistic and localised. God and the gods were seen to be primarily communal and restricted.

The second version holds that most ancient African societies possessed the concept of the "high god." According to this second version, it is this concept of the "high god" which the missionaries used to present the God of the Bible. This second version does seem to have more recent academic support (Kunhiyop 2008; Sindima 1995; and Turaki 2006).

In keeping with the second version, most African societies, and indeed, the Zambian society, did have the concept of God, which was used as a bridge by missionaries to teach about the Christian God. As understood among ancient Zambians, this God was the creator of heaven and earth; He was understood to have been the God who oversaw the affairs of the world. This God was interested and was actively involved in the daily activities of human life. There was nothing in life that was outside God's purview (Or-obator 2008:22). These divine beings were involved in both, using modern Western terminologies, the sacred and the secular.



## **Holism and Monism: The Sacred and Secular Dichotomy**

The other component, known by both Turaki (2006:32) and Sindima (1995:215) as Holism, has dealt with the relationship between the sacred and the secular. Another term appropriate to describe holism, as far as the relationship goes between religion and politics or the relationship between Church and state, is “monism.” The term monism, in this case, is not used in its philosophical sense but is, instead, used as a descriptive term to explain that the Africans’ conceptualisation of Church and state or religion and state is not from a dualistic point of view but from a monistic point of view, where Church and state or religion and politics are seen to, not only, derived from a single source but also as being the same thing.

Just like most other ancient societies, the ancient Zambians shared a worldview that did not differentiate between the sacred and the secular spheres, religion, and politics, or between the Church and the state as two exclusive domains (Apter 1963:66; Bharatiya 1987:11; Lartey 2013:17; and Turaki 2006:32). Lane and Redissi (2009:146) put it very well when they wrote: “the separation between Church and state belongs to history proper. It is unique to Europe.” According to both Shaw and Stanley (Stanley 2009:241), Africans did not share the European view of ‘religion’ as a dogma field separate from worldly concerns.

In ancient Zambia, therefore, the institution of state was concomitant with that of the religion. Consequently, similar laws, in many cases, governed both the state and the religion. Specifically, Kaplan (1974:193) noted that a distinction between the secular and the sacred was non-existent among pre-colonial Zambians since the African conception did not accommodate such dualism. This is due to the worldly nature of traditional African religions. Randall (1970:17) continues this thought by remarking that “with the African, religion is intermingled with all of his life, with his homestead, his family, cattle, fields, planting and harvest, joyous and sad occasions. It motivates, controls, guides, strengthens, and pervades the whole of his life”.

Holism as an outlook and worldview continues today among modern Zambians and Africans in general. Cheyeka (2002:172), therefore, is accurate when he writes, “it is still being said that the African perception of reality and the universe as a whole remain thoroughly religious”, even in the present times. Moreover, this thoroughly religious mindset consequence is that there is no differentiation between the sacred and the secular.

According to Van der Walt (1995:40), the “original Biblical vision” of culture and society that much of early European civilisation inherited was,

just like Zambian traditional religious worldview, stated above, thoroughly religious both the sacred and the secular were amalgamated. According to Kee (1978:1), throughout the entire history of Europe, “politics and religion have been constantly and inextricably bound together”. In fact, “early in the twentieth century, Abraham Kuyper founded the Christian Democratic Association in Holland on the conviction that there is no area in human life where Christ does not say ‘mine’” (Kilgour 1996:15).

As such, throughout the immediate past of European history, there was nothing “corresponding to the distinction, now so familiar to us, between Church and general community” (Atkinson 1982:3). In such circumstances, “The whole of life (not only prayer, reading the Bible and going to Church) is religion, service of God, or obversely, idolatry. The Gospel is not only something spiritual (for Sundays only), but it is a full, complete Gospel ... Biblical spirituality encompasses the whole of life” (van der Walt 1995:40).

As van der Walt (1995) calls it, this Biblical vision is entirely compatible with pre-Christian conceptions of life and society in Europe and Africa and elsewhere. As Bediako (2004) stated, Europe enthusiastically received the gospel of Christ in the early first and second centuries due to her thoroughly religious climate. There were elements in European culture and religious worldview that prepared Europe for the gospel of Christ. Furthermore, in fact, Christianity grew and developed swiftly due to this cultural preparation among the Europeans. From this European model, Bediako (2004) develops the thesis that, in the same manner, there were elements within the traditional African worldview that served as the preparation for the coming of the Gospel of Christ.

However, this “original Biblical vision” did not last very long among the Europeans. As stated by van der Walt (1995), this thoroughly religious worldview gave in to “dualist Christianity”. This dualistic worldview that European missionaries brought with them to Africa at the turn of the eighteenth century. However, before discussing the specific dualistic mindsets brought to Africa by the missionaries, it is prudent first to address a historical background of how Church-state relations developed throughout Christian civilisation.

As stated above, the “original Biblical vision” of religion and state did not last for long in Western Christendom (van der Walt 1995:40). “Already early in the history of Western Christendom, religion came to be seen as an addendum, a plus factor, additional to the ordinary secular concerns of life” (van der Walt 1995:40). Consequently, the philosophy of “Political liberalism” came to dominate the European scene.

According to Fergusson (2004:48), political liberalism recognised at least three broad claims: “The equality of all citizens under the law; the

freedom of each to pursue the goods of his or her choice while not interfering unduly with another's freedom; and the neutrality of the state concerning the particular preferences of its citizens, including religion" (Fergusson 2004:48).

Christianity's loss of premier social status and the subsequent development of political liberalism created a lush environment for developing a dualist worldview – something that had not been characteristic of European life until that point.

Van der Walt (1995:41) asserted that it was this dualistic "pietist, world-negating Christianity that missionaries mostly brought to Africa." Kunhiyop (2008:83) agrees with van der Walt (1995) when he posits that "many of the Western Christian missionary societies in Africa were strongly influenced by the Lutheran pietists who advocated the strict separation of Church and state. This position carried over into many of the national Churches that emerged from these missions." As such, both van der Walt and Kunhiyop are correct in their assertion of the essential character of missionaries who brought Christianity to Africa – they were predominantly pietists who strictly advocated for the separation of Church and state on the lines of their European Church-state separation models.

Nevertheless, holding perceptions is one thing, and behaving according to those perceptions is quite different altogether. Besides, missionaries were not bringing the gospel to an empty container that they could just influence quickly. There was a dynamic relationship between the missionaries' concepts and the worldviews that they found dominant among the natives. Some scholars' assertion, such as van der Walt (1995) and Kunhiyop (2008), that African Christianity concerning the relationship between Church and state wholly adopted European dualistic principles, needs re-evaluation. Our position in this study is that regardless of what the European missionaries believed about the relationship between Church and state or the relationship between religion and state when they came to Africa, they did not wholly transfer or, indeed, impose those beliefs on the Africans.

At least two factors should be noted here. First, in as much the missionaries preached an "other-worldly" message, the African worldview, which was thoroughly religious, reinterpreted the missionaries' dualistic message into one that unified both sacred and secular concerns the religion and the state. An African mind could not have understood the gospel of Christ in any other way apart from a thoroughly religious worldview.

Secondly, the context the missionaries found themselves in precluded them from claiming solely spiritual interests at the expense of secular ones. In other words, the context they found among Africans impeded

their dualistic mentalities. Thus, missionaries had to change. In setting up their mission stations, which took secular and political significance, missionaries could not claim to be spiritual only. These two factors are explained in some moderate detail in the succeeding sections.

### **Spiritual Dynamism: The Power to Manipulate Culture**

An essential aspect of pre-Christian understanding of life in general, which has severe consequences for developing the relationship between the religion and the state, concerns the mitigation of suffering and evil. This component is what Turaki (2006:35) terms as dynamism, defined as ways African traditions seek to “establish communication with the spirit world” to manipulate it in order to “bring security in a dangerous world.” According to Lartey (2013:25), “one of the crucial functions of religion in the African mind is to provide the power by which people are enabled to cope with life successfully”. As stated by Kaunda (2018:19), “scholars have demonstrated that the notion of power is central not only in African religious heritage and African Pentecostalism but also that it is one of the key pillars holding together these religious imaginations.”

Both Gray (1990:5) and Kunhiyop (2008) acknowledge that the Africans’ conception of evil destroyed life, health, strength, fertility, and prosperity. Suffering at both personal and community level was believed to be evil and was mostly attributed to a lack of adherence to taboos and rituals. Natural disasters such as droughts or floods were taken as misfortunes and were unacceptable. The people usually blamed natural disasters on non-adherence to rituals or taboos collectively or by the ruling monarch. As such, a monarch who did not follow through with the local religion rituals’ strict demands could easily be overthrown on religious grounds. This was because it was believed across tribes that non-adherence to strict religious ritual would naturally invite the gods’ wrath and, therefore, cause untold suffering among the people. Generally, suffering was not welcomed in pre-Christian society, and religion provided the power and the motivation to use religious influences to mitigate suffering.

Sorcery, witchcraft, and the misuse of spiritual power constitute some kind of evil, prominent among Africans. As such, many African societies’ political and religious institutions were designed to counteract the influence of these spiritual powers (Gray 1990:5). This counteraction took many different forms both in the ancient Zambian society and in the present one. The rise of the Lumpa movement during Zambia’s Colonial Era and a few years into the First Republic shows how eradicating witchcraft takes centre stage in most African religious societies.

According to Ranger and Weller (1975:45), another movement that arose during the Colonial Era steeped in witch-finders, witch-hunts, and witch killings is the *Mwana Lesa Movement*. Later, former President Chiluba's act of cleansing State House – his official residence – before he could move in (after defeating Kaunda in the 1991 elections) shows the consciousness that most Africans have of witchcraft and the spiritual world.

### **Words as Packets of Power**

Suffering and evil were also related to spoken words' power since words were believed, among Zambians, to either mediate a blessing or a curse (Turaki 2006:98). It was and still is considered by many Zambians that an evil person can bring bad luck on another through enchantments. These enchantments can also be reversed using words, however. This is because to an African, words are "power packets sent to an addressee" (Hamminga 2005:110). As such, confession by word of mouth plays an integral part in transmitting or warding off evil and bad spirits. Words, furthermore, are powerful depending on who speaks them. To illustrate this, words spoken by a parent, for example, carry more power than words spoken by a friend. In the context of traditional structures, the words of a political or traditional leader, such as a chief or a king, are believed to hold more consequences for the nation itself. Therefore, a traditional leader was regarded as having the power to bless or curse his people and his nation by the words spoken. This was because of the belief that words connect the spiritual world with the physical world.

The mind-set that glorifies the power of words found fertile soil within the message that the missionaries brought to the ancient Zambians. This message resonates in contemporary Zambian society, especially in the Word of Faith Movement within the Charismatic circles. This could be a part of the reason why, in making the Declaration, Chiluba genuinely believed that by the mere act of confession, his words as president had inherent power to ward off evil spirits, mitigate national suffering, and invite national prosperity. Additionally, it was Chiluba's position that by openly submitting the country to God, he was attracting the blessings and prosperity of God upon Zambia.

### **Communalism: The Context of Religion and State**

Traditional African society – and Zambian society – conceptualised the community as man's highest ideal and achievement (Turaki 2006:36; and Kunhiyop 2008:20, 21). Man exists because of the community, and as such,

man ceases to be without community. The concept of the community received almost divine status. It was like a religion on its own. For the ancient Africans, which is also true today, there can be no personal prosperity without collective prosperity. This concept could also be understood in another way – if one prospers, he or she must help others within the community and family prosper.

In the African public's perception of community, both political and religious leaders command a degree of secular influence. They are also perceived as endowed with power stemming directly from the spirit world (Hinfelaar 2008:133). This notion among Africans and, by extension, Zambians, has led to the status and stature that clergy have enjoyed in the Zambian public's eyes. As such, Zambians perceived the clergy of the main Churches, such as the UCZ or the Catholic Church, as representatives of the spiritual and invisible worlds. This perception sat very well with the Zambian traditional and religious mind-set.

However, this endowment did not just extend to the clergy alone but also to political leaders since ATR did not create a dichotomy between the sacred and the secular. As such, a political leader did have some religious legitimacy as well since he, due to his office, created a connection between the secular and the sacred worlds. Owing to this, a traditional African mindset does not have problems with a political leader delving into spiritual matters, which is expected of the leaders. This is evidenced in how Kalungu-Banda (2010:43) noted that "Zambians see their head of state as being in a sacred role because it represents the spirit of the nation," in relation to Zambia's third republican president, Levy Mwanawasa.

In such a society, religion and politics, both the sacred and the secular elements of society, are designed to serve humanity. Additionally, such a society does not go into philosophical arguments about human existence or secular versus sacred relationship but, instead, simply seeks to exist for others' good. Subsequently, such a mindset does have consequences for religion. Therefore, individuals in ancient Zambia did not seek to adhere to religion for their prosperity but also for the prosperity of the entire community. Religion was the religion for all and not just for the select individuals. Individual's religious actions were important only to the extent to which they affected the community. As such, salvation was not personal in this regard but rather communal.

## **African Tradition Religions and Christianity**

### **ATR as a Predisposition to Christianity**

Various modern missiologists and theologians, such as, Turaki (2006; 2020), Walls (cf Kelly and Messina 2002:137), Mbiti (1975), and Bediako (2004), now acknowledge that Christianity grew very fast in Africa generally, and Zambia specifically, because the African peoples through their various traditional religions were positively predisposed to accepting the gospel. Specifically, Bediako (2004:24) wrote that ATR “provided sufficient background in Africans to receive the gospel and believe.”

According to Kaplan (1974:187), it is from Zambian religious belief in the “high god” that missionaries grafted the Christian concept of God. Even if, in many ways, “the missionary venture was more about commerce than Christianity” (Burton 2007:228); recent scholarship indicates that indeed African religious milieu provided sufficient background for Africans to believe the Gospel to the extent that the “dynamic interaction of the gospel with African culture was deep and abiding, eventually resulting in a significant, indigenous reassessment of the received gospel message” (Thomson 2006: 36, 37).

### **Christianity and Missionaries Interact with ATR**

In the previous sections above, this study has shown that ancient Zambians had no difficulties conceptualising religion and politics as the same thing. Sacred and secular dualism as understood today, primarily, as understood within Western epistemology, never existed among the ancient Africans in general, or ancient Zambians in particular (Taylor 1968:1; Kangwa 2017); not even the coming of the missionaries to the African shores changed this fact. The Africans contextualised both the missionaries’ activities and the message they brought to the extent that it became a reinforcement of the African worldview and cosmology. One way missionaries reinforced the African worldview was through secular activities, using the Christian religion and modernist privilege to legitimise themselves as the de-facto secular powers in the eyes of the natives. Writing on the Malawian situation, Tengatenga (2006:34) put it this way:

The missionaries arrived at a time when other tribal groups were arriving and jostling for areas of domicile and control. It is therefore conceivable that they were seen as part of this tribal occupation of Malawi. Their mission settlement was consequently seen as their chiefdom. The leaders of the mission

were treated like chiefs of the people under them and those who sought refuge among them.

Longman (2005:83), when commenting about Rwanda and Burundi, rightly put it, stating that Christian missionaries, from the very first time they set foot upon African soil, “determined to make themselves and their Churches important political players, a decision that has profoundly affected the nature of the Christianity subsequently practised”. As far as the relationship between Christianity and politics is concerned, the African indigenous worldview affected mission Christianity more than the other way around. The following, then, are the specific actions from missionaries that made them appear, effectively, as secular powers.

## **The Role of Religion in Modern Zambian Politics**

These ancient worldviews and practices have not changed since they are still evident in contemporary Zambia. There is the belief amongst most of the Zambian peoples that, somehow, there ought to be a cordial relationship between the sacred and the secular (Kangwa 2017:157). This concept is demonstrated most clearly in what Merdado Cardinal Mazombwe told Kaunda at a Church and State seminar in 1982. The Cardinal stated:

Church and State relationships are always a difficult issue because it is the same human person who is political, social, and religious, a member at the same time of political and religious communities. We cannot divide the human person, as though the body lives in the State and the soul in the Church (Kaunda and Mazombwe 1982:253).

Pre-Christian notions of how religion and state should relate become critical because they set the centre stage through which Zambians came to interpret Christianity and its relationship with politics and the state. Moreover, as noted by Turaki (2006:19, 20), the traditional religious system’s worldview still has an enduring and persistent influence in the lives of Africans.

Therefore, the introduction of Christianity was interpreted by the Zambian people as providing a continuation of traditional religions as pertains to the relationship between religion and state (Turaki 2020; Kangwa 2017). Christianity did not effectively overrule the Zambian traditional religious worldview that integrated the sacred and the secular. In fact, Zambian Christianity became indigenised because it embraced the Zambian traditional religious character that combined religion and politics in general and Church and state specifically.



As such, these factors mentioned above were part of those aspects that would later contribute to the Declaration. By the time Christianity was becoming the major religion of Zambia, a template for its relationship with the political structures had already been created through pre-Christian conceptions of the world and its relationship to religion.

## Conclusion

Any analysis of Church and state in Zambia that does not incorporate authentically African worldviews is inadequate. Zambian Church and state relations, including the Declaration, can only be thoroughly analysed once African traditional worldviews are considered. Indeed, it is not our argument that those who have analysed the Declaration within Western models have been wrong. Our only argument is that these Western models have been deficient and, by themselves, cannot explain the whole picture.

In the context of this study, the aim is to attempt to detail the full tapestry of church-state relations in Africa, weaving together each of the fibers that this study compiles. Nevertheless, in order to do so, an analysis of the Western models is in order here.

A literature review shows that most church-state studies have overly relied on Western epistemology, Western models, and Western patterns in describing the relationship between Church and state in Africa in general and in Zambia in particular. However, the assumption that theology becomes “theology” only as Westerners reflect upon it is a serious anomaly that needs to be reconsidered. As the Church in the former colonies begins to grow, the theological voice from these corners of the earth must be heard.

It is incontestable that many theological reflection areas have so far been the brainchild of Western philosophical episteme. However, to do justice to the unique African context, an authentically African theological perspective must be presented and given the eminence it deserves. Concerning church and state, theological reflection must go beyond the historical or theological models presented from Western perspectives and extend to the models that are borne out of the African experience.

Through a reflection based on African experiences, we can get a fair analysis of several phenomena that impact the relationship between church and the state in Zambia, including the phenomena known as the Declaration.

An Evangelical Response to the Declaration in Zambia is based on its theology. In other words, it is the Evangelical theology that seems to inform the Evangelicals’ response to the state. Nevertheless, the Evangelical

response was inspired by ATR worldviews that did not distinguish between the sacred and the secular. For Evangelicals and Pentecostals in particular, both the Church and the state belong to the same sphere.

# Church and State: Pre-Colonial Era to the Kaunda Era

## Introduction

This is an additional chapter that focuses on Osmer's (2008) second task of, "why is this going on?" also referred to as, the interpretative task. For the purpose of this research, the question is: *Does the history of religion and Church-state relations explain the status quo?*

This question is addressed by considering Gray's (1990) three responses of religion to the state: *legitimation, checks and balances, and revolution*. This chapter is divided into three sections, as outlined below.

The first section addresses the pre-colonial era. Explicitly, it deals with the issues connected to Christianity's arrival in the area that includes modern-day Zambia.

The second section addresses the Church and the state in the colonial era. This is during the period when some sort of legitimate colonial government had taken shape over the land currently known as Zambia.

The third and final section then deals with the Kaunda era. This is the time between independence in 1964 to about 1991 when former President Kaunda ended his rule as president of Zambia.

## Church and State in the Pre-Colonial Zambian State

Two periods characterise Zambia's colonial history; the first period was from 1890 to 1924 under the British South African Company (BSAC). The second period was from 1924 to 1964 under direct British Colonial Office control (Phiri 2006:1; and Caplan 1970:131).

## The Christian Mission to Africa

Some Christian historians concur that the earliest Europeans to come to Zambia were not political imperialists but religious missionaries (Kangwa 2017). In fact, according to Christopher (1984:86), Henkel (1989), and Paas (2006:132), Christian missions predate colonialism. This means, therefore, that it is inadequate to judge Christian missions through the colonial lens. Christian missionaries' activities should be assessed, not by the colonial state alone but by their spiritual or religious motivations even before the

advent of colonialism. While this can be a difficult task, it needs to be undertaken. Considering this, in asserting that; “Christianity was a tool of European conquest”, Sindima (1995:11) ignores the fact that even before there was colonialism, Christian mission existed. It is, therefore, imbalanced to only evaluate Christian mission from the perspective of its relations with colonialism and European imperialism.

It is our argument in this study that before the advent of colonialism, European missionaries brought their message to bear upon the natives in ways that reinforced the natives’ traditional worldview that envisaged and conceptualised a united view of the sacred and the secular spheres (Kangwa 2017; Turaki 2010; Turaki 2020). Additionally, ATR philosophy set the template through which Zambians would understand and interpret Church-state relations in subsequent political periods such as the Colonial Era, First Republic, the Second Republic, and the Third Republic.

A critical study of these relationships yields a clear pattern that shows that, even though the missionaries delivered a radically different message from what Africans had known about God, they had not profoundly departed from reinforcing, among the Africans, the view that religion and politics, sacred and secular, or church and state are cohesive and integrated. Bearing this in mind, current debates of what should constitute an appropriate relationship between church and state in modern Zambia should be viewed from this historical and conceptual backdrop.

African Christianity is as old as Christianity itself; Africa is one of Christianity’s cradles (Turaki 2020). In Acts of the Apostles, Philip the Evangelist encountered the Ethiopian eunuch who, tradition claims, went back to his native Ethiopia and established the Church there (Acts 8:26–20). Twaddle (2002:1) noted, “Ethiopia had been penetrated by Christianity effectively long before North-Western Europe”. Christianity was Ethiopia’s official religion from 332 AD to 1974 (Nyangoni 1987:213). However, according to available sources, this Christian expansion did not penetrate deep into Central or Southern Africa. “Two forms of Christianity influenced Africa: the older Palestinian, Mediterranean or Hellenistic Christianity which came directly from Jesus and his apostles who lived in Palestine; and the later Western Missionary Christianity” (Turaki 2020:3). Thus, Christianity, as we know it today in Central and South Africa, Zambia included, was mainly a product of European missionary enterprise, which reached its climax in the nineteenth century.

Like much of Central and Southern Africa, modern Zambia encountered Christianity through European explorers and European Missionaries (Kangwa 2017; Turaki 2010). The latter came primarily to Christianise the perceived pagan lands. Simultaneously, the former was sent by their

various “Christian” governments to trade in ivory, slavery, gold, copper, salt, and many other minerals. According to Wills (1985:114), “if men such as Robert Moffat, Coillard and Laws came in search of the hearts and minds of men, others came looking for wealth in this vast region, and for the hard, free, and adventurous life which the quest could give”. However, in most cases, there existed a very close relationship and affinity between these two groups such that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other (Christopher 1984: 22; Porter 2004: 91–115). For example, David Livingstone worked as both missionary and explorer (Cox 2008:144; Kangwa 2017:1; Kanyama 2010:7; Ross 2002:243).

Livingstone is perhaps the most famous of all missionaries and explorers who have had the most significant influence on modern Zambia (Kaunda 2018:125). He desired to open a path to Africa, that civilisation, commerce, and Christianity might find their way there (Cox 2008:148). There are several factors why Christianity, in general and membership to the various Churches, grew in Zambia both during the pre-colonial and colonial times.

According to historians Kaplan (1974:191) and Ross (2002), before the Colonial Era has begun, more than a dozen denominations had established missionary stations in Zambia. In 1882, the London Missionary Society (LMS) opened the first of several stations in Kazembe’s Lunda Kingdom and among the Bemba peoples. The Roman Catholic White Fathers also jostled for influence among the same people as the LMS. Before the end of 1890, the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) had opened several mission stations in Northern Zambia. Meanwhile, Rotberg (1965b:8) states that in Barotseland – in the western part of Zambia – the Plymouth Brethren (PB) and the Paris Mission Society (PMS) had started establishing mission stations, schools, and hospitals.

By the time the colonial state was taking effect, most mission organisations had established themselves well around Zambia and the neighbouring countries. Church membership grew during this period. The growth of Christianity at this time is necessary to our discussion of how the relationship between Church and state developed and, consequently, how the patterns established in the early part of Zambia’s history remain efficacious today, in the context of the Declaration.

### **Missionaries as the Secular Political Powers**

Missionaries created leadership structures around their mission stations that merged religion with temporal powers (McCracken 2008:102). They established mission stations that were, in most cases, autonomous from

tribal chiefs (Maposa 2011:13). In fact, when initially establishing the mission stations, the missionaries would cooperate with the chiefs, but after they had become powerful, they would then ignore chiefs, usurp the prerogatives of indigenous chiefs, and assume political powers; thereby, claiming temporal powers over their Christian converts, the mission stations, and their immediate vicinity.

Rotberg (1965a:61) found that as the missionaries extended their influential power limits, they destroyed tribal authority. Such that, even before there was any effective administration by the BSAC – as the imperial force – missionaries had persuaded Africans to respect the temporal power that they wielded and to regard white men, in general, as superior.

Each of the missions, enmeshed as it was in an extensive secular network of its creation, “came easily to exert a measure of temporal influence over the stations and in the surrounding hinterland for which each individually came to feel responsible” (Rotberg 1965a:55). For example, according to a Western conception of right and wrong, the LMS missionaries enforced their laws vigorously. “They regulated life within the mission precincts with as sure, and as hard, a hand as a medieval lord his demesne” (Rotberg 1965a: 55–56).

LMS missionaries’ roles in ‘their’ territory had all the aristocracy’s appearances with the missionaries acting as chiefs, judges, prosecutors, and jury, more in line with what the traditional African leaders were accustomed to (Hall 1976:45). Even if the parent mission agency in London later discouraged the LMS missionaries’ practices, it had already created the impression among the natives that somehow, the missionaries were also colonial rulers, implicitly linking Christianity with temporal and political privilege. Again, this was within the perimeters of the natives’ notions of a unified religious and political structure.

### **Missionaries as Mediators of Temporal Privilege**

Both Meebelo (1971:27) and Paas (2006:252) have recognised how the missionaries’ “European manufactured goods” became potent means, used to expand their claim to temporal influence, through which they became mediators of modernity. The option to choose for Christianity was even made more attractive since it opened doors to modern privilege (Carmody 1991:144). Missionaries came to be seen by the natives as not only purveyors of the Christian spiritual message but promoters of temporal powers and temporal privilege as well.

Again, integrating religion with temporal powers was still consistent with the natives’ worldview. As far as natives were concerned, the

missionaries' behaviour conformed to their perceptions of religion's role in politics and political leadership. When missionaries later – due to pressure from the colonial government and their superiors in Europe – changed their message to that of “otherworldliness” as far as politics was concerned, it was too late for the natives to change with them: the missionaries had already made Christianity political, and this was very clear to the natives.

Consequently, the philosophy of depending upon religion and spirituality as media for political power was not abandoned in most Zambia; it was only transferred to something bigger and better – the Christian religion.

Missionaries did not simply establish their temporal rule, but they also imposed it through force. To them, they were creating a theocratic rule (Rotberg 1965a:60). Again, this situation was not without precedence within the African traditional society and structure. It could also be noted that the leaders of religion in the traditional African scene would equally become political leaders. Perhaps due to a combination of several factors, including the worldview of the natives, and the political and military realities of the day, by “1898 the London missionaries had developed a mode of the secular rule that far exceeded, in geographical spread and duration of time, any theocracies that had existed previously in Central Africa” (Rotberg 1965a:62).

In the years before there was any other proper white government in Northern Rhodesia, the London missionaries were, in their own and African eyes, the dominant secular power in North-Eastern Rhodesia (Rotberg 1965a:58). The following were the unusual circumstances that encouraged the emergence of the missionaries as protectors of specific tribes:

1. Most surrounding villagers came to missionaries for protection from raiding neighbouring tribes.
2. Missionaries came to be looked to as a source of protection.
3. Notably, the raiders and Arab invaders did not interfere with the European missionaries; they feared war with European powers once they attacked European missionaries.

Meebelo (1971:27) has rightly observed that perhaps, nowhere in the Northern Province was European missionaries' role as protectors better appreciated than among the non-Bemba tribes, who were living in constant fear of Bemba and Arab raids. Hence, by providing some kind of protection for these defenceless tribes, missionaries, by default, increased their status as the temporal power of consequence.

It, therefore, did not matter what the missionaries had said about religion and the afterlife, in the eyes of the natives, the religion of Christianity as practised by the missionaries, was a religion that, just like ATR, encouraged the meddling of religion in politics.

### **Missionaries as Precursors of Colonialism**

Missionaries were not just the temporal rulers of their mission stations; they, effectively, lent their credence to European governments' attempt at colonialism (Porter 2004). According to Christopher (1984:82), missionaries played a "vital role in Africa's colonial penetration". Davidson (1948:14–15) aptly put it that their work "made the colonization of the two Rhodesia's possible". Specifically, then, missionaries provided religious legitimation to the Colonial States in their role as both its precursors and its forerunners (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:34, 39; Sindima 1995:10, 46).

In Zambia, as was the case in many other parts of Africa, missionaries helped Britain's crusade towards colonialism by helping the British gain credibility with local chiefs and native populations (Caplan 1970: 40–42; Tengtenga 2006). In Malawi, Tengtenga (2006:69) notes that an Archdeacon of the Anglican Church was "both priest-in-charge of Likoma and Principal Headman". In Zambia's specific case, two situations illustrate just how missionaries used their influence upon local chiefs to both serve as local temporal powers and as introducers of colonialism. These two cases involve the Litunga Lewanika and the Chief Mwamba, which are analysed in the sequence below.

King Lubosi Lewanika was the Litunga of the Lozi people when the missionaries and the colonial state were greatly expanding their influence (Clay 1968). The most cardinal documents that the colonial state started to rely upon in claiming Zambian land were signed between the British government or their agents and Litunga Lewanika. The first documents or treatise between Lewanika and those of British agents were signed in the missionaries' presence.

The missionary with the most influence over Lewanika was François Coillard of the Paris Missionary Society (Coillard 1971; Kangwa 2020:86). According to Clay (1968:90), "from the beginning of their relationship, Coillard was determined, and felt it his duty, to do everything possible to convert Lewanika to Christianity." According to Stirke (1922:44), while Lewanika had "always lent the mission support of his approval", he had not converted to Christianity. As such, missionary Coillard is more famous for what he did in legitimating British colonialism in Barotseland than his attempts at converting Lewanika.



Francois Coillard and other missionaries with him persuaded Lewanika to sign a BSAC concession purporting to be with The Queen of England when in fact, it was not. Lochner, a representative of the BSAC, arrived at the court of the Litunga in May 1890; and BSAC and the Litunga signed the treaty, which was done in the presence of Reverend François Coillard and other missionaries (Hall 1976:11–15; Randall 1970:30; and Rotberg 1965a: 24). Mainga (1973:181), however, is cautious about taking the missionaries as accomplices in the cruel intentions of the BSAC or, indeed, the British colonial apparatus. Nevertheless, it suffices to note that the missionaries inadvertently played a role in the eventual subjugation of Lewanika to British colonial interest.

After the signing of the treaty, François Coillard himself remarked that “For the nation, this treaty would prove the one plank of safety ... The Barotse are incapable of governing and left to themselves, they would annihilate each other” (Coillard 1971:388). Randall (1970:30) attributes these exact words to an associate of Coillard’s, a Reverend Mackintosh. Of course, such a mentality, regardless of the sincerity of Reverend Mackintosh or Coillard, would later prove to be controversial in the natives’ perception of the Christian message.

As such, Rotberg (1965a:23) noted that Reverend Coillard’s most significant accomplishment in the broader history of Northern Rhodesia was the signing away in 1890 of Lozi sovereignty. This is because Reverend Coillard was instrumental in persuading Lewanika to request Queen Victoria of England’s protection and, later, to accept a treaty giving Cecil Rhodes’ British South Africa Company virtually a free hand in what would later become North-Western Rhodesia.

In the Northeast of modern-day Zambia, something similar happened. Father DuPont (who later became a Bishop), a catholic missionary, achieved “a significant political breakthrough at the court of the paramount, Mwamba” (McCracken 2008:167). Chief Mwamba was a very senior chief in the Bemba political succession of the Bemba people. Bishop DuPont’s political manoeuvring saw him become a successor to the chief (Hinfelaar 2003:367; Rotberg 1965a:35).

When the British sought to begin governing Northern Rhodesia, Bishop DuPont capitulated to British rule. He then influenced his Bemba subjects to do the same. Thus, colonialism was born in Zambia. Rotberg (1965a:36) observed that Bishop DuPont’s singular attempt to rule Mwamba’s chiefdom had, in sum, greatly facilitated the consolidation of British rule in North-Eastern Rhodesia. Additionally, it had just confirmed that Christianity was not necessarily going to change the native perceptions of the amalgamation of religion and politics.

These two examples of Bishop DuPont and Reverend Coillard are patent illustrations of the role missionaries played in encouraging colonialism and consequently continuing the concept that religion and politics should be unified.

## **Christianity and the “Scramble for Africa”**

In the provisions of the Scramble for Africa, we find some significant insights into the European imperial powers’ attitude to the Church and religion. The Scramble for Africa refers to a series of meetings held in Berlin and Brussels, from 1884 to 1889, where the European powers forcefully partitioned Africa among themselves (Adogame 2004; Emerson 1967:5; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:17; and Turaki 2020: 27). In fact, by the time of the Berlin meetings, most African states had already been claimed by European powers. The Europeans, missionaries included, had already been in Africa for many years.

There was fear among the imperial nations that missionaries from other European countries doing work in their territories would interfere in administering their colonial empires in Africa. With the background that most of these Churches were national Churches in their respective countries of origin, this fear is justifiable.

For example, the British would naturally be wary of the German Lutheran Church’s missionary activities, which was a national Church for much of Germany. At the same time, the Germans would be equally cautious of the Church of England’s missionary activities or Church of Scotland operating in “their” territories. To forestall this, Article VI of the General Act of the Conference of Berlin of February (1885) provided that:

All the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to... without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favour all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization. Christian missionaries, scientists, and explorers, with their followers, property, and collections, shall likewise be the objects of especial protection. Freedom of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners. The free and public exercise of all forms of Divine worship, and the right to build edifices for religious purposes, and to organize religious Missions belonging to all creeds, shall not be limited or fettered in any way whatsoever.

This article guaranteed religious liberty for all and guaranteed that missionaries be given the freedom to operate in any potential colony. In all

the subsequent “agreements” among the imperial powers, freedom of religion was guaranteed in the colonised territories even more than would be allowed in their respective countries. The British were expected to grant freedom to German Lutherans in their evangelism efforts in British territories in Africa, even if Britain had established the Church of England as the national Church in England. According to Greenlee and Johnston (1999:29), the British Missionary Society (BMS) used this doctrine to agree to evangelise King Leopold’s Congo fiefdom.

This principle of religious freedom that most African countries fell heir to when they gained their independence, to the extent that no colonial powers established a particular denomination in the colonised nations. “The interests of colonial rulers and missionary enterprises were never identical ... the British government did not seek to recreate a Christian nation” (Fergusson 2004:156).

However, despite the colonial government’s attempt at putting in place the anti-establishment political arrangements, the post-independence African leaders and their people had already become primarily Christian. Moreover, for reasons other than that of political or colonial expediency, many sub-Saharan African countries would closely link their newly found states with Christianity and, in some cases, with specific Christian denominations for religious legitimacy. In the context of Zambia, even if the British left a constitution that assured a secular state, Kaunda’s government, while claiming to run a secular state, favoured Christianity as the state religion. Former President Kaunda himself spearheaded the uniting of several Christian denominations to form the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) after just four months in office (Kangwa 2017:4–5).

Nevertheless, the Scramble for Africa and the subsequent claims that European powers had over much of the African territories came with Christian connotations, since the imperialists claimed to be Christians who believed that partitioning Africa among themselves was, in and of, itself “a Christian duty”. Notwithstanding, it is also clear that the same imperial powers also provided support for their missionary kith and kin. Thus, the newly established colonial governments provided some form of support for the missionaries in their endeavours and vice versa. Therefore, Christianity came to be linked with Western imperial culture. Further,

Missionaries urged Africans to copy the white man’s ways—to put on clothes, to purge themselves of sin and corruption, and to accept the truths of the Gospel as a complete code of conduct. Many methods of coercion were used by the missionaries to obtain compliance with their modernizing demands; they denied a place upon the ladders of material advancement to

those who refused to comply with missionary dictates. They reserved the educational experience to nominal Christians (Rotberg 1965:9).

### **Mission Christianity and its Impact on Zambia**

Having established, above, how the missionaries came to Christianise Africa, it becomes necessary to evaluate precisely the kind of message they brought for the natives. If we are to see the kind of influence they had on the natives' conception of life, it becomes necessary to see what they taught.

The subject or the nature of the missionary message the European missionaries brought to Africa has not yielded a unanimous opinion. McDonagh (1980:95) contends that the missionary message was other-worldly while others such as Rotberg (1965a:127) claim that the message was more tuned at helping the African in the present life. Yet still, other academics like Sindima (1995) do not have kind words for the message of "European Christian liberalism". According to Sindima, the liberal Christian message brought by the Europeans was so alien to the African mindset that it was "resisted by individuals and communities" (Sindima 1995:171). Contrary to Sindima, however, Africa did not necessarily resist the Europeans' Christian message; they purely understood it within their tradition's purview. That is, the Christian message that the Europeans had liberalised with their liberal philosophy returned to its original flavour once the African had absorbed it. In Africa, the Christian message returned to its spiritual and Biblical dimensions.

According to McDonagh (1980:95), "the gospel message which prevailed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was primarily a message of salvation or fulfilment in the next world." However, the evidence of Zambia's missionary activities shows that even if that were true, two elements challenged this message: the African religious context and the missionaries' behaviour themselves. First, the traditional African worldview never separated life into two different compartments, one secular and another sacred, and missionaries did not successfully dispel such a mindset among their converts. As such, Africans did not look at religion as only significant for the afterlife. Secondly, their conduct inadvertently affirmed this traditional African worldview by their involvement in social development, economic evolution, and political consolidation.

In direct variance to McDonagh's (1980) view above, other theologians and historians hold the view that the primary message that the missionary groups brought to the African was not just a "liberal message" as claimed by Sindima (1995) but was, instead, a thoroughly Evangelical message that,

in fact, subtly blurred the distinction between the sacred and the secular. According to Rotberg (1965a:127), the missionaries preached that “if only Africans would confess their sins, then they would ‘be born again’, and ‘be truly saved’”. Rotberg (1965a) continues to state that; this doctrine of professed or confessed faith could be demonstrated by the willingness and the act of exchanging pagan rites and practices for Christian precepts and behaviour.

According to Rotberg (1965a:127), “presumed the wholesale transformation of African life”. Indakwa (1977:29) adds that converting (the sacred element) the African poor to improve their condition of self-help (the secular element) was an essential Evangelical objective of the missionaries. By so preaching, the missionaries were inadvertently confirming the pre-Christian notion among the Zambians that religion, correct rituals, myth, and taboo play significant roles in both communal and individual prosperity, except that, with the coming of the missionaries, the religion would no longer be traditional Zambian religion but, rather, Christianity. As stated by Carmody (1991:142), “many converts deeply committed themselves to the missionaries’ message, principally because the missionary presence communicated dedication to what the converts saw to be good, holy, and worthwhile.” For the Zambian, fulfilment in the afterlife was just one of the ways, and not the only way, they understood the gospel message, since the missionaries may have been preaching a message of salvation in the afterlife, while at the same time establishing themselves as temporal rulers.

Suppose Rotberg (1965a), Carmody (1991), and Indakwa (1977) are correct. In that case, it means that the faith and doctrine of former President Chiluba that may have led to his official declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation was not his post-independence invention of Evangelical theology but was rather clearly rooted in the gospel message brought by the missionaries which was itself subjected to influence by ATR worldviews. The Declaration does have a background in the missionary message and activities, and even in ATR before the missionaries.

Specifically, Chiluba’s action and belief that when a leader publicly professes faith in Christ would lead to the transformation of African or Zambian life take precedence over the missionary message.

Nevertheless, the sharp difference lies in the fact that, while the missionaries sought to lead individual people to Christ and, in turn, lead to their desired transformation and national salvation, Chiluba believed that as the leader of Zambia, he could profess Christianity on behalf of the entire nation and, hence, attract blessings upon it. He believed that his act of faith and profession as leader of the nation would lead to its transformation. Consequently, for Chiluba, Christian salvation would not merely

be relevant in the afterlife but would lead to national prosperity in the present. These ideas will be further enunciated in the succeeding chapters. Nevertheless, suffice it for now to make a clear link between pre-Christian religious conceptions, the missionary message, and the subsequent doctrines of Chiluba and his Evangelical faith.

### **Christianity and Indigenous Africans' Efforts at Evangelism**

Despite the concept mentioned above of "The Scramble for Africa", it should be admitted that European coercion alone is not sufficient to account for the phenomenal growth of Christianity in Africa (Porter 2004:320). Gray (1990: 80) points out several weaknesses in taking coercion as the only reason for the rapid expansion of the Christian faith:

1. It incorrectly identifies Christianity in Africa with the Western missionary enterprise alone while ignoring the extent to which the missions were able independently to initiate the modern communications revolution in Black Africa.
2. It overlooks how this revolution has been intimately associated with Christian cosmology.
3. Recent scholarship has exposed the extent to which the growth, expansion, and development of Christianity south of the Sahara has depended on, and been distinctively moulded, by African initiatives (Gray 1990:80).

The fact that Christianity was equally spread by African initiatives and European's can be demonstrated through what happened at one mission station known as Mwenzo. "At Mwenzo", writes McCracken (2008:167), "while European initiative pioneered the establishment of the station, African enterprise from 1898 was responsible for keeping it going." According to Frey (2009:37), the Baptist expansion into the Copperbelt of Zambia involved "two African Christian teachers from the Angoni Tribe, David and Luke. The two African Christians were excellent examples of Christian conduct and were highly respected. David became an evangelist and also helped the missionaries to understand the culture and behaviour of the Lamba people better." Stanley (2009:17) remarked that African initiatives comprised:

A great and sometimes unorthodox miscellany of indigenous pastors, prophets, catechists, and evangelists, men and women who had little or no access to the metropolitan mission headquarters and the wealth of dollars and pounds which kept missionary society machinery turning; they

professed instead to rely on the simple transforming power of the Spirit and the Word.

In addition to the Mwenzo mission mentioned above, another “African” or “indigenous” initiative, relevant to this study, involved the missionary endeavours of Reverend Kaunda and Reverend Paul Mushindo (Kangwa 2017:64). Reverend Kaunda was the father to Zambia’s first president, Kenneth Kaunda (McCracken 2008:169). Reverend Kaunda trekked from the renowned Church of Scotland founded at Livingstonia Mission in modern-day Malawi (Cook 1975:98, 99). He went to serve as a missionary and teacher to Zambia’s Bemba people (Kaunda 1962:5). He settled in the Chinsali district, where he “built a solid Presbyterian Church” called Lubwa Mission (Falk 1979; Sundkler and Steed 2000:974). He led this mission station from 1908 to 1915 (Rotberg 1965a:116), shaping it and “guiding its rapid expansion” (Sundkler and Steed 473).

Reverend Kaunda is significant due to the influence he exerted on the young Kaunda, a future president of Zambia, who, as the president, looked back on his early days as the son of a missionary with nostalgia. In his memoirs, Kaunda (1973:17) wrote, “my parents taught me to believe in God, and I have been a man of faith ever since”.

Reverend Kaunda is also significant because of how reliant he was on prayer to God as an answer to his adopted country’s needs. Evangelical Christians would look, for example, at David Kaunda’s prayer just before he died as a significant event in besieging God for the welfare of the future nation of Zambia. This is because Kaunda, having been one of the first African evangelists on his deathbed, “prayed for peace in the country and said: ‘Father God, let your kingdom come in this land’” (MacPherson 1974:42). Evangelicals are confessional, not in the sense of the historical Church’s confessionalism. Instead, they look to confessions that leaders make to be significant spiritual carriers.

In addition to having had a significant influence upon his son Kaunda, Reverend Kaunda also had a considerable influence upon Reverend John Lester Membe, a very influential Christian leader later in Zambia’s colonial period (Hastings 1975:177–180). Suppose Zambia’s Christian roots are attributed to Europeans such as David Livingstone and their missionary endeavours (Ross 2002:239). In that case, there should equally be no problem recognising David Kaunda and his contemporaries’ contribution to Zambia’s Christian foundation.

David Kaunda’s missionary work shows that Africans had also adopted Christianity as their religion and were willing to spread it to their fellow Africans. This confirms the fact that, “the evangelization of Africa has

mostly been through the testimony and ministry of African Christians” (Falk 1979: 430). “Christianity, therefore, is not just the religion of the white man; it can also be an authentically African religion” (Turaki 2020:55).

### **Missionaries and Health and Education**

A recognisable factor partly explaining Christianity’s tremendous growth during both the pre-colonial and colonial eras is that it grew very fast because of the European missionaries’ hard work and investment in evangelism, education, and health (Kangwa 2017). This hard work is seen in both their sincerity in bringing the Gospel (Kaplan 1986:167) and their use of pressure to evangelise. Undoubtedly, the missionaries as emissaries of Christianity were exceptionally closely linked with the whole apparatus of colonial rule (Gray 1990:79).

The missionaries’ access to modern technology and innovations bestowed great privilege upon the Christianised members of the Zambian society. Indeed, Christianity grew partly through coercion based on the perceived cultural superiority of the missionaries. It is a historical fact that Christianity spread with the growth of Western imperialism. By the time of the *Scramble for Africa* in 1884–1889, European governments had begun formalising their claim to specific territories within the continent.

### **Church and State During the Colonial Era**

In his study, Indakwa (1977:89) noted how, by the time the missionaries were expanding their influence in central Africa, Britain had begun to rely on Cecil Rhode’s BSAC Company to carry out imperial expansion and help develop and colonise southern and central areas of Africa, including modern-day Zambia. Chartered on 29 October 1889, the BSAC entered into agreements with various traditional leaders in modern-day Zambia for commercial and political purposes (Simpson 1987: 208). The BSAC “had acquired control of the land of Northern Rhodesia under the Lozi concessions and the treaties and certificates of the claim that had been approved by Harry Johnston” (Rotberg 1965a: 102 and Caplan 1970). The BSAC, therefore, served as a *de facto* colonial government from 1890 to 1923 when the Company’s “charter ended” (Simpson 1987:211).

BSAC rule ended on April 1, 1924 (Hall 1976:50 and Randall 1970:34), when the British Colonial Office appointed Herbert Stanley as Northern Rhodesia’s first colonial Governor. In the Colonial Office Rule, from 1924 to 1964, Britain’s concept of the colonial administration was derived from the



principle of Indirect Administration. The British administered governed areas through their native political institutions but under British colonial overseers' control (Kastfelt 2002:137). According to Morris and Read (1972:21), Indirect Administration "provided the means whereby their chiefs carried out the day-to-day administration of the African population, and it was through them that the district officer guided and controlled the development of the rural areas." On the other hand, the Church in colonial Zambia subsisted in the various missionary stations, Churches, and organizations established during the pre-colonial times and those established during the colonial era.

During colonial times, Zambia was under British rule, both politically and economically. Government is a costly exercise, and as such, the British colonial powers had to find a way of raising enough revenue to fund government activity in the Zambian colony. Since many of the Zambians mainly depended on subsistence farming, that was the only way the British could tax them. They came up with various tax structures through which they could extract taxes from the Africans. One such initiative was through crop levies, hut taxes, and, eventually, monetary taxes. This form of taxation, especially monetary taxation, brought lots of difficulties for the natives, as they did not have the means to pay money.

Under the force of law, most of them had to abandon farming and, instead, go to work in the European industries and farms to generate enough income to pay their taxes. With the Copperbelt's growth as the economic giant of Zambia, most natives left their villages to go and find work on the Copperbelt so that they, too, could raise enough to pay the taxes. This undoubtedly disturbed most Zambians' way of life and would go on to impact religion and politics in Zambia.

The British Colonial government forced the Mission Church and the Mission Stations in Zambia to retreat from temporal control and political power to concentrate only on spiritual matters. However, these spiritual matters would include some aspects of socio-humanitarian involvement, such as the provision of education to the natives, the running of hospitals, and other socio-humanitarian endeavours. The missionaries that had wielded considerable political influence over the natives in the pre-colonial era in the various mission stations were now, under the colonial state, relegated to the religious sphere only. They were now asked to defer to the state all matters about politics and governance. In practice, then, the missionaries whose conduct among the natives did not differentiate between the sacred and the secular were now forced to accept that dualism.

This situation caused the missionaries to rediscover their otherworldly message. They now had to tell their African converts that Christianity is

not necessarily about achieving well in this lifetime but in the time to come. By the time this message was changing, however, it was already too late, and there was no going back on the Africans' understanding of the message of Jesus Christ as the message of salvation and hope in the "now" and not in the afterlife (Kangwa 2017).

## **The Church's Legitimation of the Colonial State**

After the British colonial government had wrestled political control from the missionaries, the missionaries quickly capitulated to British colonial control. However, they had to relate practically to the colonial authorities, and this practical relationship with the colonial state encompassed several elements. According to Randall (1970:39), the Church largely supported the colonial enterprise such that "the African saw that the majority of missionaries were actually 'arms' of the government". The Church was perceived to function as an arm of the government in a number of ways.

### *The Church Legitimated the Colonialism and the BSAC*

Missionaries were generally content with the BSAC's method of governing Northern Rhodesia, even before Northern Rhodesia was put under direct rule from the British Colonial Office. They frequently said so and defended the company from overseas criticism (Rotberg 1965a:101). Since they got so many privileges from the company, there was no way they could not be supportive. The Church was also satisfied with the BSAC's overall approach to the problems of Africa and was rarely reluctant to make use of its influence for their own outcomes.

### *Legitimation Through a Common Heritage and Power*

It must be admitted that missionaries generally shared four things in common with colonial government agents: common nationality and culture, common race, administrative authority, and a position of privilege (Nyan-goni 1987:222; Randall 1970:39;). These similarities, however, could have led to a situation where both missionaries and colonial powers supported each other politically.

In most cases, the missionaries identified their political survival with that of the occupying political power, and, in fact, both had great disdain and disrespect for African cultures and civilisations. According to Gray:

Reluctantly the state tolerated the continued existence of the missionary orders, and for the missionaries the state in the colonies as in the metropole remained primarily an antagonist, a rival against which one had continually to be on guard, wrestling from it whatever slender advantages one could as a meagre return for services rendered (Gray 1990: 93).

The Church and its missionary representatives “sought the political and military protection of the white administrators of the European colonial governments” (Nyangoni 1987:221) for their local Churches and mission stations and the people that they were serving. Missionaries counted on the backing of the BSAC in matters large and small. In effect, “the accessibility of its secular power enabled them individually to feel secure, and their association with it gave the Gospel an added attraction” (Rotberg 1965a:100).

### *Legitimation Through Taxation*

Missionaries provided their network and infrastructure to help the colonial government collect taxes from the natives. According to Rotberg (1965a:101), several missionaries made Church membership conditional upon the payment of the taxes. Additionally, “The missionaries successfully urged the colonial authorities to introduce the taxation of huts in order that Africans might thereby be encouraged both to work for white employers and to reduce the number of polygamous marriages” (Rotberg 1965a:100).

So, missionaries could afford to serve as tax agents of the colonial powers because most of them were pleased to be instruments of what they thought to be benevolent colonial rule.

### *Legitimation and the Challenge Faced by the Church*

Even though the Church cooperated with the colonial state in ways outlined above, the colonial authorities were “frequently less than trusting or trustworthy in their approach to missions” (Greenlee and Johnston 1999:10). They could not just understand how the missionaries would want to invest in having the natives receive an education to read and understand the Bible. The colonial authorities must have known that the missionaries’ motives were not just that the natives could read the Bible but, instead, that the floodgates of knowledge should be opened to them. The colonial authorities were also concerned that the gospel of freedom would make it difficult for them to govern. Moreover, the colonial government regularly sought to curtail the missionary message of freedom and hope.

The colonial state supported Evangelical efforts enthusiastically, albeit with what cynical missionaries regarded as an ulterior motive. Smith (1928:118,119), a missionary, carried out a study in which he noted that the BSAC assisted Christian missions in at least two important ways. For a start, they gave the Christian Missionaries liberal grants of land and other facilities. Additionally, when making treaties with chiefs in Northern Rhodesia, the BSAC pledged itself to promote Christian Mission and education.

Nevertheless, Smith (1928) failed to recognise that the missionaries' strong relationship with the Company that was promoting colonialism and imperialism may have dented the image of the Christian missions and Christian message when the company started to exploit the local populace. This close cooperation between the Church and the company only reinforced in the minds of the natives that missionaries were as good as the imperialists.

Additionally, some in the Church felt that colonialism was proper as long as the colonial authority supported the Church missions and did not interfere with the Church's vision of converting the natives. Smith (1928:188) noted that "the British Government which is in power, both in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, is friendly, and even more than friendly, to the mission of the Church." Some missionaries, therefore, perceived the British government to be friendly to the mission of the Church. Phiri (1996:185), in his study, reported that the colonial authorities introduced financial subsidies to mission schools and helped build infrastructure that would make the mission stations more accessible to both the colonial authorities and the natives.

The colonial authorities and the missionaries united in stemming what was regarded as the Islamic takeover of Africa. From the beginning of their entry into Central Africa, the missionary's position that their bringing of Christianity to Zambia somehow counteracted or forestalled the rise of Islam in the region. Smith (1928:121) saw the absence of Islam in Zambia as an opportunity for mission work.

We are missionaries and as such entrusted with a great and all-engrossing task. Like the first apostles, we are to preach Jesus and the Resurrection. On that point there is no divergence of opinion among us. We may utter our messages with varying emphasis, but the ultimate truth is one—we offer salvation in Jesus Christ to sinful, dying men. ...We have preached to them Jesus. Have we nothing to tell them about the spirit in which he would meet these difficulties and implications of his teaching on their settlement? These words are attributed to Reverend John White in 1926. Reverend White was the President of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference (Smith 1928:142–143).

However, the significance of this fear of the rise of Islam did not end during the colonial rule. Many years later, the fear of Islam's growth was one reason why Nevers Mumba, one of the Evangelical leaders in Zambia, had, by 1990, called for Zambia to be declared a Christian nation. Mumba believed that Islam could only be contained once a declaration of this nature was in place. It is safe to conclude, then, that as early as 1928, the missionary's efforts at stemming the rise of Islam had planted the seed that would later germinate and grow into demands for the Declaration.

Moreover, the missionary Churches also supported the colonial governments when the colonial governments made decisions that reinforced the missionaries' moral tenets. For instance, the missionaries welcomed a ban on liquor sale to natives by the colonial authorities' and felt said ban to be advantageous to their mission. Smith (1928:120) dubbed the prohibition of liquor "one of the best things the Government ever did". Again, this matter appears suspect because liquor's sale was only prohibited to the natives and not to the white imperialists. The Church's excitement with this only reinforced the natives' suspicions of their real intentions.

### **The Church's Checks and Balances on the Colonial State**

An analysis of Phiri (2001:18), Weller (1975), and Bishop Alston May's personal correspondence yields several conflict areas that existed between the Church and the Colonial authorities. It should be noted here that the main centre of the Church's response to the colonial state at this time was the Northern Rhodesia Council of Churches (NRCC), which was under the leadership of Bishop Alston May for much of the colonial period (Weller 1975: 195).

These areas of conflict are discussed in succession below.

#### *Checks and Balances Through Taxation*

The issue of taxation was one area that created tension between the colonial state and the Church. The colonial powers, through the BSAC, introduced a controversial hut tax in 1901. In Zambia, as elsewhere in Africa, Africans were expected to pay this compulsory tax in cash (Hansen 1984:189–204; Posner 2005: 26, 27). Starting at three shillings when introduced, the tax rose to ten shillings by 1922. This tax's social impact was very evident; most Africans were forced to find jobs since much of their economy was not based on cash systems (Hall 1972:44). In pursuit of jobs, most natives would leave their villages and homes to go to urban areas where they would mainly work in the mines and industries as labourers.

They would also be forced to work on the white man's commercial farms to afford to pay this cash tax. Such activities by the colonial state were unacceptable to the Church such that:

In 1922, the General Missionary Conference passed a resolution declaring the tax "excessive and unjust." The missionaries went on to pressure the authorities for a tax cut. "We venture earnestly to press for a general reduction of taxation," said the statement. The BSAC administrator politely acknowledged the problem, but no action was taken until 1924 when Britain assumed direct control of the colony (Phiri 2001:18).

### *Checks and Balances in Indigenous Land Rights*

Derogation of African land rights was another matter that caused the Church to speak out against the BSAC and the subsequent colonial authorities (Weller 1975:199). According to Simpson (1987:209), "European-owned farms were established on the better land and with access to the rail line. The farms were large-scale commercial units producing crops for sale." Rotberg (1965a:101) notes that the missionaries fought the BSAC energetically to prevent the transfer of African lands to white settlers.

Above, it has been noted the connection that ATR has with the land. However, through the missionaries' fight for the indigenous land rights, it is evident that the natives saw this fight for their land rights as a clear vindication of their assumption of connections between religion and land.

### *Checks and Balances in the Federation*

The third issue concerned the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Hall 1976:92). During the time of great political upheaval, much of the Church authorities implicitly approved of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland even if it was very unpopular among the natives. However, some Church organisations did not approve of the amalgamation of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) with Malawi (Nyasaland) and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia). Smith (1928:48) reported that the General Missionary Conference executive had expressed the opinion that Zambia, in particular, should remain a Protectorate directly under the British Crown.

As stated above, while, in principle, the missionaries had expressed no real opposition to some colonial policies, the desired Federation between Rhodesia and Nyasaland, became a source of conflict between the Church and the colonial powers. As a result, in December 1957, the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia (CCNR) openly opposed the government's *Federal*

*Franchise Bill* and the *Constitutional Amendment Bill*, which the nationalists were against (Kaunda 1962:149; Cook 1978: 289; and Hall 1976:155). This was the first public sign of the protestant missions' reappraisal of the Federation. According to Cook (1978:289):

It is significant that mission Churches acting together in a Christian Council, and with powerful home (European) Churches behind them, could dare to stand out against a quite ruthless government in a way which an independent Church like the African Methodist, that could easily be banned could not afford to do.

### *Checks and Balances in Criticising Sporadic Abuse*

Sporadic abuse from the colonial state was another issue that compelled the Church to oppose the state. According to Paas (2006:252), missionaries clashed with the Colonial State regarding the issue of defending African rights. Specifically, the Church occasionally spoke against abuses by the colonial governments. One of the most vocal critics of colonial central Africa's colonial state was Reverend John V. Taylor, an Anglican missionary from Britain. He and several other missionaries were "regarded as misguided and mistaken the apparent unwillingness of the Church to allow itself to be identified with African nationalist aspiration" (Stuart 2003:184).

Another abusive issue concerned the exploitation of African women. According to Rotberg (1965a:100), the missionaries protested sharply to the BSAC whenever "European officials cohabited with African women, were cruel to their African subordinates, or attempted otherwise to take advantage of the indigenous population".

Rotberg (1965a:106) noted that, for the most part, the missionary witness on behalf of the Africans was given "by default". Despite the many wrong things perceived to be done by the BSAC as the colonial authority, many missionaries still supported it. Smith observed in his studies that "the Company or some of its representatives unquestionably gave pain to its well-wishers by many of its acts, but it did do much to help the Church" (Smith 1928:119). Conversely, when commenting on the need for the Church to act and speak independently of the state, Smith (1928:119) put it very well, "The Church is of course not the servant of any Government, and its function is not that of acting the moral policeman in keeping order. It must reserve its freedom of action and unhesitatingly pronounce its judgment upon unchristian doings - whether committed by black or white."

By making this statement, Smith expresses the Church's autonomy from the rule and control of the government, in this case, the colonial

government, so far as the government does not hinder the Church's mission. The Church was willing to cooperate with the colonial government as long as the colonial government supported the Church's mission. However, Bishop May and John Fell usually championed African rights and were not afraid to speak truth to the proverbial *Caesar*.

### *Checks and Balances Through a Call for Balanced Marriage Laws*

According to Weller (1975:197), some missionaries within colonial Zambia wanted to ask the colonial governments to secure legislation that made Christian standards of marriage binding upon the whole Zambian population. At this time, two categories of marriage were legally recognised. The first was marriages contracted within the African customary law. The second one was the "Christian" marriage contracted under the common law of England and Wales.

African customary marriage law was problematic to some European missionaries since it provided for polygamy, among many other stipulations (Morris and Read 1972: 213–214). However, Bishop May (as quoted by Weller 1975:197) was particularly averse to the idea of having customary marriages banned and Christian marriage imposed by force of law. He remarked:

My feeling is that the agitation is altogether ill-judged. Personally, I would prefer that the present arrangements should continue as long as possible, and that we should rely upon spiritual forces alone, without the aid of the State, for establishing and maintaining the Christian view of marriage. We have had enough in Europe of the mixing up of Church and State! (in Weller 1975:197)

Bishop May's insistence upon spiritual forces alone and not the state's arm shows his desire to separate the Church and state. He believed that the state should not be made the arbiter of spiritual beliefs, of which marriage was one such belief. Interestingly, one thing this statement from Bishop May fails to acknowledge is that by refusing the mixing of Church and state from a European perspective, he had not, by the same token, removed such conceptualisation from the natives' perspective since, in the natives' conception, sacred and secular are wholly united.

In fact, many Christians in Zambia, including Former President Chiluba – who declared Zambia a Christian nation – have relied on customary marriages and not "Christian" marriages as defined by colonial Christianity. Such practices should include the idea that marriage was contracted



with the blessing of God for some Africans even if it was not contracted on European cultural marriage terms.

An appropriate model of how the Church should relate to the state in a Christian nation should incorporate African customary practices so far as they do not stand contrary to Biblical principle. It is in this regard that Bishop May's opinion is most valid and significant.

## **The Church's Tools for Revolution against Colonialism**

It is somewhat paradoxical that the very missionaries who played a role in creating a colonial state, as forerunners to it, were also partially responsible for its demise as the precursors of Zambian nationalism that fought to end colonialism.

### *The Church, Colonialism and Zambian Nationalism*

As Burton (2007:228) stated, the very missions that were tainted by the racist notions of cultural supremacy created the institution that would invoke the spirit of freedom; this was the case in mission colonies across Africa, Zambia included. As observed by Maxwell (2005:287), we find that, while religion and the colonial empire frequently mingled, they were as likely to undermine each other as they were to provide mutual support.

Sindima's (1995) assertion that "historically, Christianity in Africa has always aligned itself with the forces that have destroyed African society" (1995:164) fails to convey the whole picture of the liberating role that Christianity and Christian missionaries have played against the evils of colonialism. Sindima's (1995) frustrations with colonial Christianity are understandable. However, regardless of how much Christian missionaries aligned themselves with the colonial apparatus, it is clear that the message of the Gospel, once it had entered the hearts and minds of the natives, rung in them a message of freedom. The mission Church, therefore, challenged the colonial status quo in several ways.

Colonial Christianity also challenged the prevailing circumstances by deliberately breeding nationalist leaders. Emerson (1967:159) proposed a theory that stated that the rise of nationalism in many contexts is likely to be preceded by a revival and reformulation of basic religious principles and outlook. In the case of Zambia and elsewhere in Africa, a permutation of the mission, Christianity, and ATR worldviews provided this revival and reformulation of fundamental religious principles and outlook that would lead to a spirited fight for nationalism and independence.

Phiri (1996:193) mentions that the mission stations and mission Churches provided the avenue, circumstance, and infrastructure through which the politics of colonialism and racism could be discussed with relative freedom. Hall (1972:59) postulates that “more pervasive, however, was the influence from Nyasaland, where the radical Church of Scotland missionaries imbued their charges with an independence of mind which was to have tremendous consequences” on the future of the Africans’ fight for freedom from colonialism.

Jenkins (2007:169,170) observes how “most of the first generation of independent Africa’s political leadership was Christian, commonly the products of mission schools”. Before Jenkins (2007), Hastings (1971:141) noted that both – Kaunda, of Zambia, and Banda, of Malawi, had been Presbyterians Senegal’s leader, Leopold Senghor, had trained for the priesthood. To cite more examples, Catholics Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania, and Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, had both been taught in mission schools.

In South Africa, the majority of the most ardent critics of the apartheid state were Christian (Balcomb 2004); in fact, “Bible passages were used extensively to combat apartheid” (Adamo, 2010, 25). In Zambia’s neighbouring Congo, Patrice Lumumba, an independence icon, was himself a product of Christian mission education and upbringing (Sartre 2006:180, 187).

For Zambia, several nationalist leaders were products of mission schools and mission education. Robinson Nabulyato, a Methodist teacher, served as the country’s first and longest-serving Speaker of Parliament (Nabulyato 2008: 8–13). Speaker Nabulyato clearly characterised Zambia as a Christian state. He remarked that “in Zambia, we have tried to follow the principles of a Christian state, and I think we have not done too badly ...” (Nabulyato 2008:68).

In addition to Nabulyato, the most momentous nationalist leader who rose through the Mission Church, in the context of Zambia, was Kaunda, the first President of the Republic of Zambia. The subsequent sections will discuss former President Kaunda in more detail.

### *The Church’s Gospel Message Became the Africans’ Message*

The missionary message found resonance in the mind-set of the new African Christians. As has been noted above, Africans’ worldview is reluctant to tolerate a dualism between the sacred and secular or between religion and politics. Once the Gospel’s message was preached to these new converts and internalised by them, they used the Bible and its message to begin questioning the things they found exceptionally problematic in their colonial society. According to both Maxwell (2005:286) and Phiri

(1996:193), Africans drew increasingly upon Biblical idioms to critique and undermine colonial rule and to respond to the exigencies it created. They soon started to employ the very ideas of Christianity to question racial superiority and colonialism.

In his own account, Kaunda narrated how, from the Bible, he read that God created all human beings in his image and likeness. From this reading, Kaunda and his friends understood that the Bible teaches racial equality and as such, British colonial rule over Zambia was both socially and religiously unjustifiable. He wrote that “I had begun to question certain things in the life of the mission which seemed incompatible with the teaching of Christ in the Bible” (Kaunda 1962:146). Gray (1990:100) adds that in 1947 the young Kaunda spoke to a Scottish missionary at Lubwa of racial oppression as “a great burden of evil”. Additionally, Donald Siwale, one of the pioneer members of these embryonic political organisations, later recalled that he and his colleagues’ “idea of equality came from the Bible” (Gray:100). McCracken (2008:169) in fact, attributes the founding of the first welfare association to an African Christian missionary, Reverend David Kaunda.

When answering a critic who had told Kaunda and Nkumbula’s African National Congress (ANC) to be more grateful for civilisation brought by the white man and the Christian religion, Kaunda responded that this critic had not studied Jesus Christ correctly (Macpherson 1974:133,134). By so saying, Kaunda was clearly demonstrating to those who used Christianity against their movement that he, too, had read the Scriptures. Through this extensive reading of the Scriptures, Kaunda could take a position against the evils of colonialism with support from the Bible itself. From Kaunda’s answer here, Christianity and the Bible were no longer a possession of the whites or white missionaries alone; the Bible had become the property of the African as well.

Indeed, “In the face of the dehumanizing and humiliating condition of slavery, African-descended peoples in the New World searched the Bible when they encountered it for vestiges of freedom, hope, justice, and an alternative future” (James 2010:11)

### *The Church and Socio-Humanitarian Issues*

Christianity in the colonial period challenged the colonial status quo by the missionaries’ deliberate involvement in several socio-humanitarian activities such as the provision of education and health care to the natives (Randall 1960). The missionaries’ investment in things that catered to the non-religious aspects of the natives’ lives positioned Christianity as

attractive and also instrumental in equipping the natives with the tools desirable to survive in a modern world. In fact, “missionary work and education, despite their manifest limits, often had a vital liberating impact and was welcomed for that reason” (Porter 2004:318).

According to Indakwa (1977:31), “missionaries wished to educate Africans because they believed Africans could not understand the word of God until they could read.” As such, education helped the indigenous peoples to read the Bible and understand its liberation message.

## **Church and State during the Kaunda Era**

Zambia inaugurated her First Republic on October 24, 1964, after attaining political independence from Great Britain (Kangwa 2017; Mulford 1967:1; Jefferson 2002:75). Many scholars (Cook 1978; Hastings 1971; Henkel 1989:205; Rotberg 1965; and Scherer 1964) acknowledge that Christianity generally and the Church, in particular, had exercised an enormous social and political influence upon the Zambian society from its inception.

### **Kenneth Kaunda, Faith, and the State**

#### *The Church in the Kaunda Era*

According to Hinfelaar (2008:130), “Christianity was firmly embedded in Zambian society at the time of Independence, and its mission educated leaders fully understood the importance of the consent and blessings of the Churches.” As written by Rotberg (1965a:146–147), “Of the men who brought about the end of colonial rule and created the new Republic of Zambia nearly all had been trained by missionaries and had once been members of the elite of the Church.” Consequently, “when the colonial rulers departed the continent,” they had left behind an immeasurable religious legacy in terms of cultural change and conflict (Chazan, Lewis, Mortimer, Rothschild, and Stedman 1999:98).

However, the effective end of colonialism in Zambia and in Africa, overall, presented several challenges for the Church as well as for Christianity.

1. Since the Church had come to be associated with colonial powers, there was a need for the Church to hew a new and fresh identity for herself that was utterly different from the colonial powers.
2. Most of Churches were primarily national Churches in their respective European context. This meant that it was necessary, at the time of African independence, that those particular Churches adapt to

the new independence realities taking shape in Africa. In the Zambian context, despite the influence of national Churches such as the Church of Scotland, the Church of England, and the Lutheran Churches, the post-independence Zambian constitution did not acknowledge a preference for any one particular denomination or religion. If anything, the constitution guaranteed freedom of conscience for all.

3. Newly established republics responded to the institutional Church in varying degrees. Leaders like Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya saw the missionaries and their Christianity as a way that was used to subjugate the African, whereas other leaders like Kaunda were “frank to admit the formative influence of Christian ideas” (Scherer 1964:155) upon their own personal lives and that of the nation. Kaunda remarked to a Catholic Church gathering in 1980 that “it was never true that the missionary offered us the Bible with his left hand while he used his right hand to steal freedom and resources from us” (Kaunda 1980: 251).
4. Regardless of how independent African leaders eventually thought or spoke about Christianity and missionaries, it was clear that Christianity had actually taken root among the people, roots that could not be easily dismissed.

However, the major challenge had to do with how the newly independent country would compromise its relationship with a foreign Church mission organisation and how Christianity was going to be understood within these independent territories. In the Zambian situation, the First Republic (the first few years after independence) showed a very healthy relationship between the government and the Church.

In the First Republic, Zambia inherited one of Africa’s wealthiest economies from her colonial master Britain. Her economic engine was the Copperbelt province, which is a collection of several mining towns. With reasonable prices of copper at the world market during that time, Zambia’s African government implemented massive and ambitious programs to build the nation. This program included investments in infrastructure, schools, hospitals, and industries.

### *Zambia’s Independence Constitution and Religious Freedom*

At independence, Zambia’s constitution guaranteed freedom of religion and assembly for all Zambians, and this ubiquitous freedom was guaranteed even though Zambia was predominantly Christian culturally, socially,

and politically. The 1964 constitution, as well as the 1996 amended constitution, state unambiguously that:

Except with his own consent, a person shall not be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of conscience, and for the purposes of this Article the said freedom includes freedom of thought and religion, freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, and both in public and in private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance (Part 3, Section 19 [1] of the Constitution of Zambia).

For many scholars, such as Njovu (2002), the consensus is that this 1964 constitution's provisions of religious freedom provided for a secular state instead of the 1996 constitutional amendment that created a Christian nation through the inclusion of the Declaration to the preamble. However, Njovu's reasoning is faulty in that the 1996 Constitution, despite recognising the fact that Zambia was to be a Christian nation in its preamble, has maintained and, perhaps, expanded the freedom of religion and rights as enshrined in the original 1964 constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The question, therefore, should not be whether Zambia is legally a secular state or not, but rather, what role religion and Christianity have played in the development of the nation. With this in mind, Zambia's adherence to religious freedom should be judged, not by which one among the many religions is more popular than the other, but by whether, despite being overwhelmingly Christian, Zambia allows for religious diversity as a matter of constitutional right. This constitutional right of religious freedom was guaranteed in the original independence constitution and still is protected in the current constitution despite the Declaration being included in the preamble.

### *Kaunda and the Christian Faith*

Before Kaunda became president of Zambia in 1964, when he was still a nationalist leader, several elements characterised his attitude towards the relationship between Christianity and politics in general, and Church and state.

As a leader both before and after independence, Kaunda carried himself as a Christian. Kaunda's overt faith was a significant factor in his life in shaping his personality both as an individual and as the leader of a newly founded republic. In his 1962 autobiography, he tells the reader that: "I was brought up in a Christian home, and my Christian belief is part of me

now. It is still my habit to turn to God in prayer, asking for His guidance” (Kaunda 1962:146). In 1973, Kaunda wrote, “religious faith has played a central role in my life and even at the price of being considered old fashioned or naïve” (Kaunda 1973:17, 18). In 1982 when addressing Church leaders that had gathered to discuss his introduction of scientific socialism, Kaunda told the meeting: “My humble parents taught me to believe in God, and I have found that to be a tower of strength at all times. Indeed, God has continued to reveal himself to me in various ways, and I am grateful for this” (Kaunda and Mazombwe 1982:247).

One notable indication of the genuineness of his Christian faith is that shortly before independence, when it became obvious that Kaunda was going to be the first black president of independent Zambia, certain members of his party, UNIP, began to suggest that he take up a life presidency to which he responded that being a Christian, such a situation, “would come between my God and me so that I could not talk with him in the morning” (MacPherson 1974:447). Writing to Colin M. Morris in 1966, Kaunda remarked that:

I personally find that my religion is a useful antidote to any megalomaniac tendencies I might develop. I never cease to remind both the people and me that I am not a supreme potentate but a humble servant of Almighty God. I do not miss any opportunity in my public utterances of turning the people’s eyes away from me towards God as the true sustainer and protector of the nation (Kaunda and Morris 1966:86).

Again, former President Kaunda was acutely aware of the dangers of possessing power and that God would help prevent the corrupting influence of his newly acquired power. Despite these clear indications that Kaunda was a genuine believer in God and the Christian faith, some claim that he only used the Christian faith as a tool to validate his government without being genuinely committed to the Christian belief. This is the view held by Njovu (2002:33), who writes, “in his early days in power, Kaunda used Christianity to legitimize his government”. Njovu continues by stating that Kaunda’s use of Christianity was due to the potential political support he could garner from the Church. This was attributable to the vast following enjoyed by the mainline Churches. Equally, Gifford (1998:191) noted that:

Christianity was always a factor in Kaunda’s regime. It played a large part in conferring legitimacy on Zambia’s first government, and Kaunda clearly used it to this end. ...He used Christian rhetoric to project an image of compassion, uprightness and integrity, and made political capital from his image as a Christian gentleman.

While many have praised Gifford's (1998) and, perhaps, Njovu's (2002) sentiments above, these sentiments do not consider the fact that even before he had assumed political power, Kaunda was a solid Christian believer. Evidence from Kaunda's own writing (Kaunda 1962; 1973; 1966) and that of his biographers (Kaunda and Morris 1966) point to the fact that he had embraced the Christian faith from his childhood. So, by the time he was aspiring for leadership and indeed when he became president, he should not be said to have simply usurped Christianity for political reasons. That is why Njovu's (2002) views above are largely unconvincing. It would be of paramount importance to recognise that Kaunda was himself a Christian. His reliance on Christianity was not merely for political convenience but for the mere fact that he was a true believer. Christianity was simply an integral part of his life (Kaunda and Morris 1966:13).

Moreover, when Gifford (1998) writes that Kaunda used Christianity as a political ploy, it is essential to note at what point in Kaunda's life or presidency this incongruity began to happen. Gifford neglects to distinguish the precise point at which Kaunda started using Christianity for his political benefit. Furthermore, his faith was not just a tool for his political ambitions. Instead, he sincerely sought to lead and serve the nation in the spirit of Christianity.

The fact that Kaunda may have changed or may have used Christianity for his own benefit later on in his presidency does not and should not lead to the conclusion that he was not a genuine Christian at all. Kaunda was truly Christian at the time of independence, and he sought to lead the nation under the very Christian values that he had learnt from his father; from his interaction with the missionaries; from his own personal devotion to God as a Christian; and, indeed, as a lay preacher in the Presbyterian Church. However, his use of Christianity for his political survival is only part of the whole story; the other part of the story is recognising his faith as a Christian. Gifford's criticism, therefore, would not apply to Kaunda's early life and his first years as leader of Zambia but would aptly apply to his later life.

### *Kaunda and The Church's Political Role*

It was Kaunda's long-held belief that the Church had a role to play in national politics; as early as 1962, he wrote that the "Christian religion had something important to say to us in our political movement" (Kaunda 1962:147). According to Ipenburg (1989:64), Kaunda's vision of a Church encompassed one politically active Church, that was pro-African National Congress, and a Church that was independent of the Scriptural exegesis of the European missionaries. This direct link between the Christian religion and national



politics has been carried over throughout Zambia's political history. In efforts to justify their positions, both ruling and opposition parties have used the Christian religion and Biblical precepts. Former President Chiluba's Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, in this regard, simply continued a tradition that Kaunda, even before Zambia's independence, had started.

Kaunda had some misgivings about the institutional Church. The primary point of contention between Kaunda and the organised Church rested in what he perceived as the Church leaders' tolerance of the colonial regime that allowed racial discrimination. Macpherson (1974:132) writes that while Kaunda pledged not to stop believing in the God of Jesus, he had begun to doubt the God of the Church. He simply could not reconcile the teachings found in the Bible with the racially polarising policies of the colonial government, which were, in most cases, reinforced by the institutional Church. Speaking later in 1999, Kaunda expressed to B. Carmody (2002:14) that it is regrettable that the institutional Church had not done more towards the liberation struggle. While rejecting the activities of the established Church, Kaunda nevertheless knew the influence that the Christian religion possessed.

Kaunda's feelings here, are consistent with the African view that religion can legitimise opposition to the status quo. No doubt, then that Kaunda used religion in justifying and legitimising his opposition to the colonial government. This justification, however, had to be employed even if the colonial government did have some implicit support from some people in the institutional Church. According to Kaunda, there is no explanation for a true believer in the God of Jesus justifying racial discrimination and minority rule.

Another misgiving that Kaunda had over the institutional Church was what he perceived to be divisions within the Church. Kaunda did not understand why Church services held Sunday should be divided into denominations. Macpherson (1974:385) recounts Kaunda's words, "How can God be so kind to me as to guide me in my work and at the same time be a God who entertains division? It cannot be!" This attitude on Kaunda's part would greatly influence his action of leading efforts that led to the amalgamation of several denominations to form the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) in 1965, as well as on his subsequent decision in 1988 to impose a ban on the registration of new Christian Churches through the Registrar of Societies (Smith 1999: 526).

### *Kaunda and the Political Role of the Christian Person*

Kaunda believed that there was a need for an increasing number of Christian men and women to join political parties and play a part in the nation's

political process. He interpreted Christ's words that Christians should be the salt of the earth to mean that Christians had a duty to be part of the political process (Kaunda 1962:150). Such interpretation of Scripture was also evident in Frederick Chiluba's rhetoric when he became Zambia president after succeeding Kaunda.

Furthermore, Nevers Mumba, one of Zambia's foremost Evangelical Christian leaders, who later joined active politics and served as Vice-President of the Republic of Zambia, remarked, using the similar expression, that "for the Church to be relevant, we must encourage people of conscience and morality to participate in politics" (Lockhart 2001:79). These men of integrity and solid moral grounding should, according to Mumba, be members of the Christian Church. Further, many other Charismatic Church leaders have also used the salt of the earth analogy to justify their active involvement in politics. Again, this confirms the idea that the Declaration was simply a continuation of Church-state relations philosophy that existed many years prior.

Kaunda was also determined to see the teachings of Christ translated into practical living, including the elimination of racial discrimination and injustice. He feared that if the Church were not seen to consist of people who carry the teaching of Christ into every part of life, there would be no future for the Church at all (Kaunda 1962:150). Here Kaunda was speaking more like a prophet than a politician; when he said this, Kaunda was on the other side of power, challenging the existing state of the colonial government and seeing religion in general and the Christian religion in particular, as a potent force to fight the evil and injustice of colonialism.

Ironically, many years after Kaunda had risen to become president of Zambia, the Church used the same sentiments to challenge him to be more democratic and more respectful of human rights. In this regard, religion's role was to cut both ways for Kaunda – he used it when he was in opposition of colonial rule before independence, and the Church used it against him once he was in power.

### *The Church, Christianity, and the Kaunda Government*

Kaunda sought to have a Christian government under God; that is to say, he "understood the power of Christianity" (Kaunda 2018:133). Spickard and Cragg (1994:318–319) noted that during the First Republic, Kaunda attempted to lead the UNIP and, later, Zambia's state according to Christian principles. Sundkler and Steed (2000:974, 975) observe that the newly independent Zambia was dominated by the personality of a president who represented a healthy Christian tradition and who, through the years, had

demonstrated a keen interest in the affairs and plans of the Churches. As a friend of the ecumenical movement, Kaunda addressed the 1968 World Council of Churches assembly in Uppsala, Sweden. In one of his speeches and written literature before independence, Kaunda (1962:148–149) wrote:

We are all brothers, for we are all children of God, and we should work together. No man can hate his fellow man or try to stop his progress or keep him from enjoying all the fruits and rights of his country and of salvation in Christ. While we are all children of our earthly parents by physical birth, we become by spiritual birth in a special sense children of God. And in that spiritual relationship all men should live in peace and love. If people do not belong to our race, colour or nation we must not hate them, for we are all God's children, and God's children must work together to banish sin from the heart and not to work against one another ...

... Christian principles can never be split, they have either to be accepted, or sacrificed as they are. In our opinion, for Christian Churches not to condemn racial discrimination, whether practised by black or white governments or any other groups is to sacrifice Christian principles. What is immoral cannot safely be passed as Christianly right ... it is my firm belief that we need an increased number of Christian men and women in all political parties. It was our good Lord who said that his disciples should be the salt of the earth, but I am sorry to say that many Christians are prevented from joining political parties. For example, many Christian teachers fear to join our UNIP openly because they fear that they will be put on a blacklist, either by the missionary managers or by Educational Officers.

Spickard and Cragg (1994:318–319) also provide the following statement in which former President Kaunda expressly links the basic tenets of Christianity to his own life and that of his nation.

For all my optimism about Man's possibilities, I do not make the mistake of forgetting that he is God's creature, with all that this means both in limitation and in dignity. Nor do I deny the reality of sin. The besetting sin of the humanist is Pride. The significance of Jesus Christ is surely that he spells death to our pride by showing us how far short of God's design for us we are. He is the Man against whom all men must measure themselves when they try to live the life of love. Then they will discover that he lived the perfect life of love not by his own unaided ability but because he was totally submissive to the Will of God.

Former President Kaunda's commitment to lead his new nation according to the Christian faith is later espoused by his successor, President Chiluba, who, in the same manner that Kaunda did, committed himself to lead the

nation in line with Christian values. According to Christian principles, this devotion from Zambia's leaders to want to lead the country ought to be recognised as an historical reality.

Kaunda, in the First Republic, knew the influence that the Church had over the general population. According to him, politics was as much about power as spirituality was. Hastings (1971:188) noted that Kaunda's authentic Christian values and moderate policies, which made it possible for the Churches to work with him so enthusiastically, were balanced by his acute sense of the realities of power. Kaunda was also "a shrewd tactician who can use religious rhetoric and a gushing display of emotion in the pursuit of the most hard-headed of political objectives" (Hastings 1971:188).

### *Kaunda as a Weeping Prophet*

Kaunda's personal qualities also had a considerable influence on his government's attitude towards the Church. Likened to the Prophet Jeremiah in the Bible, Kaunda could be characterised as having been a "weeping prophet." Kaunda being able to weep on cue both publicly and privately seemingly is still a hotly contested issue. Van Rensburg (1981:452) catalogues several instances where Kaunda openly wept.

At the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Algiers in 1968, the Nigerian question led him to open weeping. Second, he wept at a British Commonwealth meeting in Singapore. Third, in 1971, as chair of the OAU, he openly wept to mourn deceased Egyptian president, Gamal Nasser.

Fourthly Van Rensburg (1981:452) details below:

In May 1974, at the third general assembly of the All-Africa Conference of Churches in Lusaka, the 500 delegates waited nearly five minutes in embarrassed silence while the Zambian President's grief spent itself in sobs after he had talked about South Africa's policies and of 'people professing to be Christian, holding the Bible in one hand and a gun in the other'.

While there are many reasons why Kaunda would be so amenable to weeping, there is reason to believe that Kaunda's faith played a role in this characteristic.

## **The Church's Role in Legitimation of the Kaunda Government**

### *Legitimation Through the United Church of Zambia (UCZ)*

Barely three months after independence, on 16 January 1965, at Mindolo in the Copperbelt town of Kitwe, President Kaunda unveiled what Hastings (1971:162) called “the ecclesiastical coping to the new national edifice”. This renewed national structure involved the amalgamation of “Zambian Congregationalists, Methodists, and Lozi Reformed: all combining in the United Church of Zambia” (Sundkler and Steed 2000:791).

Even though the talks towards the uniting of the various Churches had started as early as 1958 (Falk 1979:205; Kangwa 2017), the drive towards unity was accelerated by the new political realities that existed independently in Zambia. The leadership of the ecumenism loving President Kaunda and “many politicians and public figures” (Henkel 1989:57) buoyed these realities. Consequently, this activity of combining into a single Church of a range of different protestant traditions was a remarkable feat for a non-sectarian, unity-loving president. However, to Kaunda’s disappointment, “neither the Anglicans nor the African Methodist Episcopal Church joined” this new denomination of the United Church of Zambia (Cook 1978:291).

After the Church service on January 16, 1965, Falk (1979:206) writes that “President Kaunda, Reverend AF Griffiths of the London Mission Society, and the Archbishop of Central Africa extended greetings to the United Church of Zambia.” Consequently, the state’s might represented by Kaunda and the leadership of the Church had collaborated to launch this new Church. Therefore, this formation of the UCZ deserves particular attention as one of the significant factors in Church-state relations in the First Republic.

Several elements make the formation of the UCZ significant in terms of Church-state relations in the First Republic. Kaunda’s upbringing as the son of a Church of Scotland minister had accustomed him to the idea of national Church, to the extent that he may have found it quite natural to establish a similar kind of structure for Zambia as well, albeit with some variation (Cook 1978:291). Thus, the Church of Scotland missions were a strong influence in the formation of the UCZ since they had pioneered similar national Churches in various parts of the world including, India, China, and Malawi.

Kaunda sought to have a unified Church in the UCZ that would help thwart tribalism in the general society and within the Church itself. A few

months after independence, Kaunda was very optimistic concerning tribal unity remarking to Colin M. Morris that, “with any luck, this generation will think of itself not in tribal terms as Bemba, Lozi or Tonga, but as Zambians” (Kaunda and Morris 1966:91).

However, it was not very long afterwards that Kaunda realised that various Zambian tribes were not as invested in the idea of a united Zambia as he had previously supposed; tribalism was a real problem the country faced (Phiri 2006:131; Caplan 1970:191–218). As noted by Macola (2003), Posner (2005:60, 61) and Frey (2009:44, 45), the mission Churches played a massive role in this tribal partition of Zambia, presenting, for Kaunda’s leadership, significant tribalism challenges and factionalism in the government and among the people (Wills 1985:462). Being the son of a missionary from modern-day Malawi, who settled in the Chinsali District of Zambia, Kaunda was not immune to tribal intolerance. Some in his first government considered him a foreigner. Evidently, tribalism posed a significant threat to the unity of the country.

Kaunda, therefore, saw the mission organisations as potential perpetrators of divisions and tribalism since most of them were linked to specific geographical areas of Zambia and specific tribes in particular (Macola 2003; Frey 2009:44–45; Kangwa 2017:147). This, to Kaunda, was unacceptable, and he wanted to have the mission Churches unified in the hope that, by default, that would lead to a more united country. This, in Kaunda’s view, was in the hope that it would eliminate tribalism. The UCZ, therefore, “came into being on a crest of popular excitement at a moment when ‘One Zambia One Nation’ was the great political cry” (Hastings 1971:162; and Pitch 1967:96). Concerning other more Evangelical Churches, Kaunda still insisted on “detrribalising” them. Frey (2009:68) says the following about Kaunda’s attitude to the Baptists:

After independence of Zambia (1964), the Government of Zambia wanted to avoid tribal classes and bring unity into the country. For the Baptists, the Government insisted the tribal based name, “Lamba Baptist Association” should be removed and therefore it was renamed into Northern Baptist Association of Zambia (NBAZ) in 1976.

In supporting the formation of a Church like the UCZ, it could be assumed that Kaunda may have hoped to have some level of control over religion, understanding its power and the sway that the Church had on ordinary people.

### *Legitimation Through Close Cooperation with Kaunda's State*

There, generally, was a cordial relationship between the Church and the state in Kaunda's First Republic, that is, from 1964 to 1973. According to Phiri (2001), Church and state relations in Africa are most cordial when political leaders are more democratic and less repressive. Given the political and economic climate of the First Republic, it is improbable that any significant upheaval would affect Church and state relations. Specifically, however, the Church provided religious legitimacy to Kaunda's government while Kaunda's political leadership provided legitimacy to the Churches in at least two ways.

The Kaunda government's close cooperation with the Church was seen in Kaunda's personal relationship with the clergy's senior members. It is reported that he made it a point to meet regularly with the Church leaders, holding regular six-monthly suppers that afforded the Church leaders the opportunity to approach him directly. However, he expected the Church leaders not to criticise him publicly (Hastings 1971:188).

Hinfelaar (2008:132) noted that several clergy members were counted among personal advisors of President Kaunda in the First Republic. Prominent among these were Father Patrick Walsh and Reverend Colin Morris, a very close friend who later became Kaunda's biographer (Kaunda and Morris 1966; Kangwa 2017). Additionally, before Kaunda even became President, he had worked very closely with ministers of the gospel, Colin Morris and Merfyn Temple (Gifford 1998:228). Merfyn Temple is counted among the early non-African supporters of Kaunda's cause for an independent Rhodesia (Hall 1976:163). Furthermore, both Morris and Temple contributed to Kaunda's publication of a 116-page book entitled *Black Government* which The United Society curiously published for Christian Literature. Kaunda's close link with Christian leaders continued on for a long time after independence.

Some of Kaunda's closest associates and cabinet ministers were Church leaders as well. One of those was Reverend J. Siyomunji, an ordained African Methodist pastor who served as cabinet minister for Western Province and Central Province. In a paper of 20 November 1969, entitled 'the role of the Church in a Developing Country', Siyomunji urged his Church to found agricultural co-operatives to raise rural living standards and to initiate housing schemes to help the urban poor (Cook 1978:296).

### *Legitimation Through Political Harnessing*

President Kaunda harnessed the Church to participate in his political programs and to be amenable to him. This 'Political Harnessing of the Church'

shows the Kaunda government's attitude towards the Church and Christianity. Hastings (1971:188) mentions that in the First Republic, Kaunda and his government had gently harnessed the Church to the ruling system and, at that time the Church could not refuse such cooperation with the state since they perceived Kaunda to be a fellow Christian who was trying to do the best of his Christian duty as leader of the new nation.

In fact, as noted above, Kaunda tended to appoint clergy to senior public and party offices. Hinfelaar (2008:131) lists several examples of clergy that had been appointed to public offices:

- Reverend Jalabafwa Chipeso (UCZ) – Lusaka Rural District Governor.
- Reverend Merfyn Temple (UCZ) – Land Resettlement Office.
- Reverend Jackson Mwape (UCZ) – National Commission on one Party State
- Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo – a member of Cultural and Social Sub-Committee of the UNIP's Central Committee, and of the Mufulira Disaster Fund Committee of 1973.
- Father C. I. Riordan – a member of the Electoral Commission in the first one-party elections of 1973.
- Father S. Mwansa – District Governor of Kaputa District.

According to Hastings (1971:188), Kaunda even persuaded the influential Catholic Archbishop Elias Mutale “to serve as a member of the commission instituting a one-party state” later in the First Republic.

This feature of appointing clergy to public office continued long after Kaunda's government was out of office. It was a regular feature for Frederick Chiluba's government as well. It is clear that the Declaration did not change anything concerning the clergy's appointments to public office. The major differentiating factor about the Third Republic was that Chiluba gave more visibility to Pentecostal and Charismatic Church leaders who, at the time of the First Republic, were practically non-existent.

Close cooperation between Church and state expressed the mainstay of the Kaunda government in the First Republic and epitomised the Church-state relationship philosophy of Kaunda's First Republic. The desire for close cooperation between the Church and the state or the expectation on behalf of the state for the Church to be involved in socio-humanitarian efforts is characteristic by the first or the second republic, but the entire history of Zambia at large.

UCZ again deserves special attention because its members, notably Kenneth Kaunda and many others, played a role in national politics



(Kangwa 2017). Cook (1978:290) observes that the leaders of the UCZ were African, and like the AME Church, several of its members were in the new government, right up to President Kaunda himself. In 1980, the synod of the UCZ noted that most people in the Zambian parliament belonged to the UCZ (Freston 2001:154).

Another reason why Kaunda may have been keen on supporting the establishment of a national Church could be to create a Church that would provide the religious backbone to his ideal government structure. On some level, it would seem that the UCZ would be instrumental in affirming his political leadership's spiritual authenticity. Even though he was a layman in the Church, his recognised leadership of the Church showed just how critical the Church was to Kaunda's whole political process. It seems like, in Zambia, every president must have a Church to validate him. President Chiluba had several Pentecostal leaders around him, just as Mwanawasa had the Baptist Church leaders.

### *Legitimation Through "Humanism" and the National Anthem*

Hastings (1971:187) noted that Kaunda in the First Republic, unlike most of his colleagues in Africa, had not developed "an ideology or a practical policy which could severely alienate the Churches." Kaunda, instead, trusted the Church and expected their close cooperation in national politics and governance, including his introduction of the philosophy of "humanism", which was a clever syncretism of Christian teachings with Zambian traditions in order to give the Zambian people a framework for belief and practice (Kaunda and Morris 1966:38–39; Smith 1999:534; and Rakner 2003:46).

Kaunda's humanism is different from philosophical or Western humanism (Kaunda and Morris 1966:39). According to Kaplan (1974:202,223), Kaunda's humanism was actually a religious concept that incorporated traditional Zambian beliefs and Christian beliefs such as the *Golden Rule* and respect for human rights.

Additionally, an important tenet underlying Kaunda's views is his emphasis on the individual's worth where "society must ultimately serve men and their well-being...men do not exist for the state" (Kaplan 1974:202).

In the words of Kaunda himself, three pillars taken from traditional Zambian value systems anchored his philosophy of humanism. These pillars are:

1. Community as a mutual-aid society,
2. Community as an accepting community, and
3. Community as an inclusive society (Kaunda and Morris 1966:24–27).



*Figure 2: Humanism and Community*

Kaplan (1974:202) noted that Kaunda’s humanism was also partly a rejection of “Communist doctrine” and underlined what Kaunda considered to be true African socialism. In “humanism”, Kaunda drew on several concepts familiar to most African governments’ stated philosophy and relied, for inspiration, on Christian concepts of man and society (Kaplan 1974:223). It is no wonder that the Church in Zambia reacted very positively to Zambian humanism (Mijere 1978:356). Churches volunteered to use their pulpits to spread “the good message of humanism” (Njovu 2002:36; Mijere 1978:356). Archbishop M. Mazombwe at one time directly addressed Kaunda by telling him, “Your Excellency, you cannot doubt that the Churches supported the philosophy of Zambian Humanism when you first elaborated it” (Kaunda and Mazombwe 1982:254). Indeed, Kaunda and the ideal of humanism were compatible with the Christian message.

As mentioned above, the First Republic, which spans from independence to the early 1970s, was mainly influenced by a profoundly Christian President Kaunda’s personality. Juxtaposed with his Malawian counterpart, the contrast is obvious. While Malawi’s President Kamuzu Banda was lambasting missionaries as early as 1965 (Tengatenga 2006:99), Kenneth Kaunda had grown in stature before the Church.

At independence, the formation of the nation of Zambia was not going to be devoid of religious symbols. As noted above in this study, Zambians

are thoroughly religious, and that religiosity precludes a distinction between sacred and secular spheres. It was only natural that God and religion would be part of the symbols of creating this new nation. The first clue to religious symbolism in the formation of the nation was with the National Anthem.

Stand and sing of Zambia, proud and free, Land of work and joy in unity,  
Victors in the struggle for the right, we have won freedom's fight.

All one, strong and free.

Africa is our own motherland,

Fashioned with and blessed by God's good hand,

Let us all her people join as one,

Brothers under the sun. All one, strong and free.

One land and one nation is our cry, Dignity and peace 'neath Zambia's sky,

Like our noble eagle in its flight, Zambia-praise to thee.

All one, strong and free.

Praise be to God,

Praise be, praise be, praise be, Bless our great nation,

Zambia, Zambia, Zambia,

Free men we stand

Under the flag of our land, Zambia-praise to thee.

All one, strong and free

(National Anthem of Zambia, Chapter 7 of the Laws of Zambia)

In terms of faith, religion, and specifically Christianity, this anthem presumes the existence of God. Secondly, this anthem's lyrics clearly portray a petition and a prayer to God to bless Zambia. Thirdly, while the term God as used here seems to be generic, it is apparent, though, that the God as meant in this anthem is God as understood in Christianity. This anthem, therefore, acknowledges God as the creator and fashioner of the African land. God is, therefore, a creator, fashioner, and one who blesses Zambia.

The national anthem's music is taken from a Christian prayer-song *Nkosi sikel' Africa (God Bless Africa)*, which was composed by South African musician Enoch Sontonga (Mzondi 2018:41). According to the African National Congress website (ANC 2020), Sontonga was a Christian who composed this song as a prayer petitioning God to bless Africa. This song was widely used by many African liberation movements in the Southern African region. It became the tune for at least three national anthems of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Currently, South Africa's new national anthem uses some of the original lyrics of the song.

Therefore, this song is significant in that it conceptualises God as a God who is concerned about both the spiritual and physical wellbeing of his

people. It also confirms that for most Africans, Christianity had been adopted as an indigenous religion, which they could use to answer their immediate secular needs. *Nkosi sikel' Africa* is noteworthy because, above all else, it depicts God as the ruler of both the spiritual and the physical world. Suppose Zambia, considered itself as traditionally founded on Christian religious values. In that case, its national anthem further reinforces that belief, confirming that Christianity is not alien to the Zambian people's culture or worldview.

According to Mzondi (2018), *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika* was a prayer for the coming of the Holy Spirit upon Africa preceding the AZUSA Street revival in Los Angeles, which was the forming event of the rise of Pentecostalism (Mzondi 2018:51)

### *Legitimation Through Church Rhetoric, Christian Imagery and Infrastructure*

At Zambia's independence, Christian rhetoric and Biblical imagery were used to describe Kaunda as a leader. Princess Nakatindi is quoted to have cast Kaunda as a "Moses of Zambia, who has led the people...out of poverty into the land flowing with honey and milk" (MacPherson 1974:455). During August 25, 1964, political rally, one placard read, "Dr Kaunda the son of David is our Saviour here in Zambia – Dr Kaunda the Son of God who was sent to liberate Black Zambia."

Additionally, K.A.T. Kangwa, Secretary of the UNIP's Parliamentary Caucus and Research Bureau, said thus of Kaunda – "our messiah, *Chitwe Mwine Mambo* Dr Kenneth Buchizia Mutepa Kaunda became the first president" (MacPherson 1974:455). This term, *Chitwe Mwine Mambo*, is a special praise phrase reserved for royalty and is used in traditional Christian hymnology as praise to God.

Similarly, all these Biblical imageries were applied to Kaunda's successor former President Chiluba who, according to Cheyeka (2002:179), "right from the start, in 1991, Chiluba likened himself to the Biblical Moses" and at the *Kasanda Malombe* rally in Kabwe, "He claimed he was leading Zambians out of Egypt", seeing himself "as a messiah, prophet, and king". Additionally, Christians and non-Christians alike, cast Chiluba as a Moses coming to take Zambia out of Egypt – out of Pharaoh's oppression. In this regard, Kaunda, who in 1964 was hailed as Moses, had now become a Pharaoh holding God's people back from entering the Promised Land. Zambian history is so littered with Biblical imagery to the extent that the Declaration should not be taken as wholly surprising.

Kaunda's government made fair use of Church infrastructure to spread its message. In 1972, the three major Church mother bodies, the EFZ, the

CCZ and the ZEC launched a monthly newspaper called the *National Mirror* (Hinfelaar 2008:135). Through this paper, the government found an opportunity to spread its message as well. In this case, then, the Church was going to cooperate with the state in the spread of the state's message. The state media such as radio and television were not enough; the state had to rely on this monthly newspaper as well. Sikota Wina, who at that time, was the minister responsible for Information, Broadcasting, and Tourism emphasised at the launch of this newspaper that "it was agreed that the Churches' superior network of information and distribution should be put at the disposal of the government" (Hinfelaar 2008:135).

The Church would use *The National Mirror* at a later stage during the waning years of Kaunda's rule to weaken Kaunda's presidency becoming the mouthpiece of the Church and a vocal advocate for the restoration of democracy in Zambia as well as the specific support of Frederick Chiluba. Likewise, the Catholic Church established the *icengelo* magazine that was extensively used in the early 1980s to articulate opposition to UNIP.

### *Legitimation Through the Kaundan Government Influence*

Kaunda's Influence over Church Affairs was evidenced by Kaunda's close relationship with the Church – both Protestant and Catholic. Two pertinent examples of Kaunda's influence over the Catholic Church to appoint Zambian Catholic priests Elias Mutale and Emmanuel Milingo as Bishops and later Archbishops of the Catholic Church in newly independent Zambia (Hinfelaar 2008: 132). Another critical factor was Kaunda's influence in forming the United Church of Zambia shortly after Zambia's independence.

It would be essential to note here that these influences over Church matters ensured that Kaunda had friends in the Churches' hierarchy at all levels. However, these very Church leaders at some point became bitter enemies of Kaunda himself, and Kaunda's fall later in early 1990 could be attributed to the efforts of the Catholic Church and the United Church of Zambia clergy, among many other groups. In implicitly meddling in Church affairs, however sinister, Kaunda was planting seeds that would come to total fruition later when the same Church leaders became opponents of his autocratic rule.

Kaunda's act of being instrumental in forming the UCU after barely two months in power mirrors his successor, Frederick Chiluba's Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, barely three months after taking office as president.

### *Legitimation and the Power of Religion in African Society*

Kaunda also pushed for a united Church because he knew the power of religion in African society. He was aware of the prophetic nature of religion and could not tolerate having different denominations. In 1969, at the African Methodist Annual Conference, he warned that “different denominations ‘could lead to fanaticism – and religious fanaticism leads to deaths, untold sorrows and misery’” (Cook 1978: 291).

Nevertheless, while Kaunda’s efforts at unifying various structures in the country were momentarily successful, they proved to be the same structures that his opponents used to topple him. One such example is the inception of the Zambia Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) which was founded in the same spirit of promoting unity for the nation under the *1971 Industrial Relations Act*, which made it mandatory for all trade unions to belong to one umbrella national union body (Rakner 2003:50). It is critical to mention that it was this ZCTU (for the labour movement) and similar organisations like the UCZ (for Church), which had the structure in place to foster a successful opposition against Kaunda’s rule later on in his presidency. Notably, Frederick Chiluba, his political nemesis and successor, was ironically a member of the UCZ and was also president-general of ZCTU (Wills 1985:470).

The same structures, be it labour or religious, that Kaunda had created to promote unity in the country came back to haunt him later on in his political career. Conversely, Chiluba’s most notable political activities were the reversal of this “uniting” attitude.

Chiluba liberalised the economy, religion, and as Rakner (2003:95) noted, he even liberalised and privatised the labour movement itself. The ban on registration of new religious institutions put in place by Kaunda was immediately reversed when Chiluba took office. All the Churches that had dominated politics under Kaunda were to be joined by newer religious institutions. Chiluba was going to be a member of various Churches and would be seen in the company of new Charismatic Church organisations. It is said that Chiluba was well versed in the art of pitting these Churches against each other. Soon after his rise to power, the more established mainline denominations would not be the only authoritative voice for the Church anymore.

### *Legitimation Through “Zambianisation”*

The UCZ was also a necessary catalyst in the Zambianisation of the mission Churches: an initiative Kaunda initiated which replaced expatriate senior

civil servants with Zambians—primarily members of Kaunda’s UNIP (Wills 1985:397). Kaunda believed that the missionaries should have, as the nation and political structures were being indigenised, indigenised their structures too. The formation of a unified Church would prove to be the best way to achieve this Zambianisation since one Church is seemingly more comfortable to control than a myriad of Churches with different leadership structures. As Cook (1978:290) put it:

The significant feature of the United Church of Zambia was not only the merger of the denominations but the coming together of white and African Churches into a self-governing structure in which the African leadership predominated. In the Roman Catholic missions, a similar process of reappraisal and Africanization began.

From Kaunda’s perspective, a united national Church like the UCZ was necessary since his conceptions of Christianity precluded the idea of denominations. On January 4, 1967, repeating what he had written in his autobiography entitled *Zambia Shall be Free* (Kaunda 1962). President Kaunda is quoted as stated in part:

There are many good reasons why the Christian Gospel came to us in the form of the “denominations” of the West, but I cannot see any good reason for those same denominations continuing in these days. We become more and more confused as new sects from the West spring up in our towns. How can I believe in the sincerity of Christians who in Lusaka alone hold seventeen separate denominational services for Europeans every Sunday? This denominational idiocy is a terrible condemnation of Christianity and is a confusion to my people and to myself (Randall 1970:64).

These words sound powerful coming from a national leader who himself was a product of these same missionary schools and institutions. It would seem that his contention with denominationalism may have been influenced by rampant tribalism and regionalism that had started to cripple effective political control of his new nation. He understood the Christian faith to be trans-denominational. He believed that multiple denominations would be detrimental to the Christian faith, so a united Church would be the most viable option to prevent such divisions.

Kaunda’s thinking in this regard is like Roman Emperor Constantine’s thoughts many centuries back, who declared that “internal division in the Church of God is graver than any war or fierce battle, and these things appear to cause more pain than secular affairs” (Rieger 2007:77, 78). In the same vein, Kaunda found divisions within the Church to be unacceptable,

and he moved to use his influence to have a united Church in Zambia. While Constantine did it through the Church councils that resolved doctrinal matters, Kaunda brought together various Church denominations into one united Church. Additionally, both Kaunda and Constantine were motivated, at least in part, by the desire for the unity of their political establishments – Constantine’s Roman Empire and Kaunda’s One Zambia One Nation.

### *Why was the UCZ not Constitutionalised?*

Despite his effort at creating this United Church, something lacking in Kaunda’s gesture was any real effort at either constitutionalising the UCZ as the national Church of Zambia or making parliament recognize the UCZ as such. From this, we could garner a desire, on Kaunda’s part, to promote the unity of the Churches and keep the state out of direct control of the Churches generally and the UCZ in particular.

Kaunda may have also been careful not to offend other Christian denominations, such as the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church, because he was aware that they would most likely not be supportive of recognising or establishing a single denomination as the national Church. While his preference for the UCZ was evident to all other Christian denominations, this was not a threat so long as there was no attempt at establishing a national Church. Another essential factor to note is that at independence, Zambia got a constitution that had not established any Church or denomination, and Kaunda would not have been eager to interfere with the constitution.

## **The Church’s Role in Providing Checks and Balances to the Kaunda Regime**

Church-state relations undoubtedly enjoyed a honeymoon phase during the First Republic – that is, from 1964 to 1972. However, in the Second Republic (1973–1991) the Kaunda government’s relationship with the Church took a markedly different turn.

The Second Republic is so-called because Zambia adopted a new constitution in which the ruling party, UNIP, was to be the only party participating in politics (Gertzel et al. 1984:2). Put simply, all other opposition political parties were banned. Both Kaunda and his supporters provided several reasons for such a move. He determined that it was necessary to keep Zambians united as a way to curb the tribal divisions allegedly caused by political plurality. Pitch (1967:78), as part of the account of his



experiences in newly independent Zambia, quoted Arthur Wina, a close confidant of Kaunda, as stating that the one-party system was necessary for Zambia due to “the crisis of expectation” which included several factors, some of which are mentioned by Gertzel, Baylies, and Szeftel (1984) as (1) uneven development and tribalism (2) failure of the ideology of humanism, (3) notable decline in UNIP’s support, and changes in the leadership thereof.

The Church’s reaction to Kaunda’s machinations towards the one-party participatory system was generally mute. Implicitly, then, the Church could be seen as supportive of Kaunda’s efforts at ushering in the Second Republic. Once this republic was in effect, however, the Church lost faith in their so-called “Christian” president, and this triggered sharp disagreement with Kaunda and his government that would eventually contribute to Kaunda’s political downfall.

### *Kaunda’s Personal Faith Changed in the Second Republic*

Religious change in Kaunda’s personal life became noticeable very early in the Second Republic. He was no longer the fine “Christian gentleman” (Gifford 1998) that the Churches had come to trust both before and immediately after Zambia’s independence in 1964. Having been exposed to many other religions, Kaunda had become more syncretistic in his religious beliefs, accommodating more than just the Christian Faith.

In *Letter to my Children*, Kaunda wrote in part that “I happen to be one of those odd people who feel equally at home in a cathedral, synagogue, temple or mosque; I recognize the power inherent in all the major faiths” (Kaunda 1973:22, 23). He further said, “to be honest, I no longer find my parents’ faith satisfying...I have felt the impact of other cultures and religions. This rich experience has led me to question, reassess and add to my youthful beliefs” (1973:19).

Kaunda’s faith consequently started veering more towards Indian mysticism. Long interested in Indian Spirituality, by 1976, he had replaced his earlier Christian advisers with two Indian Gurus, Dr M.A. Ranganathan and Mulshanker Hirji Bapuji Vyas (Gifford 1998:191; and Hinfelaar 2008:138). Addressing Church leaders in 1982, Kaunda acknowledged Dr Ranganathan’s influence by stating, “someone has come into my life in the past six years who has done even more to show me the love and power of this living God” (Kaunda and Mazombwe 1982:247).

During the same period, Kaunda established a multi-faith worship facility, which he called, David Universal Temple, near State House (Ellis and Ter Haar 2004:71). It is somewhat ironic that he named this temple after

his late Christian missionary father, Reverend David Kaunda. President Kaunda may have done this to baptise his newfound religion with Christian terminologies. However, it remains to be answered whether, had he been alive, his missionary father would have approved of the syncretised temple that had betrayed the clear Evangelical teachings of his father's faith.

It appears that President Kaunda was turning towards Eastern spirituality to supply something missing within his understanding and practice of the historic Christian faith he had inherited from European missionaries. According to Van Klinken (2014:262)

In the 1980s, President Kaunda became associated with Eastern religious traditions – something that was not appreciated by many Zambian Christians, particularly those who had joined the Pentecostal Churches that were rapidly growing in that period and who started to associate Kaunda with the Devil and Satanism.

As many Zambians had started to join newer religious movements, such as the PCC's society, both within the mainline Churches and outside them (Burdette 1988:59; Adeney 2009:248), the Catholic Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo and some Church leaders, mainly from the USA, popularised the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement in Zambia (Ellis and Ter Haar 2004:52, 53). This faction would later play a significant role in Zambian society's political and religious spheres as will be discussed in subsequent sections of this study.

Coupled with Kaunda's religious apostasy, the economy's downfall, and several social upheavals in the country, Kaunda left office after losing the 1991 elections that ushered in multi-party politics (Van Der Veen 2004:92,93). However, several scholars agree that Kaunda's decision to leave the presidency willingly and peacefully could be evidence that his initial faith in the Bible and God was deep-seated and abiding.

### *Kaunda Perceived the Church as an Arm of his Party and Government*

Kaunda's perceptions of the roles of the Church also deserve mention. In 1980, while addressing the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Ndola Catholic Diocese, Kaunda reiterated what had become his understanding of the Church's role in national governance. For him, the Church, and the ruling party, UNIP, were "partners in the reconstruction of our society in all areas of human endeavour" (Kaunda 1980:252). In essence, Kaunda saw moral and material reconstruction as the mainstay of the Church's role in society. Thus, he envisioned stronger cooperation between the Church and the

party in so doing. If Kaunda looked at the Church as the moral campus of the society and the party, he also perhaps looked to the Church to play a supportive role in the government. He thus remarked:

If the Church attends to the spiritual side of man but refuses to work with others to guide and strengthen the material efforts of man, then the Church is leading man into serious temptations. Equally, if the Party attends to the material side of man but refuses to work with the Church to help guide and strengthen the spiritual efforts of man, then the Party is leading man into serious and dangerous temptations (Kaunda 1980:251, 252).

In saying the above, Kaunda is consistent with the African Traditional worldview that disregards a duality between the sacred and the secular. He also remains consistent with the practice of mission Christianity that merged both religious and temporal concerns.

Notably, with Kaunda's successor, Frederick Chiluba, the understanding of the Church as a moral fibre of the society seems to be missing. Chiluba did not consider that the Church would serve as the nation's moral compass; instead, he was more concerned with the Church helping to bring about national prosperity through radical pronouncements such as the Declaration. By making the Declaration, Chiluba's conviction was that Zambia would be blessed through this single act demonstrating that, to the second head of state, the Church's role and, indeed, religion operated more at the level of cosmetic, ritualistic religious observance as opposed to moral reformulation.

### *Kaunda's use of Government Resources for Religious Purposes*

The David Universal Temple was built, near State House, at taxpayers' expense, and the state paid salaries and other amenities to the Indian gurus who advised Kaunda on spiritual matters (Ellis and Ter Haar 2004:71). When Frederick Chiluba came into power, he led a group of PCCs to exorcise the building and leased it to a private company. In keeping with Kaunda's practice, however, Frederick Chiluba continued to seek an audience with spiritual advisors, except that, for him, they were all Christian, mainly from the PCC groups. In the first few years of his presidency, Chiluba invited American televangelists Benny Hinn, Ernest Angley, and Richard Roberts to come and facilitate evangelistic summits in Zambia at government expense. In one of the meetings held in the nation's capital, Lusaka, attended by the author of this study, Chiluba justified his hosting of these televangelists claiming that "State House has a guest wing which liberation fighters in Southern Africa had used, and today South Africa is

free from the evil of Apartheid, how much more will our nation be blessed as we play host to the men of God from the USA?"

A comparison between Kaunda and Chiluba concerning the use of government resources to promote religion shows clearly that both freely dipped into state coffers to promote or fund their preferred religious pursuits. Upon further consideration, what proved to be more difficult for Kaunda was that, while in the First Republic, he gave prominence to Christian advisors, but had, by the Second Republic, showed more preference for and visibility to Indian spirituality, beliefs many Zambians found unacceptable (Phiri 2003:405). One can conclude that this fundamental change would later lead to his downfall. Ironically, even if Kaunda had departed from the orthodox and traditional Christianity like that of his parents, he himself, the Zambian society, and indeed the government still claimed to be rooted in Christian values. Though now syncretistic, Kaunda still projected the image of a faithful Christian.

### *Kaunda's Banning of Registration of New Churches*

Regarding the state's attitude towards the church, another factor to consider is the government's ban on the registration of new Christian Churches. Kaunda's attitude towards Christianity helped galvanise some Christians, especially Evangelicals, into being more vocal about their faith. Cheyeka (2002) has identified these groups as "right-wing Christian groups" or "fundamentalists", terms that he borrows from the American setting, which he attempts to fit into the Zambian context. However, in most cases, these fired up, new Church movements would see Kaunda as the enemy of Christianity.

In fact, Kaunda at one time banned the registration of any new Churches, which, rather than stem the growth of the Evangelical movement, only led to its growth, development, and subsequent threat. Unsurprisingly, many of these new Churches got around Kaunda's ban by registering their Churches and organisations under the Companies Act instead of through the Registrar of Societies.

### *How Kaunda was Cast as an Enemy of Christianity*

Already, the young people gathering for meetings like Scripture Union in the 1970s and 1980s knew that their government and Head of State were hostile towards Christianity. This could partly explain why some of the leadership led to Kaunda's overthrow originated within the Evangelical and PCCs (Kangwa 2017).

Further, Njovu (2002:38) noted how alarmed the Evangelical community was with Kaunda's alleged involvement in the occult and Dr M.A. Ranganathan's alleged spiritual powers. One report claims that some Evangelicals were concerned that Kaunda had sold out the nation's soul to Satan. They further claimed that the devil had "mobilised his forces of darkness to fight against, and perhaps destroy the nation of Zambia" (Njovu 2002:38). This kind of rhetoric was compelling enough to mobilise the Evangelicals and the Pentecostal/Charismatics against Kaunda. The political opposition movement to Kaunda's leadership claimed, according to Freston (2001:155) that, "Kaunda" was simply "not a Christian".

As such, the Evangelical movement in Zambia cast Kaunda's unpopularity in spiritual terms depicting him as a spiritual liability to the nation. Evangelicals joined the rest of the nation in the search for a fitting leader to replace Kaunda. This search culminated in one Frederick Chiluba, who brought together the trade union movement's aspirations, the general Church populace, and the public.

## **The Church's Role in Supporting the Revolution Against Kaunda**

Even though Church-state relations were mostly cordial in Zambia's First Republic (from 1964–1972), there were a few conflict areas between Church and state. In general, Kaunda and his government's attitude towards the Church organisation was one of support: he considered the Church, a development partner.

However, according to Phiri (1999; 2001), some African Initiated Churches (AICs) were exceptions to the rule when it came to this essentially cordial relationship. These AICs, such as the Lumpa Movement and the Jehovah's Witnesses, proved a significant source of conflict between Kaunda's First Republic and the religious movements. Therefore, an analysis of the two groups is imperative. It offers more about what the Zambian state expected of the Church. Additionally, this analysis teaches us that Church-state relations in the First Republic could go sour to the extent that the Churches pushed for more radical approaches to independence from the state. These two movements will be discussed in turn.

### *Alice Mulenga Lenshina's Lumpa Church*

The controversial Lumpa church is the first area of consideration when we detail the conflict between the church and the state. The Lumpa movement started in Chinsali in about 1953 by Alice Lenshina Mulenga

(Kangwa 2017:136; Kaunda and Kaunda 2016:164), multiplying to the extent that, by 1955, it had an estimated 60,000 followers; some scholars put this figure at 100,000 members (see Kaunda and Kaunda 2016:164). These 60,000 to 100,000 followers included at least 80 % of the Presbyterian congregation's original members built initially by Reverend Kaunda (McCracken 2008:342). Some historians have alleged that President Kaunda's mother, Helen, and his older brother, Robert, were part of the renegade Church's membership. The Lumpa Church was arguably the most vocal group in opposing colonial authority and white missionaries, particularly against the Catholics (Gordon 2008:49).

At the centre of the teachings of Lenshina's church was that ordinary people could enter the Kingdom of Heaven. According to Pitch (1967:82), Lenshina preached the "basic fundamentals of Christianity". With these teachings, the Lumpa Church built a headquarters, calling it Zion, in Chinsali District (Hall 1976:176). Lenshina was a dynamic leader of this new sect whose hymns, teachings, and prayers reverberated across Chinsali and beyond. For Lenshina and her group, heaven was a reality, and the only thing that stood in the way of this heaven was the civil authorities and traditional establishments. Lenshina saw the need to pay taxes, the chief's control over land, and the respect for foreign mission Churches and schools, as significant obstacles to her rebuilding of God's heaven on earth; hence, the civil authorities eventually became her greatest enemies.

However, right before Zambia's independence, Kaunda intervened in the Lumpa uprising and sent the army to Zion to, literally, put down the Lumpa rebellion. In these confrontations, "over 1,500 Church members died" (Edgar 2005:235). Right through the First Republic, Kenneth Kaunda's government continued its efforts at reducing the power and influence of the Lumpa Church and, according to Wills (1985:401), "by 1969, some 20,000 Lumpas were refugees in the Katanga."

The following were significant elements that led to the Lumpa Church's fall from grace with the Zambian state. Firstly, the Lumpa Church had sought to combine Church and state elements in a unified fashion to fall within the umbrella of a theocracy under God and His prophetess – Alice Lenshina. In the Lumpa Church, "concern for the land and fertility, protection against sorcery, general mortality, and political and economic power had all combined to form one holistic conception of the rural society" (Binsbergen 1981:290).

Secondly, Lenshina's attempt to be independent of the state was also a matter that created a hostile relationship between her movement and the state. These indications are already highly significant, as they demonstrate Lumpa's temporary success in functioning as a focus of "control inde-

pendent from the state” (Binsbergen 1981:291). The state was not going to allow a situation where a Church, even in the claim of religious freedom, went on to claim the same powers as the state and create a “state within a state.” While the Lumpa Church implicitly denied the legitimacy of the colonial state and its post-colonial successor, it attempted to create a structure of control comparable to the state, though at a much smaller geographical scale (Binsbergen 1981:292).

Thirdly, Lenshina’s fanatic movement did represent a genuine threat to the state itself (Binsbergen 1981:299). It was evident that Lenshina and the Lumpa Church’s primary concerns were not just religious; beyond that, it became unreservedly political. It sought to replace civil authority structures with those of the Church (Bayart 1993:257). Alice Lenshina Mulenga, its leader, was now going to be a queen, and all manner of civil authorities were going to be treated with suspicion.

Addressing the Lumpa uprising, Kaunda spoke on the radio in a statement to the National Assembly where he said:

Freedom of worship is something that my government and I hold very dear ... We are dealing with a completely fanatical sect whose members are not only prepared to die for their faith and consider it a passport to heaven to do so, but who are also prepared to kill as many other people as they can before they die themselves (MacPherson 1974:443).

### *The Jehovah’s Witnesses*

Jehovah’s Witnesses are part of a global millenarian Christian denomination that finds its origins in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The church is most notable for its door-to-door literature evangelism distributing *The Watchtower* and *Awake* magazines, among other religious literature. In Zambia, the Jehovah’s Witnesses, The Zambian state’s reaction to the Jehovah’s Witnesses demonstrates that, while the government was reluctant to interfere with the religious institution’s religious practices, they were forced to intervene once the group’s practices turned overtly political and threatened the influence of the government. Malawi and Zambia proscribed Jehovah’s Witnesses in the First Republic (Tengatenga 2006:113). In March 1969, clashes between members of the sect in the Samfya area of the Luapula Province, and members of the ruling party, UNIP, broke out. One senior Cabinet Minister called the sect a political party (Meebelo 1971:173).

Meebelo (1971:176–178) outlines several reasons why this restorationist movement, as a political organisation, failed; firstly, its objectives seemed unattainable at the time, appearing to have no social or political

programme for the betterment of its people. Secondly, the Jehovah's Witnesses committed the unforgivable error of alienating the traditional rulers in their unequivocal and vehement denunciation of all civil authority, including the traditional chieftaincy. Thirdly, they lacked central authority within their structures in Northern Rhodesia. Finally, the movement's vicissitudes seem to have been a direct response to changes in the country's social and economic conditions.

In recent years, The Jehovah's Witnesses' political significance re-emerged in the Third Republic when, in 2000, Levy Mwanawasa, spouse to one of its members, Maureen Mwanawasa, accepted the ruling party's invitation to stand in the 2001 elections as president of the Republic of Zambia. The Church in question, continuing with its non-political participation, disapproved of Maureen and Levy Mwanawasa's involvement in politics and consequently excommunicated her from their membership.

#### *Activities of Archbishops Elias Mutale and Emmanuel Milingo*

Equally essential to this section is the work and activities of two Roman Catholic Church leaders: Archbishop Elias Mutale and Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo. Archbishops Elias Mutale and Emmanuel Milingo unambiguously encapsulate the Church's attitude to the Second Republic state. The pair deserve special mention for the unique role they played as part of the first indigenous Zambian bishops and how they interacted with Kaunda, his party, UNIP, and the government.

Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo was a grassroots spiritual leader who, according to Henkel (1989:53), represented "a form of Christianity which is African shaped and influenced and includes healing and exorcism." Through his healing ministry, he amassed a considerable following among ordinary Zambians (Ellis and Ter Haar 2004:52-54). Throughout the Second Republic, and whilst the debate was raging on between the Churches and government, Archbishop Milingo had become a thorn in the flesh of the state due to his charisma, healing powers, and political outspokenness (Hinfelaar 2008:140). Moreover, he later became a threat to the then President Kaunda's political influence such that when Archbishop Milingo was recalled to Rome for alleged inappropriate use of his office in 1982, President Kaunda did not object to his controversial recall.

In a similar vein, Archbishop Elias Mutale enjoyed a very cordial rapport with former President Kaunda. As noted above, Bishop Mutale was a member of UNIP and was one of the commission members that was established to inquire into the introduction of the one-party state. The Bishop's acceptance to be part of that commission was met with resistance by some



of Zambia's opposition groups at the time. However, he went ahead anyway, hoping that he would positively influence Kaunda and UNIP to adopt a constitution that would be more democratic and fairer to the Zambian people. The opposition was vindicated in this regard when Kaunda's government ignored almost all the salient points of Archbishop Mutale's committee and went on to institute a one-party state that resembled an autocratic system (Gertzel et. el. 1984:18). Later, Archbishop Elias Mutale became a fiery critic of Kaunda's, even urging him to step aside as the Zambian leader. However, in February 1989, Archbishop Mutale was tragically killed in a road traffic accident attributed by some to Kaunda's secret police and agents, something Kaunda vehemently denied, even before a visiting foreign leader of the Anglican Church.

The interaction of Kaunda's government with Archbishops Elias Mutale and Emmanuel Milingo shows that, despite Kaunda having been influential in their elevation within the Catholic Church, they quickly developed independence from him. In fact, Zambia's people looked to them more like spiritual leaders whose voice in political matters was equally authoritative. Kaunda may have held political office, but influence remained with the religious leaders. Moreover, when these Church leaders challenged Kaunda and called him out on human rights abuses and corruption, the people listened to them. The activities of Archbishop Milingo and Archbishop Mutale affirm the hypothesis that religious leaders in Zambia have secular influence as well.

### *The Church Played an Active Part in Politics*

The next element that highlights the Church's attitude towards the state in the Second Republic has got to do with the role the Church played in providing checks and balances to Zambia's political power. Hinfelaar (2008:139), VonDoepp (1996), and Carmody (2002:14) note that after winning the battle against the introduction of scientific socialism as a national philosophy, the Church now became even more interested in public affairs as a part of Civil Society. In 1982, the Catholic Church published a pamphlet entitled *Christian reflection and talks about Justice and its alleged abuses in the Party and Government*. The three Church mother bodies' joint pastoral letter followed this in 1984. In this letter, they explicitly charged that the state was becoming an instrument of oppression in some circumstances, which they said was both inhuman and contrary to Christian teachings.

In his studies on Church-state relations in Zambia, Phiri (1996, 1999, 2001) postulated, based on Bayart's theory (Bayart 1993), that the Churches in Africa and, specifically, in Zambia, often take on increasingly political

and civil society roles once the ruling political regimes become more oppressive and repress the development of civil society organisations. In these instances, the Churches become more politically outspoken as the only alternative to civil society once the state machinery limits the civil society organisations loose influence. In Zambia's case, the political outspokenness of the Church coincided very well with the increasing political repression of former President Kaunda's regime. With all civil society organisations suppressed or out-rightly banned, only the Church could fill the void and speak out against such government oppression. With this backdrop, the previous chapter addressed how the Churches started to have increasingly political and civil society roles, especially in the Second Republic, when former President Kaunda's regime started taking gradually oppressive postures against Zambians' populace.

Phiri (2006:189) has rightly stated that in Zambia, "during the process of change from one-party rule to multi-party politics, the Church did not leave politics to politicians". Specifically, the Church provided the rhetoric, the infrastructure, and the prophetic edge in Zambia's attempt to transition from a one-party dictatorship to multi-party politics. This is because, through its vast, established networks, the Church had the organisational foundation in place to successfully provide an avenue for the expression of opposition to Kaunda's dictatorship. This they did through their media and through a network of their national Church structure (Nasong'o 2005:74, 78). The specific media used by the Church were the National Mirror (jointly owned by EFZ, CCZ, and ZEC), and Icengelo (a Catholic Church magazine).

During the time of political transition in the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, when Zambia was faced with political uncertainty, leaders from the EFZ, CCZ, and ZEC met with President Kaunda at State House on July 19, 1991, to discuss the deteriorated political situation (Phiri 2006:190). This meeting was an attempt to find solutions to the need for holding peaceful elections in Zambia. Later at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross meeting, chaired by Anglican Bishop Stephen Mumba, both Kaunda and his political nemesis Chiluba agreed on some contentious issues that would have derailed the 1991 elections (Phiri 2001, 342). As such, the Church played a considerable role in successfully diffusing the tension between Chiluba and Kaunda.

Once they were assured of new elections to be held under a new constitution, the Churches formed the Christian Monitoring Group to ensure that the elections were free and fair (Phiri 2006, 190). Through this monitoring group, the Church contributed to Zambia holding peaceful elections in 1991 (Anderson 2009:105).

### *Revolution Against Scientific Socialism*

While Kaunda's personal decline in his faith from the First Republic time was very noticeable, nothing concerned the Church more than when he apparently abandoned his Zambian humanism philosophy and instead wanted to introduce an "atheistic" scientific socialism as a national ideology (Wills 1985:471). This attempt on Kaunda's part led to a significant schism between him and his government and the Church in 1978. Wary of the president's real intention, the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) united in 1979 to issue a rare joint statement, "*Marxism, humanism and Christianity: a letter from the leaders of the Christian Churches in Zambia to all their members about scientific socialism*" in which they expressed concern at Kaunda's attempts to introduce this irreligious philosophy. In this pastoral letter, the Churches strongly opposed the idea of "forcing the government to abandon the idea" of scientific socialism (Phiri 2006:189). The Churches stated that:

We think it is important to point out the implications for religion of taking the scientific road, which may not be understood fully at present. Scientific Socialism is thoroughly opposed to Christianity and even to a simple belief in God ... Our first main reason for rejecting Scientific Socialism is that as a philosophy it denies God. Our second reason is that this rejection of God necessarily leads to a rejection of man. We differ profoundly from Marxists in our understanding of the human person, so that Marxist Humanism is also radically different from Christian Humanism (ZEC, CCZ, EFZ 1979, Pastoral Letter).

Keller (1936:81) mentions the tension that exists or should exist between Christianity and ideologies such as scientific socialism, which "reduces man to his biological and economic nature". He wrote:

There is a natural and logical tension between Christianity and any conception of life which reduces man to his biological and economic nature. A doctrine which teaches man to live by bread alone, to gain the whole world by economics or otherwise and to consider the loss of the soul as irrelevant, will necessarily declare war upon the claims of the spirit and upon a message which preaches the infinite value of the soul (Keller 1936:81).

Fundamentally, Kaunda's attempt to introduce scientific socialism was even more confusing to the Church and the citizenry. This is because Kaunda, by his own admission, did not have kind words for any ideology that refused to acknowledge God. In *Letter to my children*, Kaunda had written:

Historically in the West, Humanism has been an alternative to the supernatural interpretation of life. Western humanists, confident in the power and truth of science, rejected theistic religion, putting Man in God's place as the ultimate reality. That was a brave thing to do, but it is far removed from my understanding of Humanism, which asserts the value of Man without attempting to clothe him with Divine attributes (Kaunda 1973:22).

The Church was highly concerned at Kaunda's sudden desire to adopt atheistic scientific socialism. Archbishop M. Mazombwe<sup>1</sup>, years later, reaffirmed the Church's reasons for rejecting scientific socialism, telling Kaunda, "Our misgivings were about Zambian Humanism's relationship to socialism that rejects God and misinterprets human nature and human history" (Mazombwe and Kaunda 1982:254).

The Church indeed wondered what had changed so much in Kaunda's life that led him even to entertain the notion that atheistic scientific socialism be taught in schools and, additionally, that it be adopted as a national ideology. As far as the Church (ZEC, EFZ, and CCZ) was concerned, Kaunda could not be trusted.

### *The Church and the "Termination of Pregnancy Act 1972"*

According to Hinfelaar (2008:135) and Carmody (2002:14), another confrontation between the state and the Church involved the state's confrontation with the Catholic Church over the enactment of the *Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1972*. Through this Act, the government sought to consolidate various pieces of legislation concerning the termination of pregnancy.

On 12 November 1972, the Catholic Church issued a pastoral letter dubbed "*Declaration on Abortion*", in which they expressed that the government had betrayed the moral and traditional values of both the Zambian society and the Church by insisting on the Act. The most outspoken critic of the government was Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo. After representation from both the Church and parliament, President Kaunda ignored the Church and decided to sign the Act into law. The Bishops nevertheless continued to argue for the repeal of the law (Komakoma 2003:85). Despite the spirited fight for the law's repeal, it remains in Zambia's law books to date.

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<sup>1</sup> Merdado Cardinal Mazombwe

*Evangelical and PCCs Role in the Revolution Against Kaunda*

Perhaps the most dramatic developments within the Zambian Churches in the Second Republic were the increasing visibility and rise of the Evangelical movement, particularly that of the Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches (Kangwa 2017; Kaunda 2017). These Church movements were mainly members of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), which was one of the three major Church mother bodies, identified as such by the ecumenical conscious Kaunda. The other two are the ZEC for the Roman Catholic Church and the CCZ. The CCZ brings together the UCZ, the Anglican Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and many others.

This study uses the terms “Pentecostal/Charismatic” to refer to those Evangelical Churches that emphasise the Charismatic renewal, spirit baptism, and a phenomenon known as “speaking in tongues” or “glossolalia” (Kangwa 2017). Such Churches would include as the likes of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Zambia (PAOG), the Church of God, and newer independent Churches such as Bread of Life Church International (BLCI), Grace Ministries Mission International (GMMI), and Victory Ministries International.

However, the PCC term also applies to some sections within the main-line denominations that have embraced Pentecostal/Charismatic practices, including Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo’s Charismatic ministry within the Roman Catholic Church (in the 1970s), and the Youth Charismatic revival that hit the UCZ in the late 1980s.

It is essential to comment on the rise of the Evangelical movement and indeed, within it, the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement since their increasing visibility undoubtedly impacted the tenor of Church-state relations in Zambia, especially towards the end of the Second Republic, during the transition to the Third Republic, and long afterwards.

Gifford (1991) made a great effort at contributing to the academic and historical debate of the origin and political impact of the Evangelical right in Southern African politics. However, Gifford’s (1991) work did not address the case of Zambia in any greater detail. Additionally, Gifford’s work seems to discuss the Evangelical fundamentalists solely from a negative perspective. It is pretty unfair to discuss a Church movement only from the standpoint of its detractors. It becomes necessary to highlight the rise of this movement within the Zambian context from a more optimistic viewpoint.

The role of the Scripture Union movement should be recognised. Cheyeka (2008) and Gifford (1991) have rightly mentioned that the origin of the PCC in Zambia could be traced to the rise of similar groups in America and other African countries. However, specific to Zambia the Charis-

matic movement grew out of the Scripture Union Movement (SU) as early as 1963 when the SU first organised in Zambia as a student ministry working in primary and secondary schools.

According to Cheyeka (2008:150,151), three of Zambia's foremost PCC leaders were all products of Scripture Union while at Hillcrest Technical Secondary School in the southern tourist city of Livingstone, Zambia. These are Reverend Dr. Daniel Pule, founder of Dunamis Ministries; Bishop Dr. Joshua Banda, the current Chief Bishop of the PAOG and lead pastor of politically influential Northmead Assemblies of God; and Pastor Dr. Nevers Mumba, founder and president of Victory Ministries International and the current leader of the MMD. It is worth noting that at least two of these ministers, namely Dr. Pule and Dr. Mumba, have served in political office before. While the third, Bishop Dr. Joshua Banda, often collaborates with the central government in various capacities, he served as chairperson of the National Aids Council of Zambia (NACZ).

In 2009, Bishop Dr. Joshua Banda, to the consternation of other members of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), accepted the offer of membership of the National Constitutional Conference (NCC), which was a body tasked with the responsibility of reviewing Zambia's constitution (NCC 2009). As a member of the NCC, he had argued vigorously to retain the Declaration in the constitution under review.

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) was also one of the early mission agencies from overseas with a Pentecostal emphasis to do mission work in Zambia. Falk (1979:203) reported that the PAOC came to modern-day Mansa and later spread to the Copperbelt in 1955. In Zambia, the PAOC and its successor, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Zambia (PAOG) would later grow, in the Second Republic, in political influence. The critical centres revolve around the activities of Northmead Assembly of God, a PAOG affiliated Church pastored by Bishop Joshua Banda. According to Van Klinken (2016:136), Northmead is "among the larger and most well-known Pentecostal Churches in Lusaka."

As noted earlier, Roman Catholic Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo is one leader who popularised the PCC movement both within the Catholic Church establishment and beyond it. Even though he was a Catholic, Milingo's Roman Catholicly unconventional emphasis on exorcism and physical healing and his more active preaching methods were clearly Charismatic themes that fit into the broader PCC movement. In fact, so concerned was the Vatican with his unorthodox ministry that they had to recall him to Rome in the early 1980s ("ZAMBIAN ARCHBISHOP QUILTS UNDER FIRE").

However, by the time of the recall, he had already planted enough seeds into the Charismatic movement's rise and growth. He is of conse-

quence in this regard because the Charismatic nature of his ministry was more in touch with ordinary Zambians than the more formal Catholic Church structures.

Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo's ministry was inescapably politically consequential as well. It came at a time when Zambians were spiritually drained by formal religions and were searching for a more robust form of Christianity—in comparison, remaining true to the basic tenets of Christianity, one that still raised hope for the people's primary concerns, such as healing, hope, and spiritual renewal. Of all the branches of Christianity at the time, only the PCC movement could provide that need, so Zambians started looking to the PCC movement for spiritual renewal – be it within the mainline denominations such as the Roman Catholic Church and the UCZ, or outside them.

Several Para-Church ministries out of both Europe and the USA played a huge role in establishing the Evangelical Church in Zambia. These groups, as discussed by Gifford (1987:64; 1991:46–69), include (1) Evangelist Reinhard Bonnke's Christ for the Nations, (2) World Vision, (3) Campus Crusade for Christ, (4) Youth with a Mission, and (5) the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International. Bonnke's ministry and the Full Gospel Men's Fellowship influenced both the Evangelical movement and the PCC movement in Zambia.

Yong and Zalanga (2008:240) note how the Western missionaries “that have been engaged in missionary work abroad shows that not only are they often Protestants and conservative but also that they have fused American civil religion and Christian commitment.” This combination contributed to the Evangelical movement's increasing political role in the run-up to the Third Republic in Zambia.

An essential element to note is that with the increased visibility of the Charismatic and Pentecostal movement, both within the larger Evangelical community, and beyond it, a Pentecostal Church leader, Reverend Joseph Imakando, was appointed Executive Director of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) at the time when Zambia was transitioning from a one-party rule under Kaunda, to democracy under Frederick Chiluba. Indeed, the rise of the PCCs to influence within the Evangelical fellowship community and the Church fraternity caused ructions.

Although all the three Church mother bodies in the 1970s had, in principle, approved and promoted Kaunda's philosophy of humanism which they deemed compatible with Christianity and with an African worldview, Imakando, early in the 1990's castigated humanism calling it a man-centred philosophy (Njovu 2002: 37). Imakando felt that humanism as a philosophy had supplanted the central role that God ought to have in Zambia

since, as noted by Ewearitt (1994:246, 247), it “teaches that man is fine on his own”. He needs “no help from any power outside his own intelligence and strength”. In criticising humanism, Imakando did not only go against his colleagues in the other two Church groups, but he also showed a worldview reminiscent of the American Evangelical right.

Since the PCC Movement is a renewal movement by its nature, it could only have grown where Christianity was at least flourishing, which was the case in Zambia in the 1980s. Most Zambians had, by this time, understood and adopted the basic tenets of Christianity. Nevertheless, since the missionary message of the Gospel was lacking or instead had not met most Zambians’ spiritual aspirations, it was easier for other newer movements like the PCC to take over and supply that missing element. Usually, the PCC supplied the liveliness of worship, and exorcisms, that were lacking in the mission Churches. Even though Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo had led the way for spiritual exorcisms within the Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic leaders generally remained sceptical of PCC doctrines.

Within the UCZ, as well, there were some pastors and mostly youth groups that had begun embracing the PCC movement.

Former President Frederick Chiluba as a member of the UCZ in Ndola, even before he became president, has been sympathetic to, if not a member of, the Charismatic wing within the UCZ. This Charismatic wing was, in 1993, expelled by the leadership of the UCZ and went on to form a new Church movement called Grace Ministries Mission International (GMMI) (Kangwa 2017:150).

GMMI, after its expulsion from the UCZ, chose one of the former UCZ ministers, Reverend Evans Chibesakunda, to be its national overseer. Reverend Chibesakunda grew in prominence within political circles during Chiluba’s presidency and has been a close collaborator of the second republican president, chairing crusade meetings where American Evangelists were invited to speak at the government’s expense.

Zambia’s Evangelical movement was the first to propose the Declaration and was excited when Frederick Chiluba carried out their wishes barely two months into office. In fact, according to Njovu (2002) and Cheyeka (2002), two prominent Pentecostal/Charismatic leaders were the earliest to moot the idea of declaring Zambia as a Christian Nation during the waning years of Kaunda’s presidency just before Chiluba became president. Reverend Joe Imakando submitted to the 1990 Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) that Zambia should be declared a Christian Nation while Dr. Nevers Mumba supported this submission and asserted that Zambia needed to be declared a Christian Nation to forestall the Islamic takeover of the country (Njovu 2002:43).



The PCC and the Evangelical movement were among the first Churches to declare support for Frederick Chiluba as leader of the opposition against Kaunda. Both Gifford (1998) and Cheyeka (2008:157) mention that, due to their support, Chiluba aptly rewarded them by appointing them to government positions.

According to Kaunda (2017:296), the PCC in Zambia plays at least two roles in its political space. From their significant rise as power brokers and kingmakers in the 1990s to the present, Pentecostal/Charismatic Christians hold two diverging political perspectives: “transforming politics from within and maintaining a subversive political imagination”. This finding is consistent with Gary’s (1990) model of conceptualising religion’s role in politics generally, and African politics in particular: legitimization, checks and balances, and revolution.

### *The Church: Against Kaunda to Support Frederick Chiluba*

It was a foregone conclusion that the Church, like many in the rest of the country, had, in the transition period of 1990 and 1991, chosen to support the candidacy of Frederick Chiluba as president of Zambia through the Church’s grassroots structure and, directly, by clergy using their pulpits to campaign for Frederick Chiluba. Phiri (1996, 1999, and 2001) recounts how he personally witnessed the clergy of the United Church of Zambia in the Copperbelt province, using their pulpits to campaign for Chiluba’s MMD during the 1991 elections. As such, “religious institutions became important vehicles for the expression of popular disconnect and for the elaboration of alternative survival strategies” (Chazan et al.: 1991:99).

This phenomenon was not limited only to the Copperbelt or to the UCZ clergy alone but was relatively broad-based. According to Freston (2001:158), for its part, Chiluba’s MMD party saw the role that the Churches were playing, appreciated their support, and had before it even won the 1991 elections, campaigned with a manifesto that proffered that “Zambia was a Christian country, which was tolerant of other religions” (Ihonvbere 1998:231).

## **Conclusion**

To deny that Africans and, indeed, Zambians had a system of religion before the missionaries arrived, is to reject the idea that the reason for the unified relationship between church and state in Zambia is a consequence of the relationship between the sacred and the secular in ATR. Once

Christianity had been accepted among the people, it became, as it were, one of the indigenous religions of Zambia.

Its political role became identical to the political role of the other Zambian Traditional Religions. The bearers of the Christian religion – the missionaries – did not provide a practical reason why Christianity differed from the Zambian religions regarding politics and the relationship between religion and political institutions. Moreover, there was no distinction between missionaries' roles, being purveyors of the Gospel, and providing civic institutions such as schools and hospitals. This supported the natives' view of church and state being a cohesive unit. By the time the colonialists took over from the missionaries, the lines between religion and the state were blurred.

In this chapter and the one before it, we have outlined how pre-colonial conceptions of the relationship between religion and state among ancient Zambians set the template for later concepts of Church and state. In fact, the colonial Church-state relationship was simply a continuation of the Zambians' worldview. A reappraisal of the history of early Christianity in Africa should consider the immense contribution that Africans themselves made in spreading the gospel to their own people. Through the activities of native Evangelists like Reverend David Kaunda, the Gospel became more than just a white man's religion, establishing itself as an African's religion. Therefore, the seed of a Christian nation was not only sown by white missionaries alone but also by Africans themselves.

The consequence of Africanised Christianity was that the new Christians had reinterpreted the missionaries' messages within the ambit of their traditions, cosmology, and worldview. It, therefore, did not matter what the missionaries said or what they did anymore. As an indigenous religion, Christianity had taken up, for the natives, the same elements and functions as ATR. These, as discussed above, include the conception of a unified worldview between the sacred and the secular and the political role of religion. It is also noted that, to the African, the church and state remain inextricably bound in their function as determinants of the status quo. Because of this persuasion, the relationship between Church and state during the Kaunda era went through phases of harmony and discord as Christianity came into its own as a religion in Zambia.

As a consequence, Kaunda understood the lure of power and remained grounded in his faith while still allowing for freedom of religious practice in his newly formed republic. Some would argue that Kaunda and his government needed the church to reinforce their government, while the church needed the state to foster an environment suitable for it to carry out its mission.

Throughout the Kaunda era, we observe a gradual evolution of Zambian Christian beliefs and the relationship between church and state, beginning by challenging the colonial suppression of the natives, developing into a liberation from the clutches of imperialism, maturing, at its climax, into the church and state collaboration in the leadership of the country, and, eventually, opposing the dictatorial tendencies of the one-party state. This pattern, as it were, is like the role the Church played in both the pre-colonial and colonial eras in Africa and, by extension, Zambia, as outlined earlier in the chapter.

Suffice it to say, the Church's relationship with Kaunda and his government can be understood using the typology discussed elsewhere in this study: The Church legitimated Kaunda, provided checks and balances to his regime, and provided tools for revolution against the Kaunda regime when it was perceived to be dictatorial.

Throughout the Kaunda regime, despite Kaunda's own attempts to change this, Christianity was widely accepted as the government's unofficial ideological worldview and Zambian citizens. Moreover, many native Zambians rejected ideologies that fell outside of the scope of Christianity, thus prompting Church leaders to advocate for Zambia's formalisation as a Christian state.



# Church and State: the Chiluba and Post-Chiluba Eras

## Introduction

This chapter concludes the focus on Osmer's (2008) second task: "Why is this going on?" (Interpretative task). The question is: *Does the history of religion and Church-state relations explain the status quo?*

This chapter analyses the Declaration, which is the most significant event to underlie Church-state relations in Zambia's Third Republic that is from 1991 to the present. However, The Declaration is analysed in this section from an Evangelical perspective. In other words, this chapter will outline how the Evangelical Church reacted to the Declaration and how they sought to relate to the Christian State. Such an analysis yields several results that the Evangelical Church had an inadequate theology of the state in how they responded to the Declaration.

The Declaration represents the most fundamental change in Church-state relations in the Third Republic. In the Third Republic, Zambia has had four presidents:

- Frederick Titus Chiluba (1991–2001);
- Levy Patrick Mwanawasa (2002–2008);
- Rupiah Bwezani Banda (2008–2011; Kanyama 2010:28);
- Michael Chilufya Sata (September 2011 to October 2014);
- Edgar Chagwa Lungu (January 2015 to date) (Kangwa 2017).

## Church and State during the Chiluba Era

### The Faith of Former President Chiluba and the Declaration

#### *Chiluba's Christian Religion*

According to Phiri (2003:405; 2008:101) and Gifford (1996), Frederick Chiluba's religious background began, just like Kaunda's, as a member of the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) in Ndola. However, he became "born again" after reading the book, *From Prison to Praise* by Merlin Carothers while imprisoned by Kaunda on politically motivated charges in 1981 (Smith 1998:153; and Yong 2010:9). Chiluba is then reported to have later

received the “gift of tongues” at a crusade in Malawi addressed by the German Evangelical preacher Reinhard Bonnke (Gifford 1998:193). According to Katongole (2005:245; 2011:49), Bonnke is a Pentecostal preacher and founder of the Christ for all Nations Ministries, who travels across Africa, where his crusades attract hundreds of thousands and, in some cases, millions of attendants.

This religious profile of Chiluba presents a complex mix of faiths and doctrine. As earlier noted, being a member of the UCZ, he became “born again” and later received “the gift of tongues.” The previous chapter of this dissertation has already explored the historical origins of the UCZ. In terms of policy and practice, it never advocated for “being born again” as possessing any significance for being a Christian or as a prerequisite into its membership.

By claiming to be born again, Chiluba seems to have acquired a clear Evangelical perspective of what it means to be a Christian. In Zambia, just like anywhere else, being “born again” is a unique doctrinal element that is mainly espoused by Evangelicals. Notwithstanding Chiluba’s membership in the UCZ (which is not a member of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia), he, by the nature of his Christian practice, diversified his faith from the mainline to Evangelicalism.

Another significant element adds to Chiluba’s “born again” status in that he received the “gift of tongues”. This reception of tongues is an apparent reference to Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, further convoluting Chiluba’s Christian identity and positioning him as a member of the UCZ. He became born again and eventually experienced baptism in tongues.

Kangwa (2017) explains that the expansion of Pentecostal-Charismatic movement has affected the polity and practice of a historical Church such as the UCZ. Jefferson (2002:75) even identifies Chiluba as a member of the Pentecostal community. All three elements, subsequently, help to shed some light on the progression of Chiluba’s faith. However, it is clear that from his behaviour as president, he mainly favoured the Evangelicals with a Pentecostal-Charismatic persuasion.

A discussion of Chiluba’s attitude towards and conversion to Christianity is significant as it assuages the claim that he may have become a Christian while in office to use religion as a way of acquiring and retaining power. Chiluba’s Christian story, at least, at this time, is similar to that of Kaunda. They both had a strong leaning towards the Christian faith long before they assumed power. Kalu (1985:114) is instructive in this regard when he mentions that “President Chiluba who declared Zambia a Christian nation ... was born again before ascension into power.” This confirms

our thesis that religion had played a considerable role in moulding many African leaders even before they rose to power.

Religious ecumenism for a Zambian leader did not begin with Chiluba, however. Kaunda, too, showed some affinity for religious miscellany in his combining of Christian beliefs as a member of the UCZ with Indian mysticism. On the other hand, Chiluba combined religious diversity within the Christian religion by embracing different doctrines and faiths. Between these two types of syncretism, it is apparent that Zambians were more tolerant of Chiluba's religious or denominational ecumenism than they were of Kaunda's inter-religious affiliation.

### *Cleansing Ceremony*

Phiri (2003; 2008) has pointed out how after winning the presidency, Chiluba refused to enter State House, the official residence of the president of the Republic of Zambia, until there had been a cleansing ceremony. To carry out this essential task, Chiluba relied on his Charismatic friends. They prayed and fasted over State House to exorcise evil spirits believed, in Evangelical circles, to have been welcomed into the house and, consequently, the nation through Kaunda's involvement with Eastern Mysticism (Yong 2010:9; Van Klinken 2014:262). Therefore, exorcism was going to form a crucial role in Chiluba's ascension to power.

To understand how Chiluba reasoned, it is prudent to refer to traditional Zambian worldviews where we see that the spirit world is highly alive and could impact the physical world. Therefore, it is not unusual that, as an Evangelical and Pentecostal-Charismatic believer, Chiluba decided to use the Christian faith to provide the necessary tools and support to exorcise State House. It should not be controversial that Chiluba's faith in Christianity led him to find Pentecostal-Charismatic pastors to purge State House's ghosts since any African leader would resort to witchdoctors to perform such exorcisms outside of the Christian context.

This cleansing ceremony is very significant in the sense that through it, Chiluba had sent a clear message that while Kaunda had entertained Eastern Mysticism, Chiluba was going to return State House to the Christian faith. This is the same Christian faith that formed part of the foundation of Zambia in the first place.

Coupled with the State House's cleansing was The David Universal Temple's cleansing, which Kaunda had constructed as a syncretic house of worship. Worship that is alien to the Christian faith. The government, after exorcising it, later rented out the David Universal Temple. Christianity was going to have a strikingly different influence on Chiluba than it did on

Kaunda. For Chiluba, it was the Charismatic sort of Christianity, inspired by zealous Evangelism and Evangelical political theology (Kangwa 2017).

### *Coronation Ceremony*

Shortly after assuming power, Chiluba went to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, an iconic Church in the centre of Lusaka, to be anointed as leader over Zambia by none other than the leaders of the three Church mother bodies—the EFZ, the CCZ, and the ZEC (Phiri 2003:406; Freston 2001:158). During that anointing service, the Anglican Bishop Mumba charged Chiluba to lead Zambia with integrity and with the fear of God. There are several ways to look at the significance of this anointing ceremony.

*Firstly*, it denotes that since President Chiluba was bringing himself under the Church’s authority, which was, supposedly, going to have much influence over him and government policy.

*Secondly*, the presidential coronation also connoted that Chiluba was going to be the leader of both the state and the Church since that anointing service may have had the potential to infuse some ecclesiastical authority on his part.

*Thirdly*, the anointing service was a momentous occasion hosted by the Anglicans and attended by Anglicans as well as Pentecostals/Charismatics, and many other Christian denominations – demonstrating that President Chiluba was accepted across multiple Zambian Church denominations, thus giving Chiluba legitimacy from a mainline Church.

*Fourthly*, through this anointing ceremony, Chiluba could have benefited from having some form of religious legitimacy in the Church’s eyes. “Though Chiluba was Zambia’s president, the anointing ceremony suggested that he was first of all God’s servant” (Phiri 2008:102).

Suppose Chiluba made the Declaration without the Churches’ consent. In that case, it would have been clear that the Church had, by its actions, inadvertently led to the situation where the next step on Chiluba’s part was going to be the Declaration. This gesture by the Church was an explicit validation of Chiluba’s presidency. There is no provision for a presidential religious coronation in the Zambian system from a legal or constitutional perspective. Chiluba’s two successors did not have any similar experience, nor did Kaunda before him. However, Chiluba’s “coronation” implication was a symbolic endorsement of his presidency on the part of the Church.

The only other president to have a similar experience was the fifth president of Zambia, Michael Sata, on September 25, 2011. In this instance, however, the pomp and splendour that characterised Chiluba’s anointing service were lacking. President Sata knelt before his parish priest, who



prayed for him and his wife to lead with wisdom during a Sunday service. Sata committed to rule the nation by Biblical principles and the Ten Commandments.

### *The 1991 “Christian Nation” Declaration*

On 29<sup>th</sup> December 1991, just two months after Zambia had inaugurated her Second Republican President, Frederick JT Chiluba, he, accompanied by Pastor Ernest Chelelwa, Pastor Joseph Chihana, and other notable Church leaders, stood between two pillars at State House, proclaimed that the “righteous principles of the Word of God” were going to govern Zambia.

In his historic “speech from the pillar”, President Chiluba stated:

The Bible, which is the Word of God, abounds with proof that a nation is blessed, whenever it enters into a covenant with God and obeys the word of God ... On behalf of the nation, I have now entered into a covenant with the living God ... I submit the Government and the entire nation of Zambia to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. I further declare that Zambia is a Christian Nation that will seek to be governed by the righteous principles of the word of God. Righteousness and justice must prevail in all levels of authority, and then we shall see the righteousness of God exalting Zambia (Chiluba, 1991: Speech from the Pillar; Gifford 1998:197–198; Times of Zambia, February 20, 1994).

This initial Declaration undoubtedly caught many Zambians by surprise. In fact, Gifford (1998:198) reports that the three Church mother bodies (EFZ, ZEC, and CCZ) were not consulted when Chiluba made this declaration. Prempeh (2010:1) adds that “President Frederick Chiluba made this declaration without consulting his cabinet, party, or the national legislature”. However, Phiri (1996, 1998, and 1999) voiced some scholars’ opinion in stating that President Chiluba did not involve any of the Churches since the Declaration was more like an expression of his personal faith. Specifically, Chiluba was hesitant to involve the Church mother bodies because he knew that he would receive a great deal of opposition.

This Declaration became the bastion that carried Church and state relations in the Third Republic. Several factors have elevated this initial declaration to magnificent proportions. *Firstly*, it is the irony of the timing of the Declaration itself. It came at a time when Zambia had moved from a one-party dictatorship to a multi-party democratic system. In fact, the newly elected President Chiluba, who epitomised liberal democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, made this potentially divisive decision. As observed by Prempeh (2010:2), the Declaration:

Was not the act of some notorious ‘African dictator’ whose word had always been law. To the contrary, President Chiluba was one of a “new generation” of African leaders who had been swept into office amidst popular disenchantment with [...] Kenneth Kaunda [...] upon assuming the office of president, the democratically elected Chiluba acted brazenly and unilaterally, taking his country down a needlessly divisive path that even his constitutionally authoritarian predecessor had never contemplated.

*Secondly*, the Declaration had been elevated due to its subsequent development since 1991. Chiluba’s decision to constitutionalise the Declaration in 1996 now meant that it was not just a pronouncement of the president’s faith (as expressed by Phiri 1996; 1998; 1999); it became an integral part of the law of the land.

*Thirdly*, the Declaration’s role as a rallying point of the Evangelical movement in the subsequent reviews of the country’s constitution has elevated the Declaration to prominence within the national dialogue. The Declaration has been used by Evangelical leaders such as Bishop Joshua Banda and Bishop Joseph Imakando to rally the nation towards the adoption of Christian values, not only in national governance but also in day-to-day living.

*Fourthly*, the Declaration is significant for Chiluba’s failure to uphold its standard rather than his success concerning it. Ironically, Chiluba’s presidency epitomised the exact opposite of what he had wanted to achieve through the Declaration. When he made it, he committed to rule through God’s power and rule by following the “righteous principles of the Word of God”. Additionally, he committed to end corruption and wanton abuse of government resources. However, it is during Chiluba’s presidency that many suggest corruption reached its peak. Chiluba’s prosecution on theft and corruption charges confirms this fact. Even if the Zambian courts of law cleared Chiluba of the theft charges, almost all his close associates have been convicted of corruption and theft, and some have served, or are still serving, prison terms.

When former President Frederick Chiluba made the Declaration 1991, he and several proponents of a “Christian Nation” both within his party and outside, it provided several reasons why the Declaration was necessary.

The Declaration was received as an affirmation of the faith to which a majority of Zambians subscribed. Jefferson (2002:78) reported how a PAOG minister remarked that nothing was wrong with the Declaration since between 70 % or 80 % of Zambians were already Christian. Seen in this light, the Declaration was justified because it upheld the religion that many Zambians claim to adhere to. The extent of this adherence, however, has

not been studied. It is one thing to claim to be Christian, and indeed quite another to test what that claim to Christian adherence really means.

The Declaration was also seen as a statement of national philosophy, more or less like the direction that humanism had taken during Kaunda's presidency (First and Second Republics). Therefore, the Declaration was seen as a statement of faith or a vision statement, marking the desired path the Zambian people were to follow concerning faith and national values.

Furthermore, the Declaration was seen to reinforce Zambia's call to missions and Evangelism within Zambia, Africa, and the rest of the world. Some Christian leaders have pointed out that the Declaration was a critical aspect that led to great missionary zeal among Zambians. The Declaration ushered in a noteworthy era of Zambian missions that saw several Zambians going to other nations in Africa and beyond as missionaries of the Gospel of Christ. This missionary endeavour has not only helped spread the gospel, but it has also helped stem the spread of Islam. As a crossroad between East Africa and Southern Africa, the central location of Zambia makes it even more vital concerning curtailing Islam.

Acting as a yardstick, the Declaration provided something of a code of conduct for government leaders. When justifying the Declaration, Chiluba himself remarked that the nation would have a standard to which the government could be held accountable.

In line with the Christian belief in faithfulness being rewarded, the Declaration was made in the conviction that dedicating a nation to God, as Chiluba did, would cause God to bless the nation. According to Phiri (2008:107), the Declaration was based on the belief that a nation whose leader fears God prospers economically, which is seen as a reason why Zambia was declared a Christian nation (Phiri 2008:107). Consequently, it was believed among the Declaration's proponents that it would help lead to national transformation. An academic critic of the Declaration acknowledges this fact when he writes that, "However, they (those who mooted the Christian Nation idea) were right in pointing out that individual virtue can be the starting point for the transformation of home, community and the country" (Cheyeka 2002:171). Chiluba believed that by making the Declaration, he would help achieve a Christian transformation of Zambia. He reasoned that as the people receive God's word, government corruption should be eliminated (Cheyeka 2002:170).

President Chiluba said that the Declaration was justified since there are other fundamentalist states in the world (Cheyeka 2002:170). By stating this, he was referring to Islamic states, which, for the most part, include the national religion as part of their constitutions for certain other such countries, the term 'Islamic State' is included in their official name.

*The Church's Response to the 1991 "Christian Nation" Declaration*

The Church's immediate response to President Chiluba's declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation has received some attention from Gifford (1998a, 1998b), Anderson (2009:238), and Cheyeka (2002). Specifically, both Gifford (1998b:198) and Anderson (2009:238) suggest that the Declaration was only almost universally accepted by the Evangelical community but not by the mainline Churches such as the ZEC or the CCZ. However, evidence suggests the contrary; the 1991 Declaration was, in fact, endorsed by all three Church mother bodies of Zambia. As noted in previous chapters, these three Church mother bodies comprise the mainstream Christian denominations such as the Catholics and the UCZ and the newer PCCs. It could be understood that Gifford's (1998) or Anderson's (2009) sentiments may have been clouded by later reactions to the Declaration after 1996.

However, post-1996, the Catholic Church, through the ZEC, overtly changed its position on the Declaration and became a very eminent critic. The ZEC made a U-turn on the Declaration later in the history of Chiluba's presidency. In any case, the ZEC's opposition to the Declaration post-1996 seems to be motivated by reasons other than that the Declaration was intrinsically a bad idea.

When former President Chiluba declared Zambia a Christian nation (as noted in this study), he did it without consulting the leaders of the three Church mother bodies, the ZEC, the CCZ and the EFZ. While the EFZ leadership, such as Reverend Joseph Imakando, was a strong proponent of the Declaration as early as 1989 and 1990, he was nevertheless conspicuously missing from the invitees' list on the day that President Chiluba decided to declare Zambia a Christian nation.

Nevertheless, some 17 days after the Declaration, the three Church mother bodies' representatives, Reverend V. Sampa-Bredt (CCZ), Reverend J. Imakando (EFZ), and Catholic Father J. L. Calmettes (ZEC), issued a joint press statement in which they endorsed the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation (Joint Press Statement on the Declaration, 16 January 1992). The Churches advanced several reasons for their support of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation in 1991.

Firstly, the Churches supported the Declaration because they believed Christianity was the main religion among Zambians and had played substantial political, social, and political roles in the formation and development of the nation. However, this majoritarian reason was a double-edged sword for the Church since it suggested that the majority could trample on the rights of the minority. The Church could not have wanted to endorse the Declaration if it supported the majority while disowning the minority.

The second reason for the Church's support of the Declaration seems to run counter to the first reason: the state, despite the Declaration, would receive the support of the Church in so far as it promises to respect the non-Christian minority. The Church's wish was granted when President Chiluba assured the nation that the constitutional provisions that guarantee freedom of religion and freedom of conscience should be upheld despite the declaration that Zambia shall be a Christian nation.

Evidently, the Church recognised the role that the Christian Church in Zambia has played in promoting worship, education, health, and dialogue. This informs the third reason for the support of the Church. After this recognition, the EFZ, CCZ, and the ZEC then felt that the nation could legitimately honour this history by declaring Zambia a Christian nation.

Additionally, while regretting "the lack of consultation with the Churches and lack of preparation of the Nation", the Church leaders noted the positive points in the Declaration. In so doing, they, however, put in a caveat and praised Former President Chiluba for affirming freedom of conscience and the freedom of worship and expression for all citizens despite the Declaration. Moreover, Gifford (1998b:198) has recognised that the EFZ leadership might have been consulted about the Declaration. If Gifford is correct, then it could be concluded that this lack of consultation may have mainly applied to the Catholic Church and the other Christian organisations – the CCZ. Doctrinally, the Evangelical community would find nothing wrong with a Christian layperson, like Chiluba, making an ecclesiastical pronouncement to the level of rendering the nation Christian. On the other hand, the Catholics would not be as open to the idea of someone who is not an ordained minister making fundamental religious statements as their Evangelical counterparts were, especially without consultation. Therefore, it could be seen that the Churches' reaction against Chiluba's lack of consultation was mainly based on the particular Church's ethos.

Another reason for the Church's support was to keep the functional separation of Church and state, stating that "the provisions and guarantees of the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia should be adhered to at all times and the Church and state should continue to remain separate."

The Church was not, considering the Declaration, going to take a blind loyalty in following the state. Instead, they would offer constructive criticism against the State "where necessary as it is felt that Christian principles have had and should continue to have a positive impact on the development of the Nation." As such, all three Church mother bodies took a utilitarian approach; the Declaration was helpful only to the extent that it ensured Christian principles have a practical impact on national

development. Failing this, the Church used its religious muscle to pressure the state to govern according to Biblical principles.

Finally, the Church agreed with Former President Chiluba's motivation for the Declaration – it should help citizens work hard and stamp out corruption and the other evils the country was confronted with. The Churches saw, in the Declaration, the opportunity to have Christian values enshrined in the fabric of the nation, so that the country may “follow the Christian values of love, respect, justice, and tolerance for all.” Just as the Church had endorsed Kaunda's philosophy of humanism as the guiding philosophy of nation-building, it had accepted Chiluba's declaration hoping that it would guide the nation towards a better society.

### *Former President Kaunda: Approving the Message but not the Messenger?*

It is essential to acknowledge what Zambia's first president Kaunda has had to say about the Declaration. Since this study argues for the thesis that the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation seems to have the prerequisite preparation and precedence in Zambia's political and religious history, it is only fair that the man who played the most significant part in Zambia's religious and political history from 1964 to 1991 is acknowledged as regards his sentiments about the Declaration.

In his weekly column in *The Post Newspapers* of Saturday, June 23, 2007, Kaunda presented his views about his successor's Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation. After going on to criticise Chiluba's general conduct in office and the fact that he (Chiluba) may have been behind his son Wezi Kaunda's assassination, President Kaunda stated that: “The Christian nation declaration was a declaration of great importance but coming from the mouth and mind of a person who did not, going by his own rule of Zambia, do any work that could give Zambia a Christian name.” (*Post Newspapers* “the Christian nation declaration” Saturday, June 23, 2007)

In this article, Kaunda seems to admit the Declaration's importance even to the point of belief in it. At the same time, however, he expresses the opinion that Chiluba's personal conduct in the office did not befit a Christian's conduct. As such, Kaunda believes in the Declaration's message but does not hold the messenger in high esteem. This should not be surprising at all. As a political opponent, it is most unlikely that Kaunda would find Chiluba agreeable. It is, after all, Chiluba who tossed him out of power in the 1991 multiparty elections.

Former President Kaunda's favourable view of the Declaration, despite the apparent moral weakness of the messenger, shows that religion, particularly Christianity, was, and continues to be, a significant factor in

Kaunda's life. If, as this study has suggested, Kaunda derived plenty of religious legitimacy from Christianity in his presidency, that could explain why he could not condemn the Declaration, even years after he had left office.

## **National Policy in “The Christian Nation”**

### *The Christian Nation and its Pro-Israel Diplomacy*

As a direct consequence of the Declaration, Former President Chiluba severed diplomatic ties with Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran (Anderson 2009:238). He then changed the name of a major road in Lusaka from Saddam Hussein Boulevard to Los Angeles Boulevard. After cutting ties with both Iran and Iraq, he re-established diplomatic relations with Israel, which Kaunda had broken in the early 1970s. It is somewhat ironic that Kaunda's decision to boycott Israel in 1973 was supported by Chiluba when he was a trade unionist. Chiluba was part of Zambia's delegation to the UN that voted to isolate Israel for the 1973 Israeli-Arab war.

However, after Chiluba had assumed the office of president and had undergone Evangelical conversion, as noted by Gifford (1998:199) and Freston (2001), President Chiluba's motivation for re-establishing diplomatic relations with Israel was essentially due to his dispensationalist Christian Zionism. Christian Zionism believes in “the gathering of the Jews in the land God had promised them” (Drinan 2004:204). Additionally, dispensationalist Christian Zionism proffers the view “that a nation can only prosper if it is pro-Israel” (Freston 2001:160). According to Gifford (1998:199,200), “Christian Zionism links several supposed Biblical prophecies to the modern state of Israel and leads to uncritical support for its policies”.

In this regard, the Declaration inspired a very radical change within Zambia's diplomatic policy. Later, in Chiluba's presidency, some of his cabinet ministers even suggested moving Zambia's embassy to Jerusalem itself. However, Chiluba's zeal for the nation of Israel was not just limited to the political state of Israel alone. It went even further to include Judaism and its religious symbols. Several years after he had left office, Chiluba was called to a thanksgiving prayer meeting by the local Lusaka city pastors, where he was honoured by being garbed with Jewish religious regalia.

On the seventeenth anniversary of the Declaration, *The Post Newspapers* (“I am anointed”, *Post Newspapers*) reported Chiluba as saying that God preserved him to become Republican president to change the wrong

political decision that Zambia under Kaunda took in the 1970s to isolate Israel. After he declared Zambia as a Christian nation, Chiluba was excited that the country renewed its links with the Holy Land, Israel. The charismatic leader held the view that Zambia's increasing poverty in the Second Republic was directly linked to Zambia's treatment of Israel's modern nation. "When we made that wrong choice, we paid dearly for that. May God forgive me for voting for the isolation of Israel," said Chiluba as he tried to cry during the same anniversary prayer meeting. For Chiluba, the issue of Israel was not only an issue of national importance but was also an incredibly personal matter of faith.

Former President Chiluba's theology of Israel was partly responsible for his declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Additionally, the Declaration inspired pro-Israel diplomacy. Chiluba's theology of Israel encompassed several elements, which are all contained in what he has said at various Church gatherings, as reported by *The Post Newspapers* (2003).

*Firstly*, Chiluba held the view that strengthening Zambia's ties with Israel would lead to Zambia's economic and political prosperity. He sees the nation's economic downfall under Kaunda in 1970 due to Kaunda's anti-Israel policies. Chiluba claimed to have reversed this national curse when he restored diplomatic ties with Israel. According to him, Zambia began to prosper again after 1991. He restored the relationship with Israel because he held the belief that Israel was a blessed nation. Not long after restoring Israel's relationship, Chiluba claims the shortages of essential commodities such as sugar, mealie-meal, and others came to an end. Chiluba further remarked:

This is why when I became President; I restored Zambia's relationship with Israel. Israel is a blessed nation, and this is why we should be closer to it so that the blessings that God pours out on Israel will be spilling to us. Israel and Zambia must be one and support each other. Israel may be a small country, but the God in Israel is bigger and when He fights for them, it is not child's play.

*Secondly*, Chiluba believed that God providentially chose him to be president of Zambia to right the wrong of Zambia, voting to isolate Israel in the United Nations Assembly in 1973. In the same vein, Chiluba condemned his predecessor Kaunda for having, "in his temper, decided to cut ties with Israel". Even if Chiluba was part of the original 1973 delegation from Zambia that voted to isolate Israel, Chiluba is quick to see his actions as sins. At a Church meeting in Kitwe, he specifically asked God's forgiveness for having been part of a Zambian delegation to the United Nations in 1973, which voted for Israel's isolation.



Thirdly, Chiluba saw Zambia's role to spread the excellent message of Israel to other parts of Africa so that they too can attract the blessings of God by aligning themselves to Israel. Chiluba claimed:

Don't play with things that God has declared and decreed...we have a duty to preach this within our borders in Zambia and we have a duty to preach this in Africa. Africa needs to be liberated ... we need to develop strong relations with our brothers in Israel. Sugar and mealie-meal were in abundance because we went back to the blessings of Abraham after restoring relations with Israel.

This activist orientation on Chiluba's part seems to have been more evident in his post-presidency years. It would be interesting to know whether he could have said the same thing about Israel publicly to African countries, including very anti-Israel nations like Libya and its leader Col. Muammar Al-Gaddafi. This particular aspect of Chiluba's pro-Israel theology would find minimal application among some African countries. This rhetoric probably belongs more in Evangelical Church meetings than in actual international and diplomatic circles.

The pro-Israel policy did not ironically end with Chiluba's presidency, however. It continued under the leadership of Chiluba's successors Levy Mwanawasa and Rupiah Banda. After taking office in 2002, Mwanawasa reaffirmed his commitment to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and continued the government's pro-Israel policy. On 29 December 2008, Ronnie Shikapwashya, a chief government spokesman in Rupiah Banda's government, said that the Zambian government would consider opening an Embassy in Israel since God had a covenant with the Middle Eastern country (Lusaka Times 2008).

Chiluba's pro-Israel policy is shared among several of Zambia's politicians and religious leaders, especially those within the Evangelical fraternity. Even after Chiluba had left office, numerous politicians continued to advocate for sustained and even more radical support for Israel. One such politician is Dr Saviour Chishimba, who is a born-again Christian just like Chiluba. The Kasama Central Constituency electorate elected him to Parliament in 2006. However, in 2009, he resigned from parliament, formed a political party, and presented himself as a candidate for Zambia's presidency in the 2011 elections.

All the same, Dr. Chishimba had expanded on Chiluba's pro-Israel stance. He is reported to have, as the emblem of his political party, "an Israeli flag with three doves and sun inside the blue Star of David", according to Israel's Haaretz Newspapers ("Zambian presidential candidate").

Further reports say that Dr. Chishimba, in January 2010, travelled to Israel and participated in demonstrations against the Hamas Movement raining rockets into Israeli territory.

### *The Christian Nation as the Agent of Evangelism and Morals*

Following the Declaration, Chiluba received tremendous support from American Evangelicals, both Charismatics and non-Charismatics. These American Evangelicals were regular guests of the president's and invited him to come and Evangelise and Christianise Zambia. Cheyeka (2002) has reported that, in so doing, Chiluba was attempting to achieve a Christian transformation of Zambia. These American Evangelists include Benny Hinn, Richard Roberts, and Ernest Angley. Chiluba's actions of involving government in Christian Evangelism went against the principle that "Christians should never ask the government to use the arm of the law to help carry out the great commission" (Redekop 2007:150).

Bringing religious leaders to Zambia at the government's expense to engage actively in Evangelism was a unique element perhaps inspired by the Declaration. While Kaunda equally used personal religious leaders' services (such as Indian guru Ranganathan) at government expense, he never encouraged Ranganathan to Evangelise the Zambian public. Chiluba, on the other hand, actively encouraged Evangelism. However, Kaunda's reluctance to allow his newly found faith in Ranganathan to Evangelise, actively and publicly, amongst the Zambian public is attributed to several factors. It could be that the nature of their religion did not encourage Evangelism or that faith could not find any tolerance among Zambians. Chiluba's religious men, however, found a very vocal and influential Evangelical community to support the Evangelism efforts of the American preachers.

The fact that Chiluba was going to be a Christian president and that his government would be anchored in the Christian faith has already been overstated in this study. And as such, there was no better way to demonstrate this Christian commitment than to censor some television programming on Zambia's then only television station – Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Television. Under Kaunda's regime – the Maharishi Yogi religious group had a program running on national television with Kaunda's blessing. Kaunda's personal spiritual advisor Dr. Ranganathan would make some appearances on television as well.

The democratic change in 1991 and the subsequent transition into Frederick Chiluba's so-called Christian government meant that these and similar programs would not be tolerated. The irony of this decision is

glaring – a democratically elected government perpetuates the same arbitrary power to ban some programs on TV just as the preceding dictatorial government had done. It seems that this time around, the reason for this interfering in the media was to safeguard the Declaration. Within a few months of assuming power, the new Minister of Information (which is the government ministry that runs ZNBC), Reverend Stan Kristafor, banned all non-Christian religious programming (Gifford 1998b: 369). Both Phiri (2003) and Gifford (1998b) assert that only after the then republican vice-president intervention, Levy Mwanawasa, some religious programs were allowed to run. Mwanawasa, a constitutional lawyer, submitted that Zambia constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion for all, and as such, it would be unconstitutional to ban non-Christian programming on television. However, despite this warning, Chiluba's government still did not allow several programs back on television. Chiluba's Christian nation was not going to be tolerant, at least for that time, of the free rein of non-Christian programs.

Another matter of censorship that cropped up during this time was Tshala Muana's shows. Tshala Muana is a Congolese musician who was known for some particularly sexually provocative dances in the late eighties and early nineties. She came to Zambia, and ZNBC broadcast her shows. There was a considerable outcry from some Evangelicals about her sexually explicit dances, and Chiluba's government was forced to intervene, banning her videos from ZNBC (Gifford 1998b:369). However, to the Chiluba cabinet's embarrassment, it was later alleged that a few of Chiluba's senior cabinet members had been skirmishing for Muana's attention. Some three of them had been pursuing her affection. Her affair with Honourable VJ Mwaanga, a foreign affairs minister under Chiluba, was later confirmed to have been true (Gifford 1998).

Chiluba himself had gone so far as to refuse even a song Tshala Muana had dedicated to him and his new MMD government. It was a common practice for visiting Congolese musicians to pen a song for the Head of State. In 1988, when another Congolese musician Luambo Makiadi (aka Franco), visited Zambia, he composed a song for the then-president Kaunda ("Franco Sings for Kenneth Kaunda" 03:15–05:21)

Nevertheless, Chiluba refused to have that done for him by Tshala Muana because a Christian leader could not accept such dedication in the Christian nation. However, all these episodes only, unfortunately, went to show, in the opinion of some Zambians, how Chiluba was "ineffective and unable to control his ministers" (Ihonybere 1998:230).

Tshala Muana continued being a controversial figure in Zambian politics and religious circles. In the bid to promote more HIV/AIDS awareness,

an alliance of HIV/AIDS Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) did some condom commercials on ZNBC, emphasising the importance of using a condom as a precautionary and protective measure against HIV/AIDS. Tshala Muana and Kalusha Bwalya (Zambia's most celebrated football player) were chosen for this task. After complaints from some members of the public, and especially the Evangelical Church fraternity, the government expressed its displeasure over the commercials and the Vice-President at the time, Brig. Gen. Godfrey Miyanda (a Pentecostal-Charismatic Christian like Chiluba) accused the NGOs of corrupting Zambian morals. The commercials were subsequently pulled from Zambian television screens.

It would be safe to assume that, in contrast, Kaunda would not have reacted to the condom adverts in the same manner as his more moralistic successor. We deduce this from a personal experience he had with HIV/AIDS in that it claimed the life of one of his sons. After the death of his son, Kaunda put aside all the traditional taboos (which precludes people from discussing the real diseases that kill a person) to openly discuss the death of his son due to HIV/AIDS (Van Der Veen 2004:262). Here, it seems that the Christian faith would work very differently in tackling the fight against HIV/AIDS and condom promotion in Kaunda's compared to Chiluba's government.

Another schism took place within Chiluba's first cabinet when, after declaring Zambia a Christian nation, Chiluba, despite having lifted Kaunda's state of emergency, affected the media's subsequent liberalisation, still banned the free flow of pornographic materials (Jefferson 2002:77). This ban on pornography infuriated Chiluba's minister of Legal Affairs, Honourable Dr. Roger Chongwe, who asserted that Chiluba's ban was unconstitutional and infringed on people's fundamental liberties ("Leader Resists Pornography" Christianity Today 37 no 6 My 17 1993; and Jefferson 2002:77, 78).

Specifically, Honourable Dr. Chongwe did not sanction the Declaration and asserted that Chiluba's imposition of his morals on the population was illegal and unconstitutional since Zambia was a liberal democracy. Dr. Roger Chongwe, by making this statement, encapsulated the challenge the Christian nation was going to face in being a Christian nation that, at the same time, should be a liberal democracy.

Christians must always resist the temptation to use government power as a short cut to try to achieve Christian behaviour or belief. Becoming a Christian and living the Christian life involve voluntary commitment, not external conformity compelled by outside coercion. Of course, some Christian

ethical principles have such obvious validity and utility that they have been enacted into law by governments (Redekop 2007:38).

### *The Christian Nation as a Distributor of State Privilege to the Church*

During Chiluba's tenure, the State offered diplomatic passports to senior members of the clergy in both the mainline Churches such as the UCZ and Evangelical circles (Smith 1999:537). This policy was in line with the fact that, since Zambia was a Christian nation, the members of the clergy were envoys of the Christian nation as they travelled around the world. Therefore, offering them diplomatic passports would help ease their travelling, and, consequently, the clergy would bear the Gospel of Christ wherever they went while, at the same time, representing Zambia. Several Evangelical pastors, especially from the PCC fraternity, glowed in the new attention they received from the Head of State.

Among the recipients of these passports were Dr. Nevers Mumba – Pastor of Victory Ministries, Bishop Joshua Banda – Pastor of Northmead Assembly of God, and Bishop Evans Chibesakunda – Overseer of Grace Ministries Mission International. However, when Dr. Nevers Mumba turned against Chiluba's government, criticised it and established a civil society organisation to advocate for a more moral political arrangement. Among the many state privileges, he lost were his diplomatic passport (Phiri 1998:77). Therefore, it seems Chiluba's government was willing to tie these state privileges only to members of the clergy that would lavishly support him. The fact that Zambia was a Christian nation was not sufficient in this regard to guarantee a renegade Church leader any privilege, not least a diplomatic passport. Church leaders had to toe Chiluba's line as well.

This initiative was very different from Kaunda's regime, which never offered diplomatic passports to pastors simply because of their role as pastors in the Churches. In this way, Kaunda's relationship with the Churches was different from that of his successor, Frederick Chiluba.

Despite his Christian faith, Chiluba distributed state privileges to clergy not only based on their religious role, but also on their personal support of his government. As such, he maintained the diplomatic passport privilege to pastors if they supported him and were in good books with him. As soon as that changed, Chiluba would withdraw such state privileges. Dr. Nevers Mumba is a case in point.

When Mumba stopped supporting former President Chiluba, his diplomatic passport was withdrawn even though he had continued to serve as a prominent Church minister. This situation is one reason why the Evangelical Church in Zambia ought to know how to exist with a government

that proclaims to be Christian. The Evangelical Churches cannot continue to support a suppressive regime even if it claims to be Christian. However, at the same time, it is incumbent upon the Evangelical Christian community to know how to react and relate to a Christian government. Therefore, this study makes it a point to illustrate how the Zambian Evangelical community can relate to a Christian government.

Another matter concerning Chiluba's distribution of privilege to the Church apart from diplomatic passports for clergy concerned his liberal dishing out of money to the Churches. During Chiluba's presidency, Zambia's parliament passed a special vote to give a presidential discretionary fund (also known as slush fund) directly to former President Frederick Chiluba's office to spend on national projects as he wished. The character of this fund was that once given to Chiluba, he was able to spend it the way, he pleased and was not required to give account to parliament as to how he used these billions of Zambian Kwacha.

To Chiluba's credit, this money was given to many schools in Zambia. Chingola High School, the school that this researcher attended, was a recipient of about ZMK 20,000,000 (twenty million Zambian Kwacha) used to paint the school and renovate some buildings in or around 1996. Chiluba also gave part of this money to medical institutions and several other agencies. The most controversial use of this money, however, came when Chiluba started to support the Churches. He donated money to a wide array of Christian denominations. He would appear as a special guest at some of these Churches and donate vast sums of money directly to help these Churches, especially in their building projects.

One of the Churches helped by Chiluba's donations was Dunamis Bible Church, pastored by Reverend Dr. Danny Pule. He was Chiluba's close confidant, a firebrand of PCCs in Zambia (Phiri 2008:105), and member of Parliament and Government Minister while he pastored Dunamis Bible Church (Smith 1998:186).

Chiluba justified his generosity to the Churches by claiming that the Churches had an indispensable role to play in the nation. In addition, as a Christian, he felt obligated to help the Churches. Criticisms, however, were leveled against this kind of generosity for that very reason. It was a way of corrupting the Churches and dividing the Church. True to these allegations, these presidential donations created massive rifts within the Church fraternity. Several Church leaders would fraternise Chiluba in the hope of receiving some financial help. Because of this, petty jealousy arose within the Church fraternity and the mainline denominations that did not receive as much help as other smaller Churches cried foul as well. Jenkins (2007) has rightly pointed out that Chiluba ostensibly favoured the PCCs over mainline denominations.

Curiously, Chiluba's successor, Levy Mwanawasa, while electing to keep Chiluba's policy of the Declaration, nevertheless discontinued this presidential discretionary fund (Mutesa 2005,15). Mwanawasa held that the slush fund was a way of playing patronage politics, which encouraged a corrupt government environment.

### *The Christian Nation and Chaplaincy in the Uniformed Forces*

With the Declaration came increasing appointments to chaplaincy in the Zambian uniformed forces. Before the Declaration, in the First and Second Republics, the role of chaplaincy to the Zambian uniformed forces (the Zambia Army, the Zambia Air Force, the Zambia Police Service, and the Zambia National Service) was primarily limited to mainline denominations such as the Catholic Church or the Anglican Churches. This was because the mainline Churches had the financial and institutional capacity to sponsor a chaplain at their own expense. Nevertheless, this new official Christian status necessitated the institution of chaplains in almost all the branches of the Zambian uniformed forces.

It is rather significant that most of the chaplains that joined the Zambian uniformed wings came from Evangelical circles. Not to be outdone, the Catholic Church, as recounted by Bishop Alick Banda (2003) in his study on Church-state relations, intensified its efforts at having its own clergy within these uniformed forces. This chaplaincy phenomenon is one of the significant elements to come out of the Declaration. To date, only Christian clergy are recognised as chaplains within the Zambian service divisions.

### *The Christian Nation Declaration and the Government*

Former President Chiluba appointed members of the clergy into his cabinet just as his predecessor Kaunda had been doing. Freston (2001:158) observes that several ministers in Chiluba's first cabinet were Evangelical pastors, such that the head of the EFZ claimed "about five born-again ministers" in Chiluba's cabinet.

Additionally, Chiluba continued involving Church leaders in serving on government commissions. Both Bishop Joseph Imakando and Bishop Ernest (now Israel) Chelelwa, served on various commissions in Chiluba's government. Exceptionally, Chelelwa was appointed to Zambia's Human Rights Commission, and in 1995, he went on a European tour in connection with his new work (Gifford 1998:220). Bishop Imakando served on a commission of enquiry set up to investigate the government's handling of political detainees accused of plotting to remove Chiluba's government in 1997.

In appointing clergy to government positions, Chiluba's Christian nation had not departed from Kaunda's practice, except that Chiluba was giving more prominence to Evangelical Church leaders. The latter did not have as much political influence under Kaunda's first republic. Evangelical pastors, including members of the PCCs, continued to be appointed during the Mwanawasa and Banda administrations that came after the Chiluba administration. One such Evangelical pastor is Pastor Ronnie Shikapwashya, who served as a minister in Mwanawasa's and Banda's governments; in this regard, the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation did not veer much from the standard practice under the Kaunda administration.

In the first republic, former President Kaunda openly favoured Christianity and called it Zambia's religion. He was not only speaking for his own experience as a Christian but also relatively speaking for many Zambians who had adopted Christianity and who consequently never took Christianity as a threat to Zambia's indigenous religions. Furthermore, when Kaunda sought to promote Zambian humanism's doctrine as a national philosophy, the Church supported him because Kaunda's humanism did have a predisposition of the divine creator and had the Bible's Golden Rule as a cardinal doctrine. Consequently, when Kaunda formed a special government department of National Guidance to spread the doctrine of humanism, Zambians and the Church did not object. The Zambian society and, indeed, the government had, at that time, created a link between national morality and national religion. Moreover, Kaunda would repeatedly mention that the Church, as the guardian of the national conscience, had an indispensable role to play in national governance.

As such, Kaunda had created a ministry of National Guidance, which taught and promoted humanism created precedence that Chiluba would later attempt to follow in creating a department in his government that would deal with religious affairs and promote the Christian nation Declaration in particular.

About five years after the Declaration, Chiluba, in 1996, created a department in his government called "The Religious Affairs Desk", headed by a Deputy Minister. This department was created, in Chiluba's words, "in recognition of the role that the Church and Christianity have played in the Zambian nation". It would create a link between the Churches and the nation. To head this desk, Chiluba appointed a retired Evangelical pastor, Reverend Peter Chintala ("Christian Zambia" 1997:22). However, the religious desk at State House was short-lived as Chiluba unceremoniously abandoned it when he reshuffled his cabinet in 1999.

Several reasons could be advanced for the disappearance of this department. First, in his second term (that is from 1996 to 2001), Chiluba



faced a great deal of opposition from the Zambian Churches. During this period, a close Evangelical confidante of Chiluba's, Dr Nevers Mumba, openly criticised Chiluba and formed a civil society organisation curiously known as the National Christian Coalition (NCC).

This NCC was later transformed into a political party, with Mumba as its presidential candidate for the 2001 elections. Secondly, the religious affairs desk appeared to be more divisive as it was seen to have been hijacked by the pro-Chiluba element within the Zambian Evangelical Church fraternity. Thirdly, the Evangelical movement within Zambia, that had offered Chiluba unwavering support from the moment he declared Zambia to be a Christian nation had, by this time, withdrawn its support of Chiluba. Therefore, Chiluba may have seen no reason to keep a religious affairs desk at State House.

### **The State's Reason for the 1996 Constitutionalisation of the Declaration**

Chiluba's 1991 Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation had been a somewhat ambiguous statement. Many concluded that it was merely the president's expression of his personal faith. However, in 1996 Chiluba pushed through an amendment to the Constitution of Zambia that would recognise Zambia as a Christian nation (Fox 2008:262).

Acting contrary to the recommendations of a constitutional review body – the Mwanakatwe Constitutional Review Commission – former President Chiluba's cabinet went ahead to amend the preamble to Zambia's constitution to include the Christian nation clause, which now reads:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF ZAMBIA by our representatives, assembled in our Parliament, having solemnly resolved to maintain Zambia as a Sovereign Democratic Republic;

DETERMINED to uphold and exercise our inherent and inviolable right as a people to decide, appoint and proclaim the means and style to govern ourselves [...]

**DECLARE the Republic a Christian nation while upholding the right of every person to enjoy that person's freedom of conscience or religion; [...]**

(Constitution of the Republic of Zambia [CRZ] 1996: Preamble).

As such, the Declaration was no longer merely a personal statement from a Head of State declaring his preference for Christianity or his personal commitment to govern according to the Bible and Jesus Christ. It had now become an integral part of the laws of the land by its proclamation that Zambia was going to be a Christian nation while upholding the right of every person to enjoy that person's freedom of conscience or religion.

Phiri (2008:106) has aptly stated how “the initial declaration of 1991 was said to be between God and Chiluba. When this was extended to the country’s constitution, the declaration had profound legal and political implications that extended well beyond Chiluba’s presidency”. This means that the relationship between Christianity and other religions was not going to have the either/or relationship but, instead, the both/and relationship. In other words, even if Zambia was a Christian nation, it was still going to uphold other religions and protect freedom of conscience.

A discussion of the declaration and its legal impact should focus on the activities of the Zambian courts’ activities and how they have interpreted this preamble. It has been said that since the Declaration is only in the preamble and is not a numbered article of the constitution, it cannot be judiciable. This study devotes a section to the impact of the Declaration on growing Zambian jurisprudence later. There has not been any court case so far challenging the constitutionality of the Declaration.

However, judicial attitudes can be gleaned from what the judges have said concerning related cases to do with freedom of religion and some other cases they have handled about religious matters. Surprisingly, several Church groups and organisations opposed the constitutionalisation of the declaration. However, as mentioned by Phiri (2006:191), it is important to note that the only group that appeared favourably disposed to constitutionalising the Declaration was the Pentecostal Church.

## **Opposition to the 1996 Constitutionalisation**

### *Opposition to the “Christian Nation” Clause in the 1996 Constitution*

Several sectors of Zambian society have advanced multiple reasons why they believe the constitution should not declare Zambia a Christian nation. These sectors include academics, civil society organisations, and the Roman Catholic Church (Jefferson 2002:78).

An academic from the University of Zambia’s School of Law, Dr Anyangwe, led the academics’ charge against the Declaration. Anyangwe’s (2008) views are contained in a news article published by Action Aid – a civil society organisation concerned with poverty eradication in the developing world.

The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) is another civil society organisation that has also been at the helm of the onslaught against constitutionalising the Declaration. Its submissions to the Mung’omba Constitution Review Commission expressed its misgivings about the Declaration.

The Roman Catholic Church (RCC), through its Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) has also outrightly condemned Chiluba's Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and its subsequent inclusion in the preamble to the constitution of the Republic ("Bishops say", Catholic News Service). While their reaction to Chiluba's initial Declaration in 1991 was somewhat supportive; the ZEC condemned Chiluba's government when the Declaration was included in the preamble to the constitution of Zambia in 1996, and they did not favour the retention of the Declaration in Zambia's new constitution that was being reviewed in 2008.

The following, then, are reasons why academics, civil society, and the Roman Catholic Church did not support Chiluba's decision to include the Christian nation declaration in the preamble to Zambia's 1996 constitution.

### *The Declaration is a Constitutional Contradiction*

Some critics of the Declaration have pointed out that it contradicted the explicit constitutional provision that guaranteed freedom of assembly and freedom of conscience to all Zambians. Zambia could not possibly be both a Christian nation – that favours the Christian religion – and still under the same breath guarantee each citizen that citizen's right to choose any religion of his choice. Anyangwe (2008) is quoted severally saying:

Though the declaration upholds the right to exercise other religions, Professor Anyangwe argued that it is a contradiction to favour one religion while at the same time, upholding the propagation and exercise of other religious beliefs that are doctrinally and in matters of faith opposed to the state-chosen religion.

While some supporters of the Christian Nation Declaration argue that the Declaration is written in the preamble to the constitution, not in the so-called enacted part of the constitution, it does not have any legal implications. Anyangwe (2008) wonders why the Declaration is placed in the preamble to the Constitution in the first instance if that is the case. He maintains that the preamble forms part of the constitution from a legal point of view and is not outside the constitution. It contains an admixture of provisions that are expressive of constitutional values and may be justiciable and provisions that are a political manifesto.

Anyangwe (2008) further noted that it is a fact that the declaration itself amounts to making a law respecting an establishment of religion, and that is inconsistent with other parts of the Constitution. Bonhoeffer,

during his time, said something similar, declaring that “there is no Christian government and Government’s duty is not to confess Christ” (Williamson 1976:78).

### *The Declaration in the Preamble to the Constitution Violates Human Rights*

Anyangwe (2008), in his criticism of the Declaration, had pointed out that *Articles 11, 19 and 23* of the 1991 (as amended in 1996) *Zambian Constitution*, in one way or another, guarantee everybody in Zambia the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and the freedom of thought and religion. As such, the Declaration amounts to hindering a person’s right to freedom of religion because it singles out one religion to which the state attaches itself. That attachment implies preferential treatment.

Through its Zambia Episcopal Conference, the Roman Catholic Church was quite upfront over the matter (“Bishops say”, Catholic News Service). The ZEC pointed out that while Christianity might be the religion of most Zambians, there are many dedicated Zambians who profess other faiths. Moreover, the Declaration would make non-Christians feel like second-class citizens, with the possibility of being left out of political office.

### *Opponents Claimed Declaration Breached International Law.*

According to Anyangwe (2008), the Christian Nation Declaration is not only in conflict with Zambia’s constitutional Bill of Rights, but it is also inconsistent with international human rights instruments to which Zambia has subscribed, such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights*.

According to Anyangwe (2008), “These international instruments all guarantee the right to freedom of religion. When a state singles out one religion and declares it established as the religion of the nation, which in effect is what the Christian Nation clause does, the state is in breach of these international human rights norms”.

Anyangwe (2008) argued that it would be a good thing to remove the Christian Nation declaration. That removal would be a statement that the people of Zambia can accommodate other people regardless of their religion. This fruitful accommodation has been with Zambia since the country’s founding. He continues that:

Supposing that a Christian fundamentalist were to accede to the high office of President of the Republic of Zambia ... The declaration could come in handy

as a tool to impose, willy-nilly, Christian fundamentalist tenets and dogmas on all the people of Zambia. Once we have declared Zambia a Christian Nation then the Government of Zambia also has to be Christian. You cannot have a non-Christian Government running the affairs of a Christian Nation.

*The Declaration had the Potential to be used as a Tool of Religious Radicalisation.*

The potential that the Declaration must radicalise politicians is one reason why some have opposed and criticised it. Anyangwe (2008) goes on to point out that living with the Declaration would, effectively, entail having only Christian Members of Parliament, Christian Ministers of Government, Christian Judges, Christian civil servants who would have to be true Christians in order to manage, in the Christian fashion, the affairs of the Christian Nation. Anyangwe (2008) feared that maintaining the Declaration would mean that:

The laws of Zambia would have to be consistent with Christian doctrines, dogmas and practices. In effect, that would mean that the Bible, and not the Constitution, would be the supreme law of Zambia. The Bible will become the linchpin of Zambia's educational system, even as the Holy Koran is in Islamic States.

Anyangwe (2008) does not support the Declaration since it would mean that Christian leaders (priests and pastors, whatever rank they might hold in their respective Christian Churches) would in effect, be the real leaders of the country. That would be so because they have the authority, in virtue of having been called to holy orders, to interpret the Bible, just as you have the Mullahs and the Ayatollahs in certain Islamic states as the effective political rulers. It is Anyangwe's (2008) view that:

We might have someone at Statehouse going under the name and style of President and Head of State; but he or she will just be a figurehead because he or she will not have the power to determine and dictate authoritatively the Christian direction of the nation, nor the necessary holy inspiration to see whether a proposed measure or piece of legislation is consistent or consonant with the Holy Book.

Through its Zambia Episcopal Conference, the Roman Catholic Church has a global outlook regarding the Church's role in the world and, by extension, Zambian society. Since the Catholics are battling the religious states in Islamic countries, it just becomes inconceivable to allow a

predominantly Christian state to declare itself Christian. Thus, the ZEC argued that “legislating faith and religion into the constitution could lead to fundamentalism, which can one day be used against Christianity by a leadership of another religious persuasion” (CNS). Clearly, in making this statement, they had a wider context in mind.

*The Declaration is Inconsequential to Answering the Question of Poverty.*

The Declaration is said to have no bearing on Zambia’s economic development. Anyangwe (2008) pointed out on a non-legal note that declaring Zambia a Christian Nation has not and will not solve the nation’s problems. He said in his paper that:

I have heard arguments that we need the declaration because it will make people morally strong and upright. But let us be honest. We are reliably informed by dependable sources that since Zambia was declared a Christian Nation in 1996 corruption has increased and moral standards have declined. Not a few people would say that Zambia was much better off during the time before the country was declared a Christian Nation. I can understand that because of the not too happy situation in which the generality of Zambians finds themselves one is apt to confuse things and to imagine that such a declaration would secure God’s rescue intervention. But declaring Zambia a Christian Nation is not going to solve the many economic, social and health problems we are facing if we sit supine and make no significant effort to turn things round. The huge challenges we face can only be addressed through our collective involvement in decision-making, priority-setting, decision-implementation, and a grim commitment and determination to uplift ourselves and country, guided in all this by quality leadership (Anyangwe 2008).

Anyangwe (2008) underlined that he has no problem with Zambia being a country of Christian people and that he is himself a Christian aspiring to a Christian way of life.

Zambia’s subscription to Christianity should be manifest in the way its citizens conduct themselves and not in the Pharisee-like Christian nation proclamation. Credible Christians, or countries that espouse Christian virtues, do not go around proclaiming it on rooftops. Their Christianness is immediately apparent in the way they carry and conduct themselves. A tiger does not proclaim its ‘tigertude’. When you see a tiger, you know it is a tiger.

In saying the above, Anyangwe (2008) seems to take a similar position to the ZEC’s, which insisted that Church and state needed to be separate since

a nation is not Christian by declaration but rather by deeds. According to the ZEC, Zambia can be a Christian nation only if Zambian Christians follow Jesus in a life of love and respect for one another, a life of dedication, honesty, and hard work.

*The Catholic Church did not Sanction Constitutionalisation due to the Nature of its Ecclesiology.*

The hierarchal and episcopal structure of the Church would preclude Chiluba from making ecclesiastical pronouncements. The RCC holds to a hierarchical Church structure. In such an ecclesiological model, the Church hierarchy handles spiritual matters and religious matters. In this regard, then, as a layman and a political leader, Chiluba lacked the spiritual mandate to make such an ecclesiastical statement. Simply put, Chiluba did it without authority or consultation from the Bishops, who should be the custodians of spiritual matters. As such, Frederick Chiluba, even as president, should not have declared Zambia a Christian Nation.

According to the Post-Vatican II theory of the relations between Church and society and human rights in general, through various documents such as the *Gaudium et Spes*, *Dignitatis Humanae*, and *Lumen Gentium*, the RCC favours a situation where the state does not interfere in religious matters at all (Banda 2003:13). Thus, in reacting to the Declaration, the RCC said: “The Church and state need to be separate since a nation is not Christian by declaration but rather by deeds” (CNS). And perhaps drawing from the resources of its own history, the RCC has found that declarations like Chiluba’s do not actually help the Church but only work to the faith’s detriment. The Declaration “could lead to abuse of religion for purely political ends and even bring discredit to the name Christian” (CNS).

*Church can Change the Society as the Church Freely Evangelises*

On the other hand, the Declaration would seem to confer membership to the Church upon every Zambian simply by being Zambian. According to Catholic teaching, adherence to Christ and the sacraments is a prerequisite to being part of the Church, not merely by Declaration from a political leader. Thus “Zambia can be a Christian nation only if Zambian Christians follow Jesus in a life of love and respect for one another, a life of dedication, honesty and hard work” (CNS).

This section has outlined clear elements of why several Churches and, indeed, academia oppose the constitutionalisation of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. While these arguments are plausible, they

are insufficient to answer the most pressing issues concerning Christianity and the Church on the one hand and how this Church can live its mission within the Christian state on the other hand. The fact that Zambia is a Christian nation is constitutional. Regardless of how much we argue against it, it is most likely that all these arguments may not make any real difference regarding the Declaration's legal or social status.

Therefore, what is needed is not an elaborate explanation of why Zambia should not be a Christian nation, but rather how the Church can live in a nation that has declared itself Christian. The first position that seeks to argue against the Declaration is harmful and does not help the Church fulfil its Evangelical mission. On the other hand, the second position that focuses on how the Church could live within this political and religious context would be very well prepared to foster its mission and still be aware of its limits and privileges as it relates to the state.

The Church, therefore, should be found on the side of the debate that would foster more dialogue with the state on important issues such as human rights and religious freedom. It is to this side of the debate that this study is more inclined.

## **The Christian Nation Declaration After 1996**

### *The "Christian Nation" in the 2010 Draft Constitution*

The Republic of Zambia's constitution has undergone many reviews, amendments, and changes since independence in 1964. Each time the constitution is being reviewed, the government advances several reasons for doing so. The government in power would usually want to slant its constitution-making process towards its manifesto. As such, the constitutions have, in most cases, been more like a partisan manifesto than a national constitution. In 1972, through the *Chona Commission on the Constitution*, Kaunda amended the constitution, removing multi-party democratic principles and enshrining his UNIP party as the only national party. However, in 1990 he was forced to change the constitution and reintroduce multiparty politics through the *Mvunga Commission on the Constitution*.

Again, in the Third Republic, under Chiluba, the government instituted the *Mwanakatwe Commission* to review its constitution. When the Mwanakatwe Commission's recommendations were finally passed into law in 1996, Chiluba had ignored many of their recommendations and pushed explicitly for the inclusion into the preamble, the declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation. This was despite the Mwanakatwe Commission's opinion not to do so.



After 2002, when Mwanawasa succeeded Chiluba as president, the government again instituted the *Mung'omba Constitutional Commission* to investigate the national constitution's review. One of the very emotive issues during the review was whether the 1996 Christian nation declaration should be retained or not. Several legal minds and the Roman Catholic Church submitted that the Declaration should not be retained in the new constitution. However, the Evangelical movement leaders and their PCC counterparts led by Bishop Joshua Banda and Bishop Joseph Imakando appeared before the Mung'omba Commission and submitted for the Declaration's retention in the preamble to the constitution.

The Mung'omba constitutional recommendations were, again, subject to a National Constitutional Conference (NCC). The NCC was created to investigate the Mung'omba submissions and develop a draft constitution for eventual adoption by parliament and the electorate through a referendum. The NCC convened with several Church leaders among its delegates. The NCC debated the Christian nation provision and voted to retain the Christian nation declaration in the preamble to the constitution.

The NCC published its draft constitution for public comments in July 2010. The draft constitution expressly retains the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation while upholding each individual citizen's right to religious freedom. Due to some contentious issues, Zambia's national assembly rejected the draft constitution and so it could not be passed into law. This draft was again relegated to the dustbins of history, and the new government of former President Michael Sata would have to begin afresh.

### *The Christian Nation in Constitution 2016*

After the death of the then President of Zambia, President Michael Sata, in 2015, President Edgar Lungu acceded to the people's demands by signing a new constitution based on the 2010 draft constitution. Constitution 2016 was signed into law in January 2016.

The principal provision regarding the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation was maintained. Thus, Zambia's Constitution 2016 reads as follows in its preamble:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF ZAMBIA:

ACKNOWLEDGE the supremacy of God Almighty;

DECLARE the Republic a Christian Nation while upholding a person's right to freedom of conscience, belief or religion;

UPHOLD the human rights and fundamental freedoms of every person;

COMMIT ourselves to upholding the principles of democracy and good governance;

RESOLVE to ensure that our values relating to family, morality, patriotism and justice are maintained and all functions of the State are performed in our common interest;

CONFIRM the equal worth of women and men and their right to freely participate in, determine and build a sustainable political, legal, economic and social order;

RECOGNISE AND UPHOLD the multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural character of our Nation and our right to manage our affairs and resources sustainably in a devolved system of governance;

RESOLVE that Zambia shall remain a unitary, multi-party and democratic sovereign State;

RECOGNISE AND HONOUR the freedom fighters who fought for the independence of our Nation in order to achieve liberty, justice and unity for the people of Zambia;

AND DIRECT that all State organs and State institutions abide by and respect our sovereign will ...

## **The Christian Nation Declaration: in Comparative Perspective**

### *The Christian Nation in Hindu Perspective*

In Zambia, adherents of the Hindu religion account for less than one percent of the population. A very economically influential community of Zambians of mainly Indian origin follows it. The significant perspective encapsulating the Hindu perspective on the Declaration could be found in a paper presented by Dr Venkatesh Seshamani, an eminent Zambian academic who practices Hinduism. In his paper “*A Hindu View of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation*” (2000), Seshamani stated that the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation is not contradictory to Hinduism since Hinduism is by its nature polytheistic. As such, a Hindu would feel welcome even in a Christian Church.

Seshamani (2000) also pointed out that the Declaration has not translated to any discrimination. He points out that Dipak Patel, a Hindu, was overwhelmingly voted for in his Lusaka Central Constituency, even beating several other Christian candidates in elections in the 1990s and 2001. It would be safe to say, and the Declaration has not affected politicians of a different religion at all.

Seshamani (2000) however, expresses concern that the Declaration may lead to a situation in future where a non-tolerant government may

use it to persecute non-Christians. To Zambia's credit, however, there has not been any recorded religious-related violent incident that the Declaration may have instigated to the researcher's knowledge.

### *Muslims and the Christian Nation Declaration*

Official organs that speak for Muslims in Zambia are split between the Islamic Council of Zambia (ICZ) and the Makeni Islamic Foundation (MIF). When Zambia was declared as a Christian nation, both Islamic groups in Zambia had no problems with this proclamation. However, they were only hopeful that this Declaration would not lead to unjust discrimination of the Muslims.

Indeed, concerning the relationship between the Christian nation declaration and other non-Christian religions, the question that must be asked should be, "does the official designation of a national religion per se discriminate against followers of other religions" (Drinan 2004:78).

From the Zambian experience, Muslims have enjoyed the freedom of religion and the fact that Zambia had been declared a Christian nation has had no adverse effect on Islamic practice. In fact, some Muslim groups have reported that Islam has been growing steadily since 1991. Today, mosques are being constructed in different locations around the country with little protest from the Christian community.

### *The Christian Nation, Gender and Youth Equality*

When it comes to women and gender issues, there is no doubt that the Evangelical faith had a tremendous influence upon Former President Frederick Chiluba and his successor, former President Levy Mwanawasa. However, when it comes to gender balance and the incorporation of women into the governance structure, it seems that both Chiluba and Mwanawasa incorporated very few women into leadership. Both continued with the traditional paternalistic model of leadership endemic in some traditional Zambian structures. While some Evangelical writers, such as Jefferson (2002:78), note that under Chiluba "for the first time, Zambia had ... equal rights for women," it is clear that once analysed empirically this optimistic outlook on Chiluba's attitude towards women did not translate into any meaningful encouragement of women's participation in leadership.

It is Phiri (2003:2008) who, in her studies on women's issues in Chiluba's administration, noted that Chiluba's Christian nation continued the patriarchal pattern of only having men in government and key government institutions. According to Phiri (2003; and 2008:115), at one time, there were

no women in Chiluba's cabinet. In the government of former President Mwanawasa, Suzanne Matala of the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) bemoaned Mwanawasa's lack of seriousness in appointing women to leadership (Touchstone 2006).

However, it remains to be studied whether Evangelicalism had anything to do with a lack of women's engagement in national governance in Zambia. Consequently, there is a need to explore whether it is just Evangelicalism or other reasons why women are still underrepresented in influential positions both in the public and private sector. For its role, however, as demonstrated by Phiri (2003), Chiluba's and Mwanawasa's "Christian governments" did not prioritise the appointment of women in government positions. However, how much of that omission could be attributed to the Evangelical faith remains a subject of further scrutiny and study. However, suffice it to say that the desire for more female representation is still a pipe dream. From the preceding, an Evangelical response to the Christian nation should have a theoretical framework that regards women as essential stakeholders to national and religious development.

In the Christian nation, the youth is one of the groups that barely received attention. It seems the Christian nation declaration did not seek to encourage youth participation in the nation's leadership structure. Phiri (2008:120) noted that despite the Evangelical youth, like the Evangelical women, developing a holistic theology of political participation during the Christian nation declaration, their potential has been neglected. However, it remains to be studied whether the continued marginalisation of youth in governance directly correlates with the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation.

## **The Christian Nation, Liberty and Jurisprudence**

Since the state does not just comprise the Executive Branch of government alone, an analysis of the state must include how the other branches of the state have responded to the Declaration and how the Declaration has affected relations between these branches of the state and the Church. These three branches are the Executive, the Judiciary, and the Legislature (O'Donovan 2005:186). According to Paton (1951:262), "the legislature makes, the executive executes, and the judiciary construes the law." This section looks at the specific ways the courts have interacted with the Christian nation declaration.

According to O'Donovan (2004:214), the court is the government's central paradigm in all its three branches. In the context of Zambia, church and state relations do not have a substantial ideological or even a complex

legal interpretation as would be the case in the United States of America for example (Gaustad 2003).

### *The Christian Nation: Human Rights and Religious Liberty*

One of the biggest questions that something like the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation provokes is whether by its nature, such a Declaration would be able to enhance human rights and promote religious liberty. Little (2008:249), defines religious liberty as the “condition in which individuals or groups are permitted without restraint to assent to and, within limits, to express and act upon religious convictions and identity free of coercive interference or penalty imposed by outsiders including the state.” On the other hand, according to Shepherd (2010: xi), “human rights” can be defined as “rights granted to a human being upon his or her birth.”

In this regard, then, it becomes cardinal to evaluate the Declaration in terms of at least three questions. First, whether the Declaration has the potential to impinge on religious freedom. Secondly, whether the Declaration, by its nature, impinged on religious freedom, and, thirdly, whether the Declaration in its effect or practice, has impinged religious freedom.

There has so far been no report of religious persecution as a direct result of the Declaration. However, there have been some sentiments in the Evangelical Churches, supported by a government minister at one time, calling on Zambians to be vigilant against the infiltration of “Satanic Churches”. Honourable Peter Chintala, a deputy minister at the Religious Affairs, threatened that the government was ready to ban any religious denomination that engaged in satanic activities that contradicted Zambia’s Christian heritage (“Christian Zambia”, Church and State 1997:22).

Obviously, in so saying, Chintala was targeting the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) that at that time had faced some accusations that it was practising Satanism (Freston 2005:61). So pronounced was the uproar over the UCKG that one of the foremost Evangelical and PCC leaders, Bishop John Mambo, suggested to the government that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should be responsible for the registration of new religious Churches to avoid the infiltration of these satanic Churches.

The events, as mentioned above, lead to the idea that the Declaration does have the potential to breed intolerance towards other religions or other religious establishments. However, the Church’s role here should not be one of indifference towards the Declaration. However, it should be informed, with clear theological foundations, on what should constitute an appropriate relationship between itself and the Christian government.

The Christian Church should be able to hold the state to account, taking cognisance of the reality of the state's Christian self-proclamation.

Nevertheless, as noted below, the judiciary's role has been very forceful in protecting religious freedom to individuals despite the Declaration. However, the accusation still stands that the Declaration has the potential to breed intolerance and religious persecution. For this reason, the Evangelical movement needs a clear theoretical paradigm through which it can effectively engage with the state and the rest of the society in the way that a Christian nation should relate to society. This relationship should at least guarantee religious freedom.

### *Attorney-General v the Universal Church of Kingdom of God*

Despite the Declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation, the Zambian judiciary has on several occasions moved to protect freedom of religion—for both Christians and non-Christians. The courts have categorically upheld the right of Zambians to belong to any religion of their choice. This came to light primarily through the court cases involving the banning of the *Universal Church of the Kingdom of God* (UCKG) by the government (Freston 2005:46). The UCKG had been a victim of a state proscription twice before. It was first proscribed under the Presidency of Frederick Chiluba (1991–2001) and secondly, at the hand of Chiluba's successor Levy Patrick Mwanawasa (2002–2008).

According to Freston (2005:61), in August 1998, former President Chiluba's Minister of Home Affairs, Peter Machungwa, banned the UCKG when it was rumoured that it was engaging in satanic activities, and thereby contradicting the nation's Christian values, morals, and Christian covenant. When the UCKG appealed the decision for judicial review, the High Court sided with the Minister of Home Affairs. However, on appeal, the Supreme Court of Zambia reversed the High Court decision. It held that the minister's decision to ban the UCKG infringed on Zambians' rights to belong to any religious institution of their choice.

The Supreme Court of Zambia ruled that freedom of religion was sacrosanct and that the state had misguided itself on closing the Church based solely on rumours. The state had not satisfied the court with reasonable exceptions as to why the sacrosanct right to religious liberty should be denied to the members of the UCKG. This judgement was significant in the sense that, while it was widely held that Zambia was a Christian nation, the courts clearly demonstrated its independence from Executive control and affirmed that every Zambian had the right to choose his religion, despite the Executive's Declaration of the Christian nation.

A few years later, during Zambia's third president, Levy Mwanawasa – the 2008 US Department of State's Human Rights Report stated that the Zambian government sought again to deregister the UCKG in 2005.

In January 2006, the Lusaka High Court overturned the Zambian government's decision and allowed the Church to continue operations. It is rather fascinating that the president of Zambia at that time was Levy Mwanawasa, an eminent lawyer who, as Vice-President to Chiluba in 1992, had sprung to the defence of non-Christian religions when they were being excluded from ZNBC TV – the only national television channel. Again, the judiciary has been very eager to uphold freedom of religion for people to practice any religion they please.

It should be noted that even if Zambia has less than one percent Hindu and Muslim populations, these two religions are free to operate in Zambia. In his response to the Declaration from a Hindu perspective, Seshamani (2000, above) draws attention to some riots in Livingstone (also Kanyama 2010:287), Southern Province, which he feels could have been motivated by religious hatred. However, from evidence, the riots in Livingstone were not motivated by religious hatred but by other reasons. What happened in Livingstone could happen to any religious body, including a Christian Church. The issue with what happened in Livingstone is that the city was rocked with ritual murders, and rumour had it, that the local businesspersons who were using them for ritual purposes stirred it.

The rumours of ritual murders enraged the people and drove them to hurl stones at Hindu temples. Without justifying this kind of reasoning, Zambians would do what they did to a Hindu temple, even to a Church building, rumoured that ritual murder was being carried out. HIV/AIDS activist Princess Kasune Zulu stated in her autobiography that the fear of witchcraft and the witchdoctors who hunt the witchcraft are commonplace even in modern Zambia (Zulu 2009:24). As such, witchcraft conscious Zambians find any mention of ritual murders unacceptable. Therefore, this rumour of ritual murders prompted the riots and not simply because of any intolerance towards the Hindu religion.

#### *Attorney-General v Clarke [2008]*

Another matter, which may explain the judicial attitude towards the Declaration and to the Christian nation in general, was the statement made by Mr Justice Philip Musonda in *the People v Roy Clarke* case. In this court case, Roy Clarke had been ordered to be deported by the Minister of Home Affairs, Ronnie Shikapwashya, due to a piece of satire he had written in *The Post Newspapers*, which the Executive arm of government deemed insulting

to the Head of State and Cabinet by referring to them as monkeys and elephants (Malupenga 2009:236).

Comparing black government leaders to animals was incredibly emotive because of Zambia's racial past. Roy Clarke, a Caucasian and a British national, used this animal caricature to satirize a predominantly black Zambian government. Mr Justice Musonda, in his ruling, held *obiter* – that is, as by-the-way statements in his judgements that it was contrary to Christian values to separate a person from his family. Clarke is married to a Zambian woman; he has several children with her; and has been resident in Zambia for over four decades. According to Mr. Justice Musonda, since Zambia was a Christian nation, it must uphold the unity of the family. Therefore, deporting Roy Clarke and removing him from his wife and children for flimsy reasons would go against Christian morals. In this case, the judiciary was willing to use the Christian nation Declaration and identity to keep the Executive's activities in check.

When the state appealed against Justice Musonda's ruling to allow Roy Clarke to remain in Zambia, the Supreme Court overruled Mr. Justice Musonda. It was the opinion of the Supreme Court that contrary to what Mr. Justice Musonda had stated, "the Christian nation principles have no juridical value" (*Attorney General v Clarke* [96A/2004] {2008} ZMSC 4 [24 January 2008]). By making this statement, it seems the courts are appreciating the social and cultural value of the Declaration while at the same time acknowledging that the Declaration is not by itself a source of Zambian law. In this case, the courts make a clear differentiation that Zambian law and constitution would not flow from the Christian nation's values.

However, from the same judgment, while the Supreme Court does not attach important juridical value to Christian values and indeed to the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, they nevertheless attach juridical and legal value to "cultural values and norms of the Zambian people." Specifically, the Supreme Court stated:

In Zambia, one can criticize or poke fun at the Head of State and government leaders or indeed elders, but this must be done in felicitous language and not in the crude language the Respondent used. We have no doubt that in every other country you cannot say and write things using words and expressions that are not in consonance with the cultural values and norms of the people of that country.

The Supreme Court here recognises Zambia's cultural values as of legal consequence while denying ascribing such values any religious connotation. Could the Supreme Court have affected Justice Musonda's statements



on the Christian nation if they found that the Zambian people's cultural values are indeed identical or based upon Christian values? However, the very fact that the justices here disentangle Christianity from Zambian cultural values is significant.

### *The US State Department's Report on Zambia*

In the 2008 Human Rights Report on Zambia (2008), the US Department of State noted religious freedom in Zambia despite its being constitutionally declared a Christian nation. First, the report recognised that the government of Zambia generally respected the constitutional right to freedom of religion for the citizens. The report stated, "Although the constitution declared the country a Christian nation, the government generally respected the right of all religious groups to worship freely" ("2008 Report").

Additionally, the 2008 Human Rights Report on Zambia noted that "the government required the registration of religious groups and approved all applications for registration from religious groups without discrimination." Again, there is a clear pattern emerging in Zambia that despite its declaration as a Christian nation, the constitution protects religious freedom, and if the Executive arm of government oversteps these guidelines, the Judiciary has always been there to keep them in check.

## **The Church Challenged Chiluba's Bid for a Third Term**

When Chiluba came to power in 1991, the constitution of the Republic had limited terms for the president. Chiluba, himself, highly regarded this prudential term limit law. As a Christian, Chiluba saw himself peacefully exiting the stage of political leadership when his two terms were over. However, after winning his second term in office in 1996, it was believed in his party and government that Chiluba was interested in running for a third term in office.

Rakner (2003:113) noted that Chiluba himself did not actively put an end to this rumour but tolerated it. In so doing, it was widely believed by many that Chiluba perpetrated this rumour to test the waters for a third term. The nation then was divided between the third termers and those who wanted him to respect the law and step down after the end of his second term in 2001 (Kalungu-Banda 2010:21).

What was even more disturbing was some Evangelical Church leaders' involvement on both sides of the argument. Some Evangelicals openly supported his third term bid, whereas others outrightly rejected it (Phiri 2008:121). The third term debate had become a battle for the politicians and the Zambian Church.

To push for a third term in office, Chiluba either had to go against the law of the land or to enforce constitutional amendments. In that case he would have been accused of having become more lawless and oppressive. At one time, his party, the MMD, expelled forty-three Members of Parliament from within its ranks for their opposition to the third term. A democratic president was himself turning into a vicious dictator to the disappointment of many Christians in the nation. However, the Church and other civil society members persisted in their opposition to a third term so that Chiluba succumbed to pressure and publicly announced that he was not going to stand for a third term (Phiri 2008:122; and Rakner 2003:114).

His handpicked successor, Levy Mwanawasa, would later affirm the Declaration. Nevertheless, Mwanawasa prioritised the prosecution of Frederick Chiluba, whom he accused of stealing public funds. Mwanawasa an Evangelical leader himself, had turned against his Evangelical predecessor – and faith would not interfere in his decision to take his predecessor to court.

### **Chiluba's Post-Presidency Christian Nation Views**

As noted above, former President Chiluba ruled Zambia from 1991 to 2002. He was a two-term president. His notable activity as far as church and state relations are concerned was his Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation in 1991. But more than just the verbal declaration, Chiluba followed through his 1991 declaration by pushing through a constitutional amendment that recognises Zambia as a Christian nation in the preamble. However, after leaving office in 2002, president Chiluba exhibited controversial opinions in his continued defence of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation.

To assess Chiluba's post-presidency utterances on the Declaration, it is important to, first of all, put Chiluba's post-presidency in context. Former President Chiluba left office at the end of 2002 while under both political and moral siege. Morally, his divorce from his wife Mrs. Vera Chiluba and his subsequent co-habitation with Mrs. Regina Mwanza were not very helpful in maintaining his Christian credentials. What was even more troubling for his relationship with Mrs. Mwanza was that he was accused of having had an affair with her while still married to another person. An Evangelical Christian by faith, Mrs. Mwanza, later defended Chiluba and denied any accusations that president Chiluba had "stolen" her from a legitimate marriage.

Politically, many believe that President Frederick Chiluba intended to vie for a third term in office. However, facing pushback from the general

public, civil society, and the church, he abandoned his efforts and stepped down. (Kalungu-Banda 2010:21). His party, the MMD, had already amended its constitution to allow for Chiluba to continue as MMD president beyond his two terms. However, despite the MMD's action, changing the national constitution proved difficult.

The third term debate was a very emotive issue for the Church. Chiluba's liberal use of government resources for his personal wealth and to support Churches is a well-known historical fact. As such, in his desire to run for a third term of office, he never lacked a supply of Church leaders who openly campaigned for his third term of office. Despite this vigorous campaign, however, Zambia's civil society and some opposition within his ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) party and his cabinet forced Chiluba to change course.

The MMD was in a difficult situation; it had to develop a presidential candidate within months of the general elections. It was then that Chiluba turned to his renegade former vice-president Levy Mwanawasa to be the MMD's candidate for the presidency (Kalungu-Banda 2010:21; and Rakner 2003:201). By picking Mwanawasa, Chiluba was putting his Christian nation legacy at risk since his presumed Christian successor Brig. Gen. Godfrey Miyanda, a former vice president of Chiluba's, had been hounded out of the ruling MMD. Left with no other choice, the honour fell on Mwanawasa.

Post-presidency, Chiluba left office a very lonely man. He also left a divided Church. The Catholic Church was not entirely amused with what he had done in the so-called Christian nation.

On the other hand, the Evangelical Church had been split into two factions – those who still supported Chiluba against those that did not support him. Within this context, Evangelist Nevers Mumba, an Evangelical leader, had decided to join politics and challenge Chiluba and his MMD. Despite all these differing legacies, some Evangelical Churches still remained faithful to Chiluba for the simple reason that he had declared Zambia a Christian nation. Other Churches, though, shifted their allegiance to the new president in power – Levy Mwanawasa.

In an unexpected turn of events, barely a few months into the new presidency, Mwanawasa decided to bring corruption and theft charges against Chiluba and most of his close confidants. Some of the many Evangelical leaders that supported Chiluba now supported Mwanawasa and his new administration, especially regarding the fight against corruption. Chiluba's loneliness had grown even further. He was now left to defend himself against charges of theft in the court of law. This backdrop provides much of Chiluba's post-presidency situation.

Isolated and left alone to defend his presidential legacy, Chiluba's faith became the only thing he could hold on to. He framed the corruption charges against him in terms of persecution, even religious persecution. Chiluba also cast his prosecution in terms of spiritual warfare. According to him, the dark forces had ganged up against him for having declared Zambia a Christian nation. In the course of the prosecution, the more established Churches and influential leaders among the Evangelical community leaders stopped visiting him, and became detached from him. Evangelist Nevers Mumba, at one time, a very close spiritual colleague of Chiluba's, even remarked that Chiluba's prosecution was God's answer for justice. The Northmead Assembly of God that had been Chiluba's bulwark maintained a safe distance from Chiluba.

Chiluba's Christian nation views in his retirement are relevant to a study of church and state relations in Zambia, and implications for these views are equally important.

Firstly, former President Chiluba insisted that his prosecution for corruption by his successor was spiritual persecution. Additionally, he understood himself to have been the "apple of God's eye" and that God watches over him. He said thus:

When a nation brings itself to God then God will bring honour and glory to that nation and her people. Isaiah 22:24 and also the Lord said. You know this declaration [of Zambia as a Christian nation] I feel extremely confident wherever I go, wherever I am, even if I am alone, I know I am not alone. Why? Because I am assured that I did the right thing and I don't care whether they are looking at me cruelly, I know I am very firm." ... "Don't underrate my power because it's neither by power but by the Holy Spirit. So, if you continue to throw stones at one who declared Zambia a Christian nation, you are poking at God's eye. I am the apple of His eye." ("Chiluba vows to fight back," Post Newspapers)

Secondly, during his presidency, former President Chiluba's close Charismatic confidantes were American Evangelists. During some of his presidential visits to the USA, Evangelist Benny Hinn offered to help Chiluba raise some campaign cash. However, after he left the presidency, Chiluba was either abandoned by the Americans or he abandoned them. In any case, the relationship with these leaders ceased, which made Chiluba turn to African Charismatic Church leaders. The prominent one among these is Prophet TB Joshua of Nigeria (Gifford 2004:107; and Kunhinyop 2008:197).

In his post-presidency, Chiluba did not have much respect for American inspired Charismaticism. He remarked that Africans:

We have better values here. We respect God here. We respect God with all our souls and strengths, with all our love and let us not depend on the outside world to come and pollute the values that we have about our God. There is a lot to do and a lot for us to protect especially our children and their children after us. The Bible says, 'hold on to that which you have.' America was founded on Christian principles but today they have stopped the Bible from being read in school. They are not holding on to that which they have. They have lost their first love ("Chiluba vows to fight back").

Chiluba died on June 18, 2011, after an illness. The Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation is one of his legacies. Even after his death, the Declaration continued to garner the attention and scorn of citizens, the Church, and academics.

## **Church and State During the Mwanawasa Presidency (2002–2008)**

President Frederick Chiluba left the presidential office in January 2002, and Levy Patrick Mwanawasa succeeded him (Kangwa 2017:179). Former President Mwanawasa's presidency lasted from 2002 to 2008 when he died after suffering cardiac arrest in Egypt.

Mwanawasa's religious profile is not as colourful as that of his predecessor, Frederick Chiluba. According to his biographer Amos Malupenga (2009:19), Mwanawasa's parents were members of the Jehovah's Witnesses, who "brought up their children under rigorous discipline". However, due to some changes in his father's faith commitments, the Church excommunicated the Mwanawasa family. This led the young Mwanawasa to the Baptist faith while enrolled in a Baptist Mission School in Mpongwe, on the Copperbelt Province.

### **Mwanawasa's Religious Profile**

Regarding Mwanawasa's faith, nothing else is known from the time he became a Baptist as a young man until at least after 2000. In fact, nothing more dramatic is known of his faith until, in the run-up to the 2001 elections, it was reported that he, in fact, had reverted to being a Jehovah's Witness along with his wife, Maureen.

Politically, Mwanawasa came to prominence when he, as a practising lawyer, defended many of Kaunda's political enemies in the 1980s. His commitment to integrity, human rights, and constitutionalism earned him a nickname of *icibumba* – a Bemba term meaning wall or fortress

(“Embassy Park”, *Times of Zambia*). Mwanawasa’s popularity further earned him the position of Vice-President to the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), the party that fought for the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in Zambia.

Shortly after the MMD’s electoral victory of 1991, Chiluba appointed Mwanawasa as Vice-President of the Republic. On 8 December 1991, barely weeks after the appointment, Vice-President Mwanawasa got involved in a road traffic accident that almost cost him his life. As such, Mwanawasa was the substantive Vice-President of the republic, recuperating from his accident at a plush South African Hospital at the time that former President Chiluba was declaring Zambia a Christian nation.

After several months of hospitalisation, Mwanawasa went back home to Zambia and continued his role as vice-president. However, due to several political factors, Mwanawasa alleging corruption in Chiluba’s government, resigned from cabinet and from active politics to concentrate on his law practice (Gifford 1998:206).

Mwanawasa’s retirement from active politics did not last very long, however. Chiluba handpicked him in 2001 to become the MMD’s presidential candidate for the 2001 elections (Malupenga 2009:135; Kalungu-Banda 2010:21). As noted above, by then, Mwanawasa had become a member of the Jehovah’s Witnesses. Jehovah’s Witnesses take an apolitical doctrinal stand. The opposition to Mwanawasa’s presidential candidature came from unlikely sources – his Church, the Jehovah’s Witnesses (Olsen 2002:40). The leadership of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, claiming that both Levy and his wife were members of the Church, directed Mwanawasa not to accept the political nomination. Their reason was simple: Jehovah’s Witnesses do not participate in politics. In retaliation, Mwanawasa and his wife announced that they were no longer going to be members of the Jehovah’s Witnesses. The call to politics was, in their judgment, more important than any religious creed or dogma.

Mwanawasa was inaugurated as president in early January 2002 (Kangwa 2017). On the evening of the inauguration, he reaffirmed Zambia’s status as a Christian nation. A Jehovah’s Witness, now in power, had affirmed one of his PCC predecessor’s actions. The events following that inauguration are discussed below.

In 2003, Mwanawasa began attending Twin Palm Baptist Church in Lusaka. On 27 February 2005, he publicly professed his faith in Jesus Christ and was baptised as a Christian at that Church (Malupenga 2009:20). According to Kangwa (2017:179), “When Levy Mwanawasa became president, he had himself re-baptised to prove that he was a genuine Christian”. While both former President Kaunda and former President Chiluba could

claim to have ascended to the presidency as “baptised” Christians, Mwanawasa became one while serving as president.

Former President Mwanawasa’s conversion was significant for several reasons. Firstly, it affirmed the role that Christianity had played in Zambian politics. It seems that Zambian presidents must be Christian. It is almost expected that they should be.

Secondly, it also affirmed the significance of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. There is nothing more symbolic of the nation’s Christian heritage than its leader affirming his faith in Christ. In his own words, Mwanawasa described his baptism in the following words, “on February 27, 2005, and I got baptised at Lusaka’s Twin Palm Baptist Church. On that day, I had seen Jesus” (Malupenga 2009:20).

A contrast between Chiluba’s and Mwanawasa’s respective Christian faiths is in order. Although both Chiluba and Mwanawasa were Evangelical Christians, Mwanawasa’s faith practice did differ somewhat from Chiluba’s faith practices. Firstly, while both claim to have been “born again”, Chiluba was more eccentric about his faith. Secondly, Chiluba’s experience of the “tongue-speaking” phenomenon means that he was a PCC, while his counterpart was not.

Thirdly, there is a discernible difference in the practical meaning of these two men’s approach to the Christian faith. While Chiluba exhibited discernible personal failures in his Christian conduct (almost akin to Kaunda’s), Mwanawasa seemed to have been a man of sober habits. It appears that Mwanawasa’s understanding of the Christian faith led him to believe in personal morality more than his predecessor. It is also important to note that Levy Mwanawasa charged him with corruption and theft of national resources after Chiluba left office. If Chiluba had declared Zambia a Christian nation so that godly righteousness may rule in the country and that corruption should cease, Chiluba’s successor, Mwanawasa, really saw to it that he defeated corruption even if it meant charging Chiluba with theft of government resources.

## **Mwanawasa and the Christian Nation Declaration**

After the 2001 elections, Mwanawasa was elected as president of the Republic of Zambia. On the evening of his inauguration, 2 January 2002, he addressed the press at his Kabulonga home and reaffirmed his commitment to the Declaration (Cheyeka, 2002:183). At this time, Mwanawasa making this commitment of his religious affiliation was simply a verbal formality to his audience. However, he, nevertheless, committed to preserving the Declaration. Through his actions, it could be seen that the

Declaration had taken on a different meaning than what Chiluba may have intended. It had developed into a national symbol that even a non-Evangelical could be committed to.

After Mwanawasa had publicly expressed faith in Jesus Christ, as noted above, his support for the Declaration became even more pronounced. It was now motivated by something more than just political expediency. Mwanawasa had become an Evangelical believer. During a bitter debate about whether the constitution under review in 2003 should retain the Christian nation Declaration in its preamble, Church leaders, including Bishop Joshua Banda, of Northmead Assembly of God, and pastor Paul Simfukwe, of an organisation called *Pastors with a Common Vision*, commended the President for coming out in the open to support the Declaration (Times of Zambia 2003)

## **Church and State in the Banda Presidency (2008–2011)**

### **Rupiah Banda's Christian Faith**

Former President Rupiah Banda has not been very open about his religious affiliation. Nevertheless, from the rhetoric he has used several times, it is very likely that he, too is a Christian, albeit not as Evangelical as two of his predecessors were. For example, speaking at Livingstone Airport on 2 August 2010, Banda asked the citizens to pray to God for him. He said, "...Pray for me, I am in this battle till I finish. I need prayers, I need to remind myself, and I need to remind others that you cannot be President unless whoever creates us wants it" (The Post Newspapers 2010).

The Chief Government Spokesman, during the Rupiah Banda presidency, General Ronnie Shikapwashya, addressed Rupiah Banda's faith, saying, "President Rupiah Banda is a young Christian who has been thrown to the highest position and should be supported by all Christians so that the Lord can help him lead the country well" (Post Newspapers 2008). Shikapwashya's statement is a testimony that Banda is a Christian or is being obligated to be one.

### **Former President Rupiah Banda and the Declaration**

On December 29, 2008, during the seventeenth anniversary of the Declaration, Zambia's new leader, Rupiah Banda, speaking through the Chief Government Spokesman Lt. Gen. Ronnie Shikapwashya, vowed that Zambia would continue to be a Christian Nation. At the same meeting, Shikapwashya encouraged Zambians to continue lifting "the nation



before Jesus Christ” in prayer to God (“Zambia to remain” Zambia Daily Mail 2008).

Even though Banda’s religious background did not have the Evangelical connotations of his two predecessors, he had continued their Christian policies. He regularly appeared on television as friendly to the Churches. He maintained some members of the clergy in his cabinet, including Honourable Shikapwasha, an ordained minister in a Pentecostal Church. Frederick Chiluba, the initial exponent of the Declaration, recognised his successors’ commitment to the Declaration. He “praised late president Levy Mwanawasa and President Rupiah Banda for reaffirming the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation” (The Zimbabwean 2009).

The Christian nation Declaration will likely remain in place in Zambia for some time since no president is willing to reverse it. In a newly proposed revised constitution, the Constitutional Conference selected to review the new Zambian constitution voted overwhelmingly to retain the Christian nation declaration. Rupiah Banda was defeated in the September 20, 2011 election, which ushered in Zambia’s new leader, Michael Chilufya Sata.

## **Church and State in the Sata and Lungu Presidencies**

### **Sata’s Presidency (2011–2015)**

On 20 September 2011, Zambia elected her fifth president, Michael Chilufya Sata, who had served as a government minister in both the Kaunda and the Chiluba administrations. Regarding this study, Sata had been in power for just a few months for the researcher to garner insights on his Church and state policy. Nevertheless, a few pointers early in his presidency can reveal the direction he was likely to take.

Consistent with the use of religion as a legitimating force, Sata spent the first Sunday of his presidency in Church. On Sunday, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2011, he and his wife, Dr. Christine Kaseba, knelt before parish priest Father Charles Chilinda, where they were “dedicated to God’s service.” At this Church service, Father Chilinda blessed the first couple and christened Sata with a new nickname. Popularly known as a King Cobra, Father Chilinda mentioned that Sata was now going to be called King Servant (Lusaka Times 2011).

For his part, Sata pledged to rule Zambia according to Biblical principles and the Roman Catholic social teachings. Specifically, he mentioned that the Ten Commandments would take centre stage in his presidency (Kangwa 2017:179). Even though Sata did not explicitly support the Declaration, he too claimed God’s power and blessings for his presidency.

Sata mentioned in multiple forums that he would rule by the Ten Commandments, But, what he did not do so effectively, was to explain what he meant by that or how exactly he planned to achieve it. However, what was clear is that he did not depart in any real way from the church-state policies of his predecessors.

After an illness, Sata died on 28 October 2014. His mausoleum consists of the symbols of the Ten Commandments. Zambia continued to be a Christian nation under Sata's tragically short presidency.

### **Church and State in the Lungu Presidency (2015 to the Present)**

President Edgar Lungu was elected President in 2015. Even though his denominational affiliation is not well known, he has publicly professed to be a Christian. He is regularly seen in public clutching a Bible and has even appointed a cabinet minister to oversee "Religious Affairs and National Guidance" (Kaunda 2018:105). Reverend Godfridah Sumaili had first to be nominated to parliament before taking this position as a cabinet minister.

As Kangwa (2017:179) states, "President Lungu made the 18<sup>th</sup> of October into a public holiday on which Christians are expected to pray and fast for reconciliation, peace, and the prospering economy". According to Kaunda (2018), this commemoration of the National Day of Prayer and fasting is a crucial event for many Pentecostals and other Evangelicals. They consider themselves contributing to the nation in tangible ways.

Many others have stated that this prayer holiday is just an initiative by a president to abuse religion.

### **Conclusion**

Church and state relations in the Chiluba and post-Chiluba eras have followed a pattern similar to that of the pre-colonial, post-colonial, and Kaunda eras. They are characterised by the national mood, which seems to be ambivalent towards the distinction between the sacred and the secular and the politicians who regard themselves as Christians. Most crucially, the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation created a fundamental shift in church-state relationships' trajectory, changing government attitudes toward the Church and elevating clergy from Churches outside of the mainline into government positions. During the Chiluba era, we see the unilateral relationship between church and state that existed before, blossoming into a bona fide union through the constitution.

Zambia's religious, social, and political history created an environment conducive for the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Christianity in Zambia has, throughout its history, played a considerable public and private role. The sincerity or genuineness of such belief is beyond the scope of this study but suffice it to mention that from the time of the first missionaries to date, Christianity in Zambia has been very intertwined with Zambians' social identity. An acknowledgement of this is necessary when discussing the context in which Zambia was officially declared Christian. However, such an acknowledgement should, of course, consider the various streams of Christianity that have influenced Zambians. Beginning from foreign mission Churches to the newer Evangelical and PCC denominations, Zambians have used all these denominations to express their spirituality. And none of these expressions should be dismissed at all. There might be differences over practices between various Church traditions, but their influence on society cannot be denied.

Historical analysis has shown that Zambia had developed into a Christian nation. This, coupled with Frederick Chiluba's personal PCC faith, led to him declaring that Zambia is a Christian nation. This means that, while the Declaration was Chiluba's faith commitment, it was equally profoundly rooted in Zambians' self-identity as a Christian nation. Chiluba's Evangelical and PCC faith only acted as a catalyst to proclaim what was evident among many Zambians. That being said, the Declaration received its fair share of criticism, with some Zambians concerned that such a pronouncement could potentially cause problems of state abuse of the church, intolerance of other religions, a deadening of faith, and an ineffective clergy. Fortunately, to date, Zambia has operated as a Christian nation without those issues coming to a head.

Christianity continued to have a tremendous impact on Zambia's presidencies beyond Kenneth Kaunda and Frederick Chiluba's presidencies. Presently, President Lungu has taken decisions that are very similar to his predecessors by appearing amenable to Christianity, calling a National Day of Prayer, and planning to build a multifunctional national cathedral.



# Church and State in the Bible

## Introduction

This chapter presents the prescriptive basis for the theology and ethics of church and state relations. It asks what is normative? (Osmer 2008). This is Osmer's (2008) third task of practical theology. The associated research question is: ***What is the appropriate Biblical and theological foundation upon which the Zambian Evangelical Church should react to the Declaration?***

This chapter will help uncover what God and Jesus taught in the Bible concerning the Church and her relationship to the state. As noted by O'Donovan (1996:15), "nothing assures us a priori that politico-theological concepts are to be found; the question of their existence must be put to Scripture itself". Moreover, this chapter will identify Paul and Peter's teachings concerning the relationship between the Church and the state.

Further, Old Testament and New Testament books and passages to be covered are some sections of the Pentateuch, Judges, Psalms, Historical and Prophetic books, some sections of the Gospels, and finally some sections of the letter to Romans, Pastoral Epistles and Petrine corpus.

This chapter proposes to reinterpret the Biblical text within the context of the history of Christian theology and ethics. Such a historical approach is necessary since, as Heitink (1999:111) put it, "the object of Christian theology is the Christian faith, as we know it through sources, tradition, its past, and the present manifestations of that belief". Moreover, a historical inquiry will help us explore these various sources of theology and their present manifestation in the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation.

## Church and State in the Old Testament

### The Holistic Worldview of the Old Testament

Reading through the Old Testament yields a clear pattern showing society and religion were linked together; they were one. According to Eidsmoe (1984:11), Brueggemann (1997:600), and Einwechter (2003), Old Testament Israel was a theocracy where Yahweh was her direct ruler. Webster (1959:1511) defines a theocracy as "the rule of the State by God or a god, a government by priests claiming to rule with divine authority".

As such, in the Old Testament (OT), just as it is with other ancient societies, “the personnel of Church and State is identical” (Parker 1955:3) and so the separation of Church and state as is practised in contemporary society was non-existent with Israel (Eidsmoe 1984:11). All public, political questions of power were settled in Israel with the affirmation that ‘Yahweh is king’ (Brueggemann, 1997:600, Fergusson 2004:5). Fergusson (2004:5) noted that “the affirmation of Yahweh’s kingship is thoroughly political to the extent that it embraces the social, economic and cultural life of the community”.

## Genesis and Exodus

Some scholars, such as Redekop, see civil society, politics, or civil government a consequence of the Fall of Man (Gen 3). They teach that in the beginning in the Garden of Eden, the political or civil system was non-existent and only came to subsist later through Cain’s mark. We disagree with this view. However, it seems to agree in this regard with Min (2009:8, 9), who said, politics was created in the Garden of Eden by God through the cultural mandate.

### *Eden*

From the Garden of Eden, when God creates human beings in his own image and likeness, he gives them dominion over His creation. This ability to rule over creation, in our opinion, epitomises civil and, to a large extent, political control. As such, in the same manner, as the creation of man, political and civil society exists side by side with spiritual or religious society. Furthermore, in these two spheres, God was going to reign supreme. He was going to be the King of everything and all things pertaining to man and his society.

In the Garden of Eden, the stage for man’s political and religious living is set. Several concepts are announced as part of that stage. These are (a) authority (both God’s and humanity’s), (b) a geographical area (Eden), (c) rules of how Adam and Eve should relate to each other, to the creation, and God, and (d) human being’s free will. In terms of politics and civil life in Eden, several scholars like Redekop (2007:31), and O’Donovan (2004:35), do not regard politics or civil life to have started in Eden until after the mark of Cain. They argue that in Eden, the system would be a theocracy where God would be the supreme ruler. However, suppose politics is defined as, “the activities associated with the governance of a country or area” (Concise Oxford English Dictionary). In that

case, there should not be any problem finding politics and civil life in Eden and Adam and Eve's role within it.

From God's instructions, it seems that there was a clearly defined civic and political system in place that was going to be wholly permitted by God himself. In fact, this Edenic theocracy does not tolerate any dualism between the sacred and the secular. God was Adam and Eve's principal leader. In contemporary terms, God would be both the temporal and spiritual leader of Adam, Eve, and their descendants.

However, Adam and Eve were given various specific rules about Eden and the rest of creation, including the following. Firstly, they were expected to "dress it and to keep it" (Gen 2:15, KJV). Secondly, they were supposed to adhere to strict instructions concerning religious taboos – such as not eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17). Thirdly, humanity would have "dominion" over all of creation (Gen 1:26, KJV). According to the *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains (DBL)*, the word translated dominion, is **radah** which is used in many other parts of the scriptures and implies management or political control with considerable or forceful authority.

Fourthly, by being given the free will to choose between right and wrong, that power of choice for Adam and Eve "gave rise to the political order" (Redekop 2007:31). This political order is seen after the Fall of Man and beyond.

### *Noah and His Sons*

After the Fall of Man (Gen 3), God was still the major player in people's overall leadership. He was their principal religious and political leader. He was actively involved in controlling their worship and would control their expansion as well. When people began to multiply, it is reported in Genesis chapter 6 that due to their increasing sin, God would not put up with them anymore and sought to destroy all humanity except for Noah and his three children. Again, from Noah's episode, it is God who is said to be the true religious and political leader of people.

The Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth became the progenitors of various nations. In Genesis 10, the Bible first mentions the idea that people were divided into various languages, families, and nations. Nevertheless, even then, the Bible does not elaborate on how these societies were organised – politically or religiously. Suffice it to mention here that God would still be the leading political and religious player even to the extent of actually dividing and assigning these nations.

### *The Tower of Babel*

The political organisation of nations was not very easy, it appears. From Genesis 11, it seems that, without the approval of God, people sought to build a city that would reach heaven and, as a result, make a name for themselves and not be scattered “abroad”. From what God did with the *Tower of Babel*, it is clear that He did not want humanity to invent their own religion and their own civic life that was contrary to what he wanted for them. He had to intervene and scatter the inhabitants of Babel all over the world. Life, both political and religious, was not going to be allowed to develop outside of God’s permission.

### *The Call of Abraham*

By the time that God is calling Abram in Genesis 12, various nations scattered worldwide had developed different forms of worship and political organisation. From Abram’s call, it could be inferred that countries and nations had started to acquire political status very similar to contemporary nation-states. God’s call to Abram encompassed two elements – he was called out of a political system as well as a religious system. Abram was called to leave and abandon his state (in Hebrew, *eres*) and the religious system practised among his people in *Ur* of the Chaldeans.

God had, therefore, called Abram to leave a state and a religious system to go to a country or a nation that God would show him. Later, it became evident that Abraham’s leaving led to a new country and a new religious system as well. In all this, it seems clear that God had not separated the state or the nation from the practice of religion. Abram had to leave his pagan nation to become a progenitor of a new nation that would be Yahweh’s worshippers. As such, regarding God’s promise to Abraham, the faith and the religion and the state are not only one, but they are inextricably connected.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are the patriarchs in Biblical history. The Patriarch’s journey towards nationhood was closely connected to Yahweh’s religion. In fact, from *Ur* of the Chaldeans to the Promised Land, Abraham’s nomad life involved an interaction between his faithfulness to God, his faith in God, and God’s promise of a land and a nation to come out of his loins (Genesis 12).

The story of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is well known, and this study should not replicate that story here. However, it is essential to note that, by the time Jacob and his children were going into Egypt, a clear distinction had emerged between Israel as a nation under Yahweh on the one hand and all other nations on the other hand.



As the seed of the Patriarchs, Israel had especially been chosen by God to be His people and His nation (Deuteronomy 7:6). Nevertheless, the unity of religion and state did not just apply to Israel alone, but to all other nations around them. While other nations had various gods and idols, Israel would be unique in this area in that only the true God Yahweh would be their benefactor (Exodus 19: 5–6; II Samuel 7:23–24). In fact, the reason why *Yahweh* wants Israel to be different is that other nations worship other gods.

### *Israel and Egypt*

While Israel was in Egypt, a contrast was developed between Israel and Yahweh, their God, on the one hand, and Egypt and the multitude of their gods, on the other. The question was not about whether these states had amalgamated their political systems with that of religion. Instead, which gods or God these states had amalgamated with – for Israel, it was Yahweh. In contrast, other nations had false gods (Exodus 19:6).

Therefore, Israel's exodus from Egypt was a deliverance of Yahweh's nation from Egyptian bondage – bondage where politics and religion are inextricably tied together. Moreover, Israel had to leave Egypt to go to their Promised Land, Canaan, where they would be a nation that genuinely worships Yahweh. In the grand scheme of things, Yahweh was taking Israel to establish them as a nation or a state that intricately has the worship of Yahweh as its religion (Deuteronomy 7:6). There shall be no duality between religion and state in that new nation – as was the case with other nations. The leader of the political systems would equally be their spiritual leader, and that leader would be Yahweh himself.

While Israel was on her journey to Canaan, God gave them the Law (Leviticus; Deuteronomy). The Law given to Moses, as noted by Brueggemann, made “none of the distinctions between various spheres of life – personal and public, civil and cultic – that we might make” (1997:600). Thus, essentially, in the Law of Moses, religion and the state were the same thing. In this wilderness, therefore, God would be their leader, but Moses would serve immediately under God. Moses combined duties of political leadership and religious leadership. In the Pentateuch, even if the priesthood under Aaron and his family was instituted, Moses remained a significant religious and priestly leader (Exodus 4:10–17).

In the wilderness-instituted religion, God established the priesthood, which would be given the religious duties while Moses concentrated on political leadership (Numbers 3). Even then, Moses did not abandon religious leadership entirely as he was still expected to perform religious

duties. Israel was going to approach God through the priests whom God selected to teach Israel the ways of Yahweh and administer the religion of Yahweh. Essentially then, the priests became the custodians of the religion of Yahweh.

### *Dominion Theology in Exodus*

Exodus is among the many books in the Bible that have been used by proponents of Dominion Theology (DT) in justifying their stance with a specific focus on Exodus 19–24 in which the law, which has a special place in DT, is given.

DT utilises Exodus in several ways.

1. DT takes the presentation of Exodus's laws to be laws for all societies, including democratic societies. For example, the civil government's role is to enforce God's civil and criminal law as revealed in the Bible, including Exodus 19–24 (Smith 1989: 46).
2. DT takes the Exodus of the nation of Israel and its subsequent call to become a nation under God, to be an explicit command to all Christians in any nation to work towards the transformation of their specific countries towards the rule under God and the laws from Exodus 19 to 24 (Smith 1989: 17–18).
3. DT goes to the Decalogue and sees not only a moral law but also a legal corpus that can be enforced throughout the state. Accordingly, DT holds that "while Christ's coming ended the need for the ceremonial laws of the Old Testament, both moral and civil laws of the Israelite theocracy continue to be binding today" (Smith 1989: 17–18).
4. DT takes the promises in Exodus literally, which stipulate that as long as the Israelite nation remains faithful to the Law, God will bless it. Stretching this further, DT extends Israel to mean all the nations such as the USA and other places where Christians should rise and usher in the rule of God (Smith 1989).

DT's use of the Book of Exodus in justifying its political theory is inadequate because, in its propositions, it ignores the significance of the laws, which are largely, if not wholly, specific to Israel.

The significance of the OT laws has been fulfilled in Christ Jesus' atoning sacrifice. Indeed, through the OT law, we have come to understand that Christ is Immanuel in our place. The nature of Biblical revelation centres on progression. God gave this revelation to real people in a real cultural

setting of the day. The laws God gave to the children of Israel comprised laws of health, civic matters, ceremonial laws, and moral laws. All these, however, did not bypass the cultural setting of the day. He was relating to people at the level they could understand. This principle of progression should not be interpreted to mean that Christianity has evolved from primitive Judaism to today. To a large extent, the OT was the embodiment of symbols, and types fulfilled in the New Testament ratified by the Lord Jesus Christ (Colossians 2:16–20, Hebrews 1:1–2).

DT fails to recognise and find a gracious Christ in the Laws of Exodus. The law was ineffective in bringing about righteousness because it did not have the power to remove sin. The primary role of the law was to serve as a daily reminder of people's sin. The proper antidote to the law's impotence is to be found in Christ Jesus's faith (Cosgrove 1987), which is what brings about the righteousness that is credited to all who believe (Kenyon 1998:130). Having accomplished this, the Christian religion's role is not to find punitive means for transgressors of the laws since the state already exists for that reason (Romans 13). Instead, the Christian religion's role becomes one to help transform human hearts so that they could follow God.

Christians are, therefore not obliged to adhere to OT rules regarding sacrifices, clothing, and diet. On sacrifices, the OT sacrifices were symbolic of the perfect sacrifice that was to come through the sacrificial death of Jesus on the cross. The New Covenant supersedes the Old Covenant. Christians are not required to keep the letter of laws regarding atonement and Sabbath observance.

The Old Testament laws found true meaning in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:17–20). Galatians 3:23–4:7 points out that the OT was the period of learning, while fulfillment has come in the Gospel. The entire book of Hebrews affirms that the OT was indeed a material revelation of types, shadows, and parables while the NT consists of the substance, reality, and fulfillment (Kuzmic 1997:58–59).

These Scriptural instructions were given as an answer within a clear context of time and space. They are not random instructions unrelated to their historical circumstances. The laws had strictly cultural applications and cannot be applied to our 21<sup>st</sup> Century situation. Of course, things such as clothing were different from what we are accustomed to today, and so we cannot guess with precision which type of clothing pleases God or not. The laws to do with clothing in the NT, this writer believes, have to do with what is modest and culturally accepted today without pouring contempt on the Christian witness. Clothing is more of a culture than a matter of theology.

However, when we face moral laws like the Ten Commandments, indeed, God's morals have not changed. The issue with DT is its insistence

that the state should enforce the Ten Commandments for all. Unlike in ancient Israel, modern democratic states are governed by both civil and criminal laws and insisting that Exodus 19–24 should replace these laws creates an unjustified marriage of religion and state, which is unnecessary in the New Testament Dispensation, it is Jesus who proclaimed, “give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and God what belongs to God” (Mat. 22:21) by this utterance, he separated the sphere of politics from the sphere of the religion.

The state of the nation of Israel at this moment should play a part in the correct interpretation of Exodus 19–24. Israel had just been delivered from Egyptian bondage and had, by this time, become a distinct nation. As such, social order and organisation were a necessary part of their existence as a nation. Law and order are essential ingredients to the existence of a nation. These laws, therefore, stand as ways in which God’s people were to be regulated. Nevertheless, the question should be, did the instructions of Exodus 19–24 serve as precedence for all societies to follow? We do not doubt all these commandments’ moral necessity; however, it is important to note that insisting on the integration of churches within modern states does not necessarily stem from faithful exegesis.

These Exodus Scriptures do, however, show the nature of God. God was not only interested in the spiritual wellbeing of his people. On the contrary, he was also interested in their daily lives. He gave them both laws to do with worship and laws to do with relationships – how to relate with one another against this backdrop. The Christian community will do well to follow these principles within their Christian community and avoid forcing these rules on others whom the laws of the state should otherwise regulate.

These Scriptural Exodus laws should be interpreted within the broader framework of the ancient Near East. The laws in these scriptures are consistent with laws that existed among other peoples as well. In this regard, then, these laws are not unique to Israel alone. Many other nations in the Near East had these instructions among their legal and moral codes. An interpretation of Exodus 19–24 should consider the reality of the existence of these laws in other law codes as well. This reality’s significance is that it can help us realise both the human and divine elements present in Scripture. More often than not, God used familiar principles within peoples’ cultures to give his laws and make known his will and purpose.

Rightly interpreted, we can get “comparable particulars” (Fee 1997:39) that can significantly help us in our time to live good lives and contribute effectively to the Church’s self-understanding of the Declaration. On the other hand, how can Exodus, a book so pregnant with meaning in both

religious and spiritual causes, be relevant to the political wellbeing of God's people in the current generation. This study wishes to propose a framework from which Exodus's political undertones can be understood without compromising Exodus's spiritual and religious impact.

Exodus 19–24 does indeed have significance for the current generation, including Zambia's Christian nation. However, this significance does not necessarily lie in the contemporary generation replicating the instructions given in these passages, but rather in gleaning important principles taught in these passages. The principles we garner from these passages are that God is a God of justice and that he is holistically concerned for his people; He requires fairness and equity in our dealings with fellow men.

The instructions from Exodus' passages cannot be replicated in the present time because the current time and modern states subsist on laws that govern all areas of our lives. In this case, then both criminal and civil cases are adequately provided for in the laws of states, be it Zambia or any other state.

It can be noticed from Exodus 19–24 that, just like they seemed to have been borrowed from the legal codes predominant in the surrounding nations, so can God use current secular laws to be ways by which he governs his people. Ultimately, God is the ruler of the world and as such, law and order come from him. And in so preserving law and order, most secular laws have both secular and spiritual significance.

Exodus 22:9 mentions the role of the judges. In the context of this passage, the judge is supposed to have religious and secular functions such as hearing both parties and then pronouncing guilt based on the evidence heard. However, in our modern states, judges only have secular functions even if their judging and dispensing justice should have spiritual implications. This, of course, should not be taken to mean that God approves of our judges' opinions, except that the function of the dispensing of justice itself is a godly function.

## **Judges and Monarchy**

After settling in Canaan (Joshua; Judges), Israel was ruled by God through various judges. However, the prophets and the priests continued to occupy a central place in Israel's political organisation. God would raise one judge after another to rule and lead his people. Nevertheless, in all this, God was still, principally, their leader. In the times of the Judges, a dualism developed, where political rulers "are guided by independent prophets, Barak by Deborah or, at the end of the period, Saul, the first king, by Samuel, who had himself originally combined the twin function of Moses" (Parker 1955:9).

Immediately following the sporadic leadership by various judges came “the establishment of Israelite monarchy” (Parker 1955:10) through the prophet Samuel’s ministry. Brueggemann (1997:601) suggests that the need for the monarchy arose from practical socio-political, military security, and economic realities in Israel and her neighbouring countries.

It is rather significant how the understanding of Yahweh’s use of human intermediaries developed through Israel’s history to the extent where Israel now demanded to have a king preside over them just as was practised among other nations. This demand for a king displeased Yahweh such that the Prophet Samuel warned Israel of the abuses that a human king would bring upon them. Nevertheless, this allows us to consider how Yahweh used human intermediaries in his Kingship over Israel.

The priesthood became more potent during the exile since, at that time, the monarchy as a political institution had ceased to exist. During the exile, Israel ceased to be a nation like it had been before; the royal system was not effective enough in sustaining Israel (Brueggemann, 1997:614). So, Israel was taken into Babylonian exile, and she ceased to have kings as political rulers. Exile, therefore, “enhanced the power of the professional priesthood, which was the only authority left to lead the nation” (Parker 1955:11).

Concerning how the king of Israel ought to relate to religion, Parker (1955:10, 11) lists at least four ways:

1. In its early formative period, the king functioned as a priest. King Saul offered sacrifice, as did David, who also, like Solomon, blessed the people. David, on one occasion, even wore the linen ephod, the exclusive garment of the priesthood.
2. In the monarchy’s formative period, the King was the controller of the national religion, appointing chief priests and dismissing them.
3. The King could control worship.
4. Parker concludes that “in the days of the monarchy, the Israelite Church was emphatically a state-church” or a unified “nation-church” (Parker 1955:11).

Consequently, Kings were expected to be vice-regents of God since Yahweh was the ultimate ruler of the people of Israel. All the kings of Israel were expected to be faithful to Yahweh and his laws because if and when they depart “from Yahweh’s sovereign will for justice, public power is inevitably jeopardized, and in the end, cannot be sustained” (Brueggemann, 1997:615).

Despite *Yahweh* being King, it might be expected that the monarchy would be the preferred model of political leadership since it would mediate

Yahweh's kingship. This is partly true; Israel is a monarchy but, at the same time, Hebrew Scriptures abound with evidence of criticism against monarchy as a political institution – as such religion, which should maintain the status quo of kingships, at the same time provides the critical prophetic voice against abuses emanating from the monarchs.

In Judges 8:23, Gideon renounces the kingship while, in 1 Samuel, *Yahweh* concedes to establishing kingship with reservations (Fergusson 2004:6).

Formal kingship developed in the eleventh century and received mixed reactions from the people of Israel. Some thought of it as a blessing, while others saw it as a curse. Nonetheless, it culminated later in Israel's history to expect a perfect king who would fulfil all the messianic hope (Parker 1955:14–15). When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, there were still so many among the faithful in Israel who waited for Messiah's coming.

Contrary to their OT expectation, Jesus' political relationship was going to be radically different from the kind of Messiah they were expecting. Jesus' teaching and his political message do not denote any theocracy at all. He advocated critical distancing from secular and political ambitions.

## **The Psalms**

The Books of Psalms provide some highlights of the Old Testament's conception of *Yahweh* as King and God. According to Fergusson (2004:5), the Psalms are of intense political significance. According to Psalm 96:10, *Yahweh* is the establisher of the world. In Psalm 98:9, *Yahweh* is said to be the one who will judge the world with righteousness and with equity.

*Yahweh* is actively and intimately involved in the lives of the people, according to Psalm 97:10. He loves those who hate evil and will guard the lives of the faithful. Again, the universal kingship of *Yahweh* is affirmed in Psalm 47:2, which states that *Yahweh* is the highest, is awesome, and is a Great King over all the earth.

## **Church and State in the Times of Jesus Christ**

In the times of Christ, religion in Israeli society was not as monophonic as it had been in the times of the Old Testament. In much of the OT, the Jewish religion was more unified and gravitated between the temple and the tabernacle and later gravitated between the priests and the prophets. Therefore, in much of the OT, the Jewish religion did not face any strong opposition in its relationship to society and political institutions.

However, in the times of Jesus, Judaism had undergone several changes and had taken a whole different form altogether (Barnett 1999). Compounding the Jewish religion issue was the fact that in place of a political state in which Yahweh is King, the Jewish nation was now under foreign occupation. And as such, a political parallel between the OT political nation and the one that subsisted during the time of Jesus would not be fathomable. If in the OT, Yahweh was both their King and their God, it was different during the times of Jesus since Caesar also claimed to be God (Matthew 22:22). Caesar was willing to tolerate Israel's worship of their one true God as long as this true God did not challenge Caesar's divinity.

It is, therefore, in this political and religious climate in which Jesus lived. It was a climate of religious plurality and political autonomy of the Jewish religion. Therefore, the teachings of Jesus differentiated between the political system of Rome and his religious concept of the Kingdom of God. Even if the Jews had envisioned a political warrior for a Messiah, they were quite disappointed that Jesus had come to emphasise the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Heaven as being more potent than the kingdoms of this world. The two kingdoms, represented by Christ and the other represented by Caesar and Herod, were diametrically opposed to each other. This fact could be seen in Herod's decision to kill the child, Jesus (Matthew 2:6), as a perceived threat to his monarchy.

### **The Politics of Jesus**

Much analysis has been done about Jesus' teachings and their political implications. In *Jesus and Politics*, Storkey (2005) has explored the political inferences of the life of Jesus, his teachings, death, and resurrection. Storkey (2005) admonishes Christians to be more involved in political concerns as this would be more faithful to Jesus' political life.

While conducting a detailed exegesis, hermeneutics, and historical analysis, Storkey (2005) nevertheless falls into the trap that is characteristic of so many scholars of Jesus' political teaching and practice, and that is reading our contemporary social and political concerns into the text of Scripture. This is because an exegetical analysis of the gospels and Jesus' teaching leans more towards critical distancing than it leans towards positive political participation by either Jesus or, indeed, his teachings.

### **Give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's.**

It is in Matthew 22:21 and Luke 20:25, where we find Jesus' famous words, *"Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's."* This statement has



been a subject of voluminous and varied discussions. Fergusson (2004:14) has observed how this text has been used in diverse ways in the Church's history, whether to justify political quietism, the Lutheran two-kingdom doctrine, or even revolution.

In this passage, Jesus was asked by the people whether it was right for the Jewish people to pay taxes to Caesar. There is no doubt that this was a political question. However, the question was not about whether the taxes in and of themselves are right or not, but rather whether paying taxes to Caesar was right. The question also involved taxes because of the symbolic meaning of taxes due to Caesar, as far as the Jewish people were concerned, namely political subordination to Caesar. But who was Caesar?

As understood by Jesus' audience, Caesar was a foreign ruler and a political figure that dominated them (Barnett 1999). Although Palestine did have some religious autonomy, and as such, the Jews would still be able to worship in the temple, Caesar still controlled much of their political life. He had Roman troops stationed there, and the Roman Governors, one of whom was Pontius Pilate, presided over the whole province as the delegates of Caesar (Barnett 1999:112). The Jews had among them several people like the Zealots, who wanted to achieve political freedom from Rome through possible violence, and others who were more accepting of Rome. This question, therefore, was pregnant with meaning.

In his answer, Jesus asked those questioning to show him whose image was on the coin – they answered Caesar. It is from there that Jesus “bestowed legitimacy on the Roman government by saying, give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God” (Redekop 2007:32). This had several implications. Firstly, Jesus does seem to suggest a dualism here between Caesar and God. Secondly, Jesus addresses the same audience to give to Caesar what is his and to give to God what belongs to God. The clear implication of this statement is that he suggests that a believer in Him can function in this dualism. It is not either/or, but rather both/and. Jesus was telling his followers, here, that they can give to Caesar what is his while at the same time giving God what belongs to God. This should not cause any problems at all.

Thirdly, while it is easy to note what belonged to Caesar in this event (that is, money, a coin with Caesar's inscription), the question should be what does belong to God, which by implication, Jesus is asking his hearers to give. By giving to God what belongs to God, Jesus is calling for what his hearers should have known as belonging to God. And that is, everything belonged to God, including Caesar and his money! As such, to merely assign to Caesar material goods and to God, spiritual goods does not capture the impact of the statement (Fergusson 2004:14). Therefore, Jesus' words

should clarify the dualism – here, it is not just about separating the sacred from the secular, but rather subjecting the secular to the sacred. As understood by Jesus and his hearers, God was the King of all the earth and everything else existed for God’s good pleasure and will.

Consequently, Fergusson (2004:15) writes that the inevitable prioritising of God’s claim for a Jewish audience situates Caesar’s subordinate and limited claims. In different circumstances, this provides a range of interpretations but each proceeds from the primacy of God’s claim upon us. Caesar’s coins have their place, but their relation to divine priority should determine our attitude to them. As such, “while acknowledging the role of those who govern, Jesus knows that obedience to Caesar has its limits for those who love God above all” (Pilgrim 2007:30).

### **The Request of James and John**

In the gospel passages of Mark 10:35–45, Matthew 20:20–28, and Luke 22:24–27, Jesus offers an authoritative “critique of all civic and political structures in sharp contrast to the alternate vision of the new community founded by Jesus” (Pilgrim 2007:29). James and John ask to be given special seats of honour in his coming kingdom. Their request, or the request of their mother on their behalf, epitomises the world’s approach to greatness and leadership. But this is not Jesus’ way. In place of such a worldly philosophy of leadership, Jesus was going to introduce a new philosophy to the new apostolic community, namely that the greatest among the community of people should be the slave of all.

As such, leadership is not about positions and seating arrangements but instead service. However, Jesus never advocates for the abolishing of the worldly system; he simply acknowledges it and provides an alternative to it. In the community of faith, greatness is judged by service.

### **My Kingdom is not of this World**

In John 18: 33–40, during the Passover, Jesus, having been arrested earlier, was now facing a criminal trial. The first trial was held by the High Priests – Annas and Caiaphas. After that trial with the High Priests, Jesus was then taken to Pontius Pilate, the Governor of the Roman Province of Palestine at that time. As a Roman Governor, all judicial power lay with Pilate, and only he could preside over the case of Christ (which had to do with a death sentence). It is to Pilate that Jesus said one of the most profound statements about the relationship between Christianity and politics. When Pilate asked him whether he was a King, Jesus replied, “My Kingdom is not

of this world. If it were, my servants would fight to prevent my arrest by the Jews. But now my kingdom is from another place” (John 8:36).

First, Jesus clearly recognises the reality of at least two kingdoms. The first kingdom is the kingdom of this world, while the second kingdom is “from another place.” From his answer, we could infer that while Pilate’s question was about whether Jesus was a king of the Jews – a kingdom of this world – Jesus was quick to mention that yes, he was a king, but not a king of this world.

Secondly, Jesus shows the difference between these two kingdoms. The kingdom of the world is preserved and created by fights and war. But the kingdom “from another place” does not operate like that. Its way is not a way of violence. Indeed, if Jesus’ kingdom had been of the world, his supporters from all over Jerusalem, Galilee, and Samaria could have fought for him. They could have mobilised their spears and swords. However, Jesus a radically different king who does not need to have his supporters fight since his kingdom is fundamentally unlike the kingdom to which Pilate was referring.

Thirdly, Jesus’ statement seems to be more descriptive than it is disparaging. As such, he is not saying that the kingdom of the world is fundamentally evil or wrong. He is merely mentioning that the kingdom of this world is not the only kingdom there is. He is equally not forbidding people or believers’ participation in politics, but rather pointing out clearly that our participation in politics is done with an awareness of the existence of a kingdom “from another place.”

What does all this mean for Zambia as a Christian nation? It means that the Church should clearly distinguish between the Kingdom of God and national politics. This is not to mean that the Church leaders or, indeed, Christians should not participate in politics, but rather that Zambian Christians’ participation in politics should be predicated by the reality of the kingdom from “another place.” Therefore, Christians do not participate in politics the way the world does. Instead, they participate with an awareness of faithfulness to God’s Kingdom that should make them serve people better.

Therefore, the Zambian Christian does not need to use violence for personal political ends – that is what the world does. The Christian in Zambia should use kingdom strategies for political participation. Suppose the Church participated in national politics without recourse to Jesus’ “other kingdom”. In that case, she may lose her prophetic edge in leading people to Jesus Christ – which is the primary goal and *raison d’être*, of the Church.

Jesus was not preoccupied with trying to replace the worldly political system with that of his kingdom. He acknowledges the reality of the

worldly system employed by the Romans and by some of his fellow Jewish leaders, but, at the same time, he acknowledges the reality of the Christian alternative, which is motivated by love and sacrifice.

## Church and State in the Age of the Apostles

By the time of the Apostles, the Church had grown tremendously from a little band of 120 in Jerusalem to a global communion spread across three continents – Asia, Africa, and Europe (The Book of Acts). During this time, the dominant political power and political system were still Rome.

In the Age of the Apostles, the ruling Caesars had become even more oppressive towards Christianity and, to some extent, Judaism as well. The Caesars had reinforced their divinity even more vigorously. Because Christians would not worship any other God, this brought them into sharp disagreement and severe persecution at Caesar's hand.

Despite the persecutions and general anti-Christian stance of Rome, both Paul and Peter, as significant players in the Age of the Apostles, appeal to Christians to respect political authority. The general attitude towards the state and political institutions found in the Pauline literature and other Epistles suggests some level of cooperation and even subordination of the Church to the state or political institutions. In this section, this study seeks to do an exposition of Romans 13:1–7, the Pastoral Epistles, and 1 Peter 2:13–17, which are the relevant passages concerning Church and state relations in the Age of the Apostles.

### Romans 13:1–7

The passage of Romans 13:1–7 is one that unambiguously asks believers to be subjected to civil leaders. According to Pilgrim (2007:24), it contains perhaps the fullest statement in the New Testament on Christians' duty and indeed the Church to be subordinate to the state or to the civil rulers. However, it is essential to first look at the context. At the time of this passage, the Church is still at the margin of society. It is not a dominant factor at all. Additionally, the nature of the state is that of a dictatorship. There is little democratic participation in the political system of the Romans.

Several points can be noted from Romans 13:1–7. First, the passage universally asks the readers to “submit” or “subject” themselves to civil rulers. The word translated as the subject here is the Greek word *hypotassomai*, which according to the EDNT (Balz and Schneider 1990), means “to subject, to subordinate, and/or to place under,” and refers to willing submission to those worthy of respect, including God. This features promi-

nently in many other passages to do with Christian subordination to God and to also political leadership. It is the same word used in the Pastoral Epistles and 1 Peter 2:13–17 as well.

Secondly, Paul affirmed that the authorities or those having civil authority exist by divine appointment. This passage does not elaborate on this but suffice it to mention that Paul has an optimistic view of civil authorities as deriving their power from God. Thirdly, from this passage, Paul does seem to suggest that resisting those in authority is tantamount to rebellion against God, and this action would not go unpunished by God.

Fourthly, he prods the Christian not to be afraid of civil authorities' punishment since Christians do good and should not fear the state's punishment. Paul in Romans demonstrates that "political ethics cannot be separated from the ethics of love" (Georgi 1991:102).

Politicians have aptly used this passage in Zambia to stifle all opposition, whether politically justifiable or not. Notably, Chiluba's Christian nation used this passage to put his opponents in line. This passage's message is clear, but as any other passage in the Bible, it is clear that what is needed is the contextual application of Biblical truth. The challenge for Zambian Christians is to find the application of diversity of scriptures in their proper context. As such, the question Christians should reflect on concerning this passage should be to what extent the instructions in this passage apply to a modern and democratic state like Zambia. Additionally, the challenge is to find which of the principles from this passage would apply as a matter of normative instruction to the Church's response to the state.

## **The Pastoral Epistles**

In the Pastoral Epistles I and II Timothy and Titus, Paul provides unambiguous instructions to Timothy and Titus concerning how Christians should relate to the state. At the time of the Pastoral Epistles, the Church seems to be trying to settle into society. The initial expectation for the return of Christ had subsided, and now the Church was going to find ways to exist in society. In this context, Paul writes to his young protégés on how they can take care of the house of God, which is the pillar and foundation of the truth.

As such, Paul offers instructions concerning prayer, grooming, leadership roles and qualifications, and salvation and then deals with how the Christian should relate to the political and civil authorities. He encourages the Christian body to pray for everyone, but notably the king and all those in authority (1 Tim 2:2). This particular instruction seems to be consistent with Paul's earlier instructions in Romans 13:1–7. Christians should pray for the authorities so that they can lead quiet and peaceable lives.

In Titus 3:1–8, Christians are encouraged, if not commanded, to be subject to rulers and authorities. As such, from both the Pastoral Epistles and from Romans 13:1–7, we gather that Paul is affirming the tradition of loyalty and respect for government and political rulers.

### **First Peter**

1 Peter 2:13–17, similar to Romans and the Pastoral Epistles' writings, is emphatic on submission and subordination of the Church and the Christian community to rulers and political authorities. According to Foster (2008:35), "Peter states that obedience to government is an integral part of living a morally good life so that the obedience of Christians would refute those who claimed that Christianity was a danger to society".

Several things need to be pointed out from this passage. Firstly, it uses the same word used in Romans 13:1–7 to submit – *hupotássō*. But unlike Romans 13:1–7, the real reason why Christians should so submit to the authorities is for the Lord's sake. The phrase "Lord's sake" means that it is somehow a Christian duty to submit to authorities, whether the king as the supreme authority or the governors who are the King's representatives.

Secondly, the Petrine writer does have utilitarian reasons for submitting to the government – it is God's will that the Christian should silence the ignorant talk of foolish men by so doing. It seems that the reason why he is encouraging submission is more for apologetic reasons and Evangelistic purposes. Again, the setting of this passage and the context in which it was written makes it crucial that the writer encourages the Christian, who is still in the margins of society, to become a model citizen who will win non-believers to Christ and silence those who associate Christianity with treason or revolt.

Thirdly, the writer continues to give some ethical imperatives such as showing proper respect to everyone, loving believers' brotherhood, fearing God, and honouring the King (1 Peter 2:17).

### **Revelation**

In the Book of Revelation, the state is cast as the church's enemy and the Christian community. In fact, the New Jerusalem's coming down is to uproot the old order of governmental business (Revelation 21) and bring in the new order.

## Conclusion

The Biblical enquiry yields at least four ways in which the Church or the Christian relates to or is expected to relate to the state. When it comes to what should be a Biblical way of how the Church should relate to the state, the Bible yields different models in different contexts.

As such, this chapter's thesis that the Bible's guide to how the Church ought to relate to the state is more contextual than dogmatic. The Bible encourages and teaches different approaches to church and state relations depending on several factors such as religious factors, political factors, and geographical context.

Patterns are therefore seen from the Biblical text:

1. Theocracy with regard to Israel in the Old Testament;
2. Critical distancing as found in the Gospels;
3. Subordination to the state; and,
4. Critical and radical opposition to the state.

The solutions to the Church and state dilemma, therefore, do seem to follow a pattern: In the Old Testament, the Church is the state, and the state is the Church. God is the King, and Israel is asked to serve God both politically and religiously. There is no secular and sacred dichotomy – and so, borrowing the language from the New Testament, in the Old Testament, Caesar is God and God is Caesar. This is very similar to the pre-Christian, and pre-colonial notions in Zambia discussed in other chapters in this study. In the Psalms, however, we are aptly reminded that God is the ultimate ruler of the world and everything in it. Thus, earthly leadership should be perceived as being secondary to the leadership of God.

In the Gospels, however, perhaps due to religious context change, the Church is tasked with differentiation. The kingdom of the world is different to the Kingdom of God. Jesus commanded the disciples to give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and God what belongs to God. In the Pauline literature, however, a more optimistic view of the state seems to be presented. Paul and Peter encourage prayers for the state and ask the Christians to obey the state as a Christian religious duty.

The book of Revelation casts a very negative light on the state. It is the enemy that should be resisted at all costs. The Church should respond negatively to it.





# Evangelical Political Theology: a Framework

## Introduction

This chapter's focus is on the last question, Osmer (2008) asks: How might we respond? The pragmatic task. It asks: *How might the **Zambian Evangelical Church, relate to a modern state which has declared itself Christian?***

The chapter presents the practical framework of the principles that should undergird Church-state relations in a nation that has declared itself a Christian nation.

Specifically, this chapter presents practical tools that the Church could use when relating to a state that has declared itself Christian. They are taken from the analysis of the history of Church-state relations in Zambia, as discussed in the previous chapters.

Secondly, the framework is gleaned from the various practical principles that several theologians have provided to resolve the Church-state relationship dilemma. However, the principles from theology should be approached with caution because no two situations are similar, and, as such, it would be good to contextualise any of the issues that other theologians have raised as an answer to the Church-state dilemma. Only when other theologians' writings are contextualised, the Zambian Church can receive the greatest help on how to relate to a Christian state.

Budziszewski (2006:18–19) has observed that an adequate Evangelical political theory will include at least three elements:

1. *An orienting doctrine*, or a guide of thought, explaining the place of government in the world as a whole.
2. *A practical doctrine*, or a guide to action, explaining in broad but practical terms how Christians should conduct themselves in the civic realm; and,
3. *A cultural apologetic*, or a guide to persuasion, explaining how to go about making the specific proposals of those who do share the other two elements plausible to those who do not.

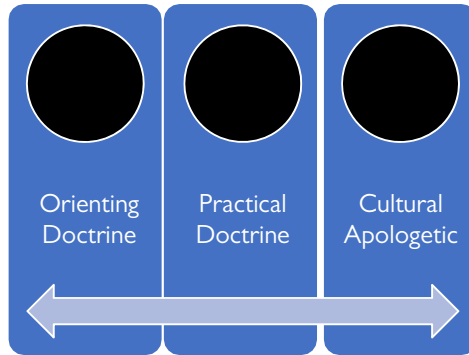


Figure 3: Budziszewski's Evangelical Political Theory

## An Orienting Doctrine

An *orienting doctrine*, or a guide of thought, explains the Church's place in a nation like Zambia, which is historically Christian and has declared itself a Christian nation.

## Doctrine of Contextuality

The sound public doctrine requires congregations that are consciously nurtured and informed by Biblical and theological reflection and prosperous life of worship concerning the context within which they are situated, both locally and more widely. "To assume that the only way Africa can be saved is through nation-state modalities and that the Church can only contribute to this process by helping nation-state politics, is ridiculous, especially in Africa where the Church has far more credibility than the corrupt nation-state institution" (Katongole 2011:59).

How then can an African worldview help the Zambian Church develop an appropriate relationship with the Zambian State? The greatest asset that African epistemology holds in this regard is its lack of regard for a dualistic worldview that radically separates the sacred and the secular. African epistemology, should be "sharply critical of a dualistic outlook among Christians in which theology is regarded as pertinent to the Church but not to the public realm" (Wilbanks 1993:30, 31).

## Doctrine of Engagement from the Margins

Interpreting the Biblical text and guidelines on Church and state relations should consider the marginal origins and nature of the Church, which, according to Forster (2008:21), “remains an institution designed to serve a politically persecuted religion”. As Bretherton (2010:17) put it, “the first task of the Church is to be a Church.

Therefore, the messages of Jesus Christ are positioned not from a background of privilege but rather from that of marginality. Jesus never taught from a background where his teachings have been accepted as the norm for society. Neither was Christianity the state religion nor was it the most popular religion, or even a religion at all, at the time of Jesus and his apostles. The problem is that, whereas the Church was at the margins of society when these New Testament passages were written, the same cannot be said of Zambia’s contemporary situation. The Zambian Church is in a position of privilege and influence, and the presidential Declaration has undoubtedly buoyed this influence that Zambia would be a Christian nation. Any attempt, therefore, at gleaning the Scriptural norm should address this fact.

The norm of marginality suggests that regardless of how many people get saved and become Christians, the Church of Jesus Christ should always consider herself as a pilgrim and stranger on the earth (Hebrews 11:13; 1 Peter 2:11). The Church is, by nature, a Church that leads and lives and prospers from the margins.

While Kenzo and Franke (2008:275) are correct in stating that “the Christian Church initially developed at the margins of the both the Roman and Jewish centres. However, over time and through mimicry, it began to act as the centre.” Their conclusion that “Developments both in the West and in the Global South indicate that the Constantinian captivity of the Church may finally be coming to an end” seems overly optimistic. Indeed, from Zambia’s experience, the Evangelical Church is not losing its grip on political or civil clout. The Church remains a force to reckon with and is still at the centre of the state. This has been, of course, buoyed by the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation.

As such, in the context of Zambia, the call for the Church is about how it remains “marginal” while at the same time being at the centre of national life, particularly political and social life. “I suggest that as a start it might be good for Christians to give up the impression that they have a stake in the development of a “Christian nation” and instead focus on allowing the Church to become a “wild space” within (or at the margins of) the dominant culture” (Katongole 2005:108).

## **Doctrine of Tolerance of “the Other”**

The Bible does speak and has spoken to humanity about Church and state relations. However, the Bible’s voice on this matter is not uniform, as seen in the Scriptures discussed above. The Scriptures do not provide just one way in which the Church’s Christians are expected to relate to the state. From the Biblical record here, we can see that the Bible provides different approaches at different times. These responses vary from the Church’s subordination to the state to outright opposition and rebellion against the state.

In his study of Romans 13:1–7 and its application on the several eras of Japanese political and religious history, Miyata (2009) shows just how this Scripture can be applied differently depending on the historical context.

Nothing has been more offensive to other religions and other Christian denominations than the Evangelical community considering themselves the “chosen ones.” There is a tendency among Evangelicals to look at themselves as the “holy ones” contrasted with the rest of society which is heathen. However, for the Evangelical Church in Zambia, one way they can relate to the Christian state is to be theologically hospitable to Christians of other faiths and people adhering to non-Christian religions.

The president of the Zambia Union of Christian Action (ZUCA), John Jere, adds that “the Church has a Godly mandate to pray for the leaders and that should be carried in love and mercy. It is not our role to condemn and demonise those we perceive to be wrong.” (Times of Zambia, August 29, Editorial). Further, “through listening to Scripture and others, to discern who is the neighbour to be loved, a sense of obedience to the Word is nurtured. Listening is a therapy for the self-love or pride that is the attempt to secure oneself outside of a relationship with God” (Bretherton 2010:214).

## **Doctrine of Accessible Language**

An orienting doctrine requires the development of a language that is accessible to people outside the Christian tradition and is convincing in its own right, while also addressing Christian congregations in a language whereby public debates are related to the traditions of faith. And so, the Evangelical Church must address their fellow citizens in an accessible language. “To do better, the Churches should be involved directly in the conversations that comprise civic life, articulating to the whole community, in richly theological terms, a comprehensive civic vision” (Mathewes 2007:203). As stated by Breitenberg (2010:4), “public theology is theo-

logically informed discourse that seeks to be understandable both to those within its religious tradition and to those outside it.”

Doing public and political theology for the Zambian Church means that the Church must use accessible language. “Public theology is theologically informed descriptive and normative public discourse about public issues, institutions, and interactions addressed to the Church or other religious bodies as well as the larger public or publics and argued in ways that can be evaluated and judged by publicly available warrants and criteria” (Breitenberg 2010:5).

### **The Doctrine of a Healthier View of the Bible**

Evangelicals take the Bible literally and more earnestly. This has serious implications for the development of an adequate theology of public life. Holding on to the Bible in the manner Zambian Evangelicals have presented challenges of their own. Indeed, while the Bible has been and must be the rule of faith and conduct, it is clear that in order to have the Bible come to bear on the context of everyday life, Evangelicals must know how to read it, how to interpret it, and how to apply it to public life. A blind belief in the sacredness of Scripture without the power to know how to apply that Scripture to everyday life is futile.

Indeed, while the Bible is the Word of God, it does not provide an adequate explanation of every aspect of life. However, instead of appreciating this fact, many Evangelicals do want to go to the Bible and search for passages of Scripture that explain each aspect of life. In their attempt to elevate the Bible’s status as the rule of faith and conduct, Evangelicals run the risk of going to Scripture to find an explanation for all behaviour. Doing this has the potential to have Evangelicals read into Scripture what they want and not allow the Scripture to speak for itself. Additionally, the Evangelicals run the risk of going to Scripture to “find” and isolate proof texts on nearly any subject (Toulouse 2006:62).

Evangelicals in Zambia, both in government and outside government, have undoubtedly gone to the Bible to discover a Biblical model of how Church and state should relate in the Zambian context. However, the way Evangelicals have used the Bible leaves much to be desired. One of the controversial ways the Bible has been used has been to assume “that the policies adopted by Biblical rulers reflect God’s blueprint for governmental policy in general” (Budziszewski 2006:29). This assumption is ill-advised for the reasons outlined by Budziszewski (2006), “Not everything recorded in Scripture is approved by Scripture, not everything approved in part is approved in full, and not everything approved in full is intended as a model for all time.”

Consequently, “in looking for personal guidance, Evangelicals have often treated the Bible like Aesop’s fables, as a collection of moral tales with parallels for our own lives. A similar approach is evident in the way they apply it to social and political matters” (Myers 1987:25).

According to Redekop (2007), not even that he never involved himself politically, should deter Christians from forming a more helpful theoretic framework of political theology and their participation in the political process. Some, who say Christians should not involve themselves politically, look to Jesus as an example of apolitical involvement. According to Redekop (2007:113, 114), this excuse falls on several grounds: firstly, Jesus had a unique and different mission from many of the contemporary Christians. Secondly, in many areas of life, Jesus and his disciples did not model behaviour for us. For example, Jesus was never a husband or a human grandfather. Thirdly, today’s context is vastly different from Palestine in Jesus’ day. During the time of Jesus, Palestine was a Roman Colony; in contrast, the modern Republic of Zambia is a democracy that encourages the participation of her citizen in the political life of the nation.

How then should Evangelicals approach the Bible within the milieu of public theology in Zambia?

Firstly, Evangelicals must appreciate the fact that, while the Bible is the authority for believers’ rule and conduct, it does not provide the precept for all behaviours and situations in life.

Secondly, Evangelicals should read the Bible to derive principles to govern all aspects of life rather than the view of the Bible as the rule of all aspects of life.

Thirdly, even after they have read and interpreted the Bible, Evangelicals should know that there is plurality in applying the principles of Scripture regarding public theological ideologies. In this regard, what Kirwan (2009) stated is valuable:

Christians who take their faith seriously know that it has political implications – that the gospel calls us to imagine and work for a transformed world. However—here is the anguish – the Bible leaves no blueprint or manifesto for this transformation; only lots of options (some more feasible than others) about what kind of society Christians should be struggling for, and by what means. So perhaps political theology is meant to bridge this gap, between the gospel inspiration and specific political commitments (Kirwan 2009:4).

Fourthly, in using the Bible as the rule of faith and conduct, Evangelicals in Zambia run the risk of claiming that Scripture’s text endorses a system or policy. As demonstrated by Forster (2008:31), “Of all the Christian

political theories that have stood the test of time only those that claim that a given political system or policy is the best way to secure the proper purposes of government, not that the text of the Bible endorses that system or policy” (Forster 2008:31).

## **A Practical Doctrine**

A *practical doctrine*, or a guide to action, explains in broad but practical terms how Christians should conduct themselves in the civic realm. The following theses have been culled from the above case studies. While they are not listed in order of importance, taken overall, we suggest that they, together, provide us with considerable insight into the nature of public theology. “Throughout the history of the Church, followers of Jesus have had difficulty deciding how obedient discipleship should express itself in the realm of politics (Redekop 2007:25).

## **Theological Praxis as Common Good**

Good public theological praxis does not seek to give preference to Christianity but to witness to the values that Christians believe are important for the common good. This is the challenge that Christians will find themselves in as inhabitants of a Christian nation. Specifically, in a nation that declares itself a Christian nation, the Evangelical Church must take it as an opportunity to serve both God and man – both the nation and God. They serve God through their commitment to human development and equality. Service, therefore, is the critical element in helping the Church realise its service. “Public life is not about the imposition of our ideals on others or theirs on us, but about living with other people” (Mathewes 2007:304).

From the Biblical analysis and the analysis of the pre-Christian precedent in Africa, we note that God is Lord over both the sacred and secular. He does not divide himself in two, and neither does he want his people to do that. He is God of soul, spirit, and body. *Yahweh* makes absolute claims about human life. From the Bible, we deduce the critical principle that *Yahweh* is the king of the believing world – the Christian and the king of the non-Christian.

And all such public professions of faith, purportedly secular or patently religious, tend both to particularize and to polarize. Any such profession particularizes because it offers a more determinate picture of the person professing the faith; and it polarizes because it tacitly contrasts the believer with her or his audience. Recognition of this dynamic motivates many

worries about religion in public: perhaps faith is inevitably a fractious force in public life, because it inevitably undercuts the possibility of actual association, expecting too much genuine existential communion, setting the bar too high for others to join in projects with the believer (Mathewes 2007:204–205).

In getting involved in the political arena as members of pressure groups, Christians very soon face the question of whether they should work together with non-Christian pressure groups. They should be cautious (Redekop 2007:153).

Even in a Christian nation, the Church must ensure that it does not appear to be the state. Instead, it must maintain a critical distance from the state. However, this loss of national status should be perceived as a gain, even in Zambia's Christian nation. "Released from the burden of maintaining national identity, the Church can function more authentically as the people of God" (Fergusson 2004:143).

## **Theological Praxis and Public Policy**

Good public theological praxis requires an informed knowledge of public policy and issues, grasping the implications of what is at stake, and subjecting this to sharp analytical evaluation and theological critique. "We need a theology of public engagement, a theology of citizenship – a vision of the relationship between Christians' commitment to their earthly policies and to the kingdom of heaven" (Mathewes 2007:172). Further, "Christians are not chaplains sent to soothe the consciences of unjust rulers. At times Christians should disturb consciences, not calm them. The Christian recalls that Jesus challenged the evil deeds of theocratic authorities in his day and performed many practical deeds of kindness" (Redekop 2007:147).

## **A Theological Praxis of Tension**

The worshipping congregation can neither confine itself to the sphere of private religion nor recognise the autonomy of political existence. It can neither abstain from *via activa* in favour of the contemplative life nor politicise it later (Wannenwetsch 2004:125).

On the contrary, here the expression 'political worship' takes into account the fact that in the proper sense, every public service of worship in which a Christian congregation engages has a specifically political character since it is the assembly of 'Christian citizens', 'fellow citizens with the saints' (Wannenwetsch 2004:7).



## **Theological Praxis as Multi-Disciplinary Reflection**

The following thesis insists that good public theological praxis requires doing theology in a way that is interdisciplinary and uses a methodology in which content and process are intertwined. “More particularly, Christian faith encourages civic engagement, but also recognizes the limits of nationalism and all forms of identity politics, demanding that we distinguish between all the identities, all the faiths that we currently inhabit, and the faith that reaches us that our identity is only eschatologically achieved” (Mathewes 2007:201).

## **Theological Praxis from the Victim’s Perspectives**

Good public theological praxis gives priority to victims and survivors’ perspectives and the restoration of justice, siding with the powerless against the powerful and seeks to speak truth to power drawing its inspiration from the prophetic trajectory in the Bible. In a Christian nation like Zambia, the Church must always model its political response from the heartbroken and the weak perspective. “To be blunt, the Church must not get caught in a narcissistic mimetic rivalry with the secular state, for it has bigger fish to fry; its horizon transcends that of any earthly kingdom, and its agenda must be set on fundamentally different terms” (Mathewes 2007:224).

Good public theological praxis requires a spirituality, which enables a lived experience of God, with people and with creation, fed by a longing for justice, wholeness, and resistance to all that thwarts wellbeing.

## **A Cultural Apologetic**

*A cultural apologetic*, or a guide to persuasion, explains how to make the specific proposals of those who share the other two elements plausible to those who do not.

## **Lack of a Clear Apologetics of the Evangelical Public Policy**

The Evangelical Church’s political theology or public ethic has not only suffered from an underdeveloped theological ethic or a simplistic bridge between the Bible and policy but has also suffered from a lack of clear apologetics of its public response. Suppose the Evangelical Church is to gain any respect within civil society over its public policy. In that case, it must not only polish up its public theology but rather it should be able to defend

its viewpoint Biblically. Several events concerning the Declaration have not helped defend a clear Evangelical apologetic of public life.

When former president Frederick Chiluba made the Declaration, many Christian leaders in the CCZ, the EFZ, and the ZEC were not consulted (Phiri 2008:103). However, some quarters of the Evangelical movement, such as the Northmead Assembly of God, were delighted and did not care about the mode of the Declaration if the rule of God came to Zambia. Later in 1996, Vice-President Brig. Gen. Godfrey Miyanda had to apologise to Church leaders at a meeting over the lack of consultation that preceded the original declaration in 1991 (Gifford 1998:215).

### **An Apologetic of Accommodation and Tolerance**

Africans have never been a theologically homogenous people. As such, just working from this critical element of Africanness, a public theology to work in Zambia must be aimed towards tolerance for other religions and theological hospitality.

The Christian nation of Zambia must therefore be encouraged to be accommodative of other faiths. Zambian Evangelicals within Zambia's political space are called upon to adhere to Zambia's constitution and the Bill of Rights.

### **Political Theology and Postmodernism**

Notwithstanding the challenges brought about by postmodernism, it also presents numerous opportunities for Christianity and the more incredible culture. Postmodernism is an opportunity, firstly, because it has done very well to dethrone the reign of reason as a measure of absolute truth (Dow 2007) while at the same time opening a pluralistic approach to knowing the truth. This opportunity has opened numerous prospects for the development of indigenous thought processes in the interpretation of Christianity.

Consequently, as an African doing theology, we will no longer be vaulted by western thought patterns in our theological reflections, but instead, we can use the African episteme to arrive at God's truth within the commune of African idioms and thought expressions. In fact, this essential trait of postmodernism has contributed immensely to Evangelistic efforts now being undertaken by southern Christians in post-Christian western nations and giving Christianity the favour that it will have in the future (Jenkins 2007:17).

Postmodernism has exposed the past abuses of Scripture that legitimised the growth of abuses perpetrated by the growth of the western

empire in the name of Christendom. In this regard, then, Postmodernism has helped expose modernism's weakness in its use of the Biblical metanarrative for the modernists' "selfish purposes" (MacPhail 2007) of slavery, colonialism, and other vices. Mostly western theologians have abused the Biblical metanarrative to repress many people. In this case, the problem is not with the metanarrative but instead with those that have misinterpreted the Biblical metanarrative using the rigid modernist worldview.

Postmodernism presents an opportunity for continued dialogue on many issues in human life and Christian experience, as it reminds us to abandon the "truth as arrival" mentality (MacPhail 2007). This dialogue is pluralistic and should consider the diversity of various episteme. This is because the heart of postmodernism is "a disbelief that there is one grand or totalising story, that shapes and explains the past as well as the future" (Mitchell 1997).

### **An Apologetic from Gray's (1990) Roles of Religion and the State**

As stated above, Gray (1990) came up with at least three roles for religion in its relationship with the state. These three roles are explained below within the context of how the Evangelical church can relate to the state.

#### *The Evangelical Church Legitimizing the Christian State of Zambia*

Beginning from pre-Christian and pre-colonial times, religion played the role of legitimation. Before the arrival of Christianity in what is today known as Zambia, there was always the need for civic leaders (chiefs in most cases) to depend upon the religious rites for legitimacy purposes. This practise was carried over when the missionaries came to the Zambian shores and when Zambia got its independence.

In a state that has declared itself Christian, the Evangelical Church must maintain some critical distance from the state to not appear to provide the legitimation of the Zambian state. While being faithful to its Scriptural mandate as the Church, Evangelicals can still hold Caesar to account.

#### *The Evangelical Church Providing Checks and Balances*

In terms of checks and balances, the Evangelical Churches should continue to speak to issues that concern society's general welfare, thus providing checks and balances. Critically, the church can tap into the history of

church and state in Zambia and hew out of the church's history lessons in providing checks and balances to the state.

The Evangelical Church can continue to be the civil society of last resort where the state tries to silence the voice of political dissent and other civil society organisations. This is the duty of the Church existing in a nation that has declared itself Christian.

### *The Evangelical Church Supporting Tools for Revolution*

In this regard, the Evangelical Church must be most careful not to appear to be an opposition party to the state. Nevertheless, the Church can still provide the tools and platform for the political players in the nation. Zambia is a Christian nation, but it remains a democratic nation that assures its citizens' free political participation. It is this freedom that the Evangelical Church can exploit for the benefit of the people of Zambia.

## **Conclusion**

A practical framework for the Evangelical Church's involvement in Zambian Church and state relations encompasses several areas (Budziszewski 2006:18–19). Firstly, there must be an orienting doctrine. Secondly, there must be a practical doctrine, and lastly there must be a cultural apologetic.

An orienting doctrine must be anchored in contextuality. It must also be anchored in engaging the state from the margins, even if the Christian religion is deemed to be Zambia's recognised state religion. The next element of the orienting doctrine is tolerance.

A practical doctrine must be able to reduce all the theological doctrine to practicality. Theology must inform praxis and, in this practice, position itself as a template for how the Evangelical church can relate to the Christian state. Tension means that the church lives under constant pressure regarding how it must treat the State, particularly one like the Zambian state, which has declared itself to be Christian.

A cultural apologetic looks at how the Evangelical church can spread its theology and praxis of church and state relationships with those outside its faith community. This can be done through accommodation and being hospitable to others.

The three roles that religion plays in politics include the church legitimising the state, the church providing checks and balances, and the church providing tools for revolution. So far, the Zambian state has looked to the church to provide legitimation. Zambian politicians exploit

Zambia's religious nature by finding ways that the church, including the Evangelical church, can provide religious legitimacy. Specifically, the Evangelical church can move beyond just providing religious legitimacy to the state and providing checks and balances. This is within the understanding that the church is part of civil society. Further, if need be, the church can provide the tools necessary for political revolution. Throughout the history of Church and state relations in Zambia, the churches and Christians have stood up against the state or the ruling parties. The church provided tools for revolution against the abuses of the colonial state. The church trained and prepared the initial independence leaders. During the first and second republics, the church spoke against sporadic abuses by the state, even leading to the re-introduction of plural politics in 1990.

Zambian Evangelicals face a considerable challenge in terms of how they interpret the Bible. A healthier view of the Bible is necessary. This chapter has provided several elements that comprise a perspective of the Bible that would be helpful in a nation that has declared itself Christian. Specific recommendations have been provided above and their summary is provided in the next chapter.



# Conclusion and Summary

This study, entitled, **Church and State Relations in Zambia: an Evangelical perspective**'s main objective was to examine Church and State relations in Zambia from an Evangelical perspective using Osmer's (2008:4) practical theology research method.

## Research Methodology Used

This study's main objective was to *examine Church-State relations in Zambia from an Evangelical perspective* using Osmer's (2008:4) practical theology research method. Osmer's practical theology methodology (2008) asked four questions: *First, 'What is going on?'* Second, *'Why is this going on?'* Third, *'What ought to go on?'* And lastly, *'How might we respond?'*

These questions were answered by reviewing various literature. Essentially, this study was a literature review, analysing both primary and secondary literature that has been written on the subject. Because of all the theological and practical confusion surrounding an appropriate model of how the Evangelical Church ought to respond in a state, like Zambia, that has declared itself a Christian nation, there was the need to examine and ask: ***How might an Evangelical perspective contribute to Church-state relations in Zambia?*** This formed the main question of the study. The following subsidiary questions, which have been derived from Osmer's practical theology methodology (2008:4) assisted in answering the main question:

- 1. What are the Views Regarding Church-State Relations in Zambia?**  
This first question answered Osmer's (2008) first question – *what is going on?*
- 2. Does the history of religion and Church-state relations explain the status quo?**  
This second question answered Osmer's second question – *why is this going on?*
- 3. What is the appropriate Biblical and theological foundation upon which the Zambian Evangelical Church should react to the Declaration?**  
This third question answered Osmer's third question – *what ought to go on?*
- 4. How might the Zambian Evangelical Church, relate to a modern state which has declared itself a Christian?**

This fourth question answered the last of Osmer's (2008) question – *how might we respond?*

As stated above, the methodology used in this study was Osmer's (2008) practical theology method. The study was primarily a qualitative research method via a literature review. The study objective was to examine *Church and state relations in Zambia from an Evangelical perspective*.

## **Objectives, Questions and Summary of Chapter Findings**

### **What are the Views Regarding Church-State Relations in Zambia?**

Chapters two and three answered Osmer's (2008) first question, "what is going on?" (the descriptive-empirical task). The addressed subsidiary question was: *What are the views regarding Church-state relations in Zambia?*

Chapter two presented specific ways in which the Zambian Evangelical Church relates to the Zambian state and how it reacted to the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation.

Undoubtedly, this study's objective was to present the Evangelical Church's reaction to the Declaration. Only after such reactions were presented and evaluated that the flaws in the way the Evangelical church reacted can then be analysed to propose solutions to these Evangelical weaknesses.

Chapter three studied a broader analysis of the theological and ecclesiastical models of Church and state currently available in scholarship. The chapter provided a literature review of Church and state from Church and state relations' ecclesiastical views throughout Church history. Secondly, it discussed various theological models of Church and state, and finally, it explained Fergusson's model of conceptualising Church and state relations in Zambia.

### **Do the History of Religion and Church-State Relations Explain the Status Quo?**

Chapters four, five and six, answered Osmer's second question 'why is this going on?' (also known as the *interpretative task*). The addressed subsidiary question was "*does the history of religion, and Church-state relations explain the status quo?*"



Chapter four situated ATR as the background from which Evangelicals got their perspective of Church and state relations in Zambia. This chapter demonstrated that African Traditional Religions and their worldviews played a role in how the Evangelicals in Zambia understood the relationship between the church and the state. In fact, using Gray's (1990) model of the three roles that religion plays in politics, this chapter explained pre-colonial and pre-Christian relationships of the church and the state. Religions played at least three roles in their relationship with the state – they legitimised the state, they provided checks and balances, and they provided tools for revolution.

Chapter five and six explained the history of Church and state relations in Zambia in continuing to answer the second subsidiary question. The historical perspective of church and state from pre-colonial Zambia to the present yields a pattern of the church legitimising the state, the church providing checks and balances and the church providing the tools for revolution. While this historical analysis focused on the pre-colonial times to the present – the historical analysis was weighted towards the pre-colonial, the Kenneth Kaunda presidency, and the Frederick Chiluba presidency. There is a need for another study that should look into the post-Chiluba presidencies and the church's position and state relations in that era.

Indeed, the history of church and state in Zambia does provide the reason for the status quo in Zambia. Zambian history, from pre-colonial times, has always been open to the role of religion in politics.

A historical sketch has helped this study understand that, given Zambia's pre-colonial religious past and the subsequent role that the Church and Christianity have played in national life, President Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia a Christian nation should not be surprising at all.

A historical sketch has also helped to trace the role that Christianity, and indeed the Bible, has played in the nation. In so doing, it has helped provide a background that culminated in the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. "A historical approach is necessary to the extent that helps foster new stories and new imagination for African political theology" (Katongole 2011:2).

Each historical period discussed in this study was treated in the following manner: firstly, it highlighted specific issues that characterised the Church's attitude to the state, secondly, the state's attitude towards the Church, and thirdly, how the relationships between the two were either harmonised or conflicted.

It is somewhat ironic that Church-state relations in Zambia followed the political atmosphere of the country. The most cordial period in

Church-state relations was also, the most politically stable time in Zambian political history. This necessitates even more reasons why this study delineated specific political dispensations as significant categories to discuss how the Church reacted to the state and vice-versa.

The historical sketch helped clarify many aspects concerning Church and state relations and the declaration. It would present a clear worldview from which the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation emerged. Just as stated by Hoelzl and Ward (2006:19), “however vague the concept of religion and the notion of politics are, the study of the past sheds light on the present”. As such, this study explored how a nation, within just a hundred years after the implanting of Christianity on its shores, came to declare itself as a Christian nation officially.

### **What is the Appropriate Biblical and Theological Foundation Upon Which the Zambian Evangelical Church Should React to the Declaration?**

Chapter seven answered Osmer’s (2008) third question: ‘*what ought to go on?*’ (the normative task). It is the focus of chapter seven, which engages the Biblical resources of how the Zambian Evangelical Church can respond to the state that has declared itself Christian. The subsidiary question addressed in chapter seven was *what is the appropriate Biblical and theological foundation upon which the Zambian Evangelical Church should react to the Declaration?*

The theological models of Church and state were discussed in some depth in Chapter three. However, chapter seven sought to provide a biblical analysis. In so doing, this chapter looked at several passages from the Bible that are relevant to understanding Church and state relations.

A biblical analysis was based on what this study calls an Evangelical hermeneutic. That is an interpretation of the biblical text that is faithful to the Evangelical faith tradition. What ‘ought to go on’ is gleaned from the passages of Scripture and falls within the three roles of religion taken from Gray’s (1990) models – the church legitimising the state, the church providing checks and balances, and the church providing tools for revolution.

In the Old Testament, there appears to be a union between YHWH’s religion – the religion and the state. This is highlighted from the Scriptures covered in this chapter. In the gospels, the very political context in which Jesus is born provides a critical milieu of how the church can relate with the state. The Jewish religion in which Jesus is born is itself a fragmented faith responding to a state that the Roman imperialists dominate. While Jesus famously tells his followers to give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar

and to God what belongs to God, Jesus also teaches resistance to the state if the state tries to usurp what should rightly be God's.

The selected passages of Scripture from the epistles and Revelation also reveal a tension between the church and the state. In some instances, Paul and Peter encourage the church and the believers to obey the state. In other instances, they encourage the church and Christians to assert the political rights of their citizenship. It is this delicate balance that both Peter and Paul encourage the church to make. The Book of Revelation is quite different from the Epistles in that the state appears to be something to be judged and challenged.

### **How Might the Zambian Evangelical Church Relate to a Modern State Which has Declared Itself Christian?**

Chapter eight answered Osmer's (2008) fourth question: 'how can we respond?' This task is also known as the "pragmatic response". The subsidiary question addressed in chapter eight was: ***how might the Zambian Evangelical Church relate to the state which has declared itself Christian?***

Chapter eight provided a framework arising from this study. The framework involved the church coming up with an orienting doctrine, a practical doctrine, and a cultural apologetic.

### **A Recap of Findings**

***This study has found that the Eurocentric models of studying Church and state relationship models in Zambia are inadequate.*** While those models are a beginning point and are necessary to understand Zambian Church and state relationships, those models cannot be dispositive of church and state relations in Zambia. This then necessitated a search for new models that should incorporate African Traditional Religions.

However, the search for an authentically African theological reflection cannot and should not ignore the immense contribution of Western thought and classical ideology. Indeed, any attempt at fishing out a truly African approach should not ignore the historical models of those that have gone before us.

***Church and state relations in Zambia have been inspired by both ATR worldviews and Evangelical theology for Evangelicals.*** Evangelicals remain an influential section in Zambian politics. However, Evangelicals themselves have been influenced heavily by ATR.

***The Zambian state's fascination with religion and Christianity has been progressive.*** It started with a general acceptance of Christianity as the state's de-

facto official religion under the Kenneth Kaunda presidency. However, it has since developed from a de-facto place to having Christianity become a constitutionally declared religion of the Zambian state. Further, what started as a personal Declaration of former president Chiluba has now morphed into a fully constitutionalised Declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation.

The understanding of Christianity as providing relief against suffering and evil had significant political consequences for both the missionaries and their converts. Christianity, therefore, ceased to be a religion to take care of the soul after death but came to be understood as a powerful tool to alleviate pain and suffering in the now. This mindset, among many others, spurred Zambia's nationalism leaders, who mostly were Christians, on.

***Christianity has always been part and parcel of the mainstream of Zambian society from the pre-independence period.*** Nearly all the founding fathers of modern Zambia claimed to be Christian. They sought to rule the newly found republic based on Christian principles. Even if Kaunda later embraced Eastern Mysticism, he still claimed to be Christian. However, this conversion to mysticism was one of several reasons why the people of Zambia voted Kaunda out of office in 1991. When Frederick Chiluba became president, he rose partly because of the support he overwhelmingly received from Zambian Christians. Through his Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, he took Church-state relations to another level.

***There is no one identical way in which the Zambian or the African Church has reacted to the state or any political entity.*** Therefore, what is needed to be appreciated is the fact that Church-state relations or religion and state relations should be understood as not comprising one ideal way but rather as a three-pronged fork. This three-pronged approach is much more consistent with the role that religion has played in Zambian traditional society long before the coming of the missionaries: religion legitimating the state, and then providing checks and balances and, at other times we see religion providing the tools for rebellion against authority or the state (Gray 1990).

*The Zambian State has Historically Developed into a Confessionalist State.*

Confessionalism implies:

1. Firstly, that it should translate into the nation living out its Christian heritage, for such a declaration achieves nothing if the principles of Christianity do not govern society.
2. Secondly, that Zambian society should continue to be a tolerant nation towards other faiths, declaring itself Christian while at the same time retaining the freedom of conscience.

3. Thirdly, that the challenge remains since people can misunderstand the declaration and become intolerant.

***This study has shown that the Zambian Evangelical Churches' reaction to the Christian nation Declaration was theologically and practically inadequate.*** In view of the above, the Evangelical Church needs an orienting doctrine to direct its future relationship to the state.

Budziszewski (2006:15) expresses the opinion of many Evangelical theologians when he observes that “although Evangelicals have long played a part in the public square, they have never developed a clear, cohesive and Christian view of what politics is all about.” To this, Mathewes (2007:2002) adds that:

Evangelical Christians seem haphazard in their civic engagement and have not yet developed a social gospel of their own; limited by their lack of a rich ecclesial and social imagination; they often end up with remarkably imbalanced and partial accounts of religious civic engagement, when they are engaged religiously at all.

Such a situation has several implications for the Evangelical Church. But since Zambia claims to be a Christian nation, it is essential that Evangelicals get engaged in civic matters and develop a social gospel that directs their response to Church-state relations in Zambia. While Evangelicals around the world and across history, from Kuyperian Calvinists to American neo-Evangelicals, to Zambian Pentecostals, have sometimes urged states to formally acknowledge God's sovereignty through various legal instruments and civic rituals, their convictions and denominational diversity have almost always prevented them pressing for any particular form of Church establishment or any restrictions on the religious freedom of non-Evangelicals (Shah 2009:137).

Van Der Veen (2004:236) noted the form that Christianity has taken in Zambia owed so much to local influences that its spread should be seen as an authentically African development rather than as a foreign religious invasion. This assessment is critical as it helps forestall some criticism later in Zambia's history in which some detractors of Zambia's affinity for Christianity claim that Christianity is just like any other foreign religion imposed on the Zambian people.

On the contrary, Africans' involvement in the spread of the gospel demonstrates that Christianity had become indigenised. In the words of Oladipo (2003:326), Christianity had become, for Africans, one of their traditional religions.

The Evangelical Church's response to the state that has declared itself Christian is compatible with Gray's (1990) model. The Church legitimises the state, the Church supports the status quo, and the Church provides the tools and language for revolution. Christianity was used first, by the missionaries themselves and secondly, by their converts as a way of legitimating political and temporal power.

Both the missionaries and the converts used Christianity as a tool to provide checks and balances on political power. This became even more so in the Colonial Era, and in the post-colonial era as well. In the same way, Christianity was used as a tool to justify political opposition and rebellion against the status quo.

The role of political and religious leaders created a mind-set in many Zambian Christians that encouraged a level of paternalism that gave an almost equal amount of authority to political as well as religious leaders to interfere with the other's area of specialisation freely. As such, religion was not only going to be controlled by the religious people, but the political leaders would have some say in religion as well. On the other hand, religious leaders also developed a great deal of legitimacy in dealing with political matters.

In Zambia, the Evangelical Church bears a particular responsibility to respond to a civil government that has declared itself to be Christian. This study has outlined how the Evangelical Church can respond to such a state.

A historical review of the relationship between Church and state in Zambia yields a clear proposition that the Church and Christianity have played a critical role in the nation's life. Understood within the ambit of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, the Declaration itself does have clear historical precedence within Zambia's religious and political past.

## **Recommendations for Further Study**

This study focused on Evangelical theology and church and state relations in a nation that has declared itself Christian. It focused on the history of church and state relations in Zambia. It has not studied the eras of the Presidents after Frederick Chiluba. A better picture of this area of study can be more apparent once the later era is studied. As this study has shown, current President Edgar Lungu has introduced some very deliberate policies aimed at preserving the Christian nation status. But he has also gone further by declaring a day of prayer and fasting as a national holiday every October as well as plans for building a national cathedral.

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**Dr. Elias Munshya**, High Commissioner for Zambia to Australia and New Zealand, brings a wealth of experience and a diverse academic background to his role. With qualifications in law, theology, business, and clinical counselling from Africa, North America, and Europe, he offers a rich multidisciplinary perspective. A qualified lawyer and ordained preacher, Dr. Munshya’s global journey has shaped his commitment to Zambia. In Canberra, he focuses on fostering strong connections between Zambia and the international community, emphasizing diplomacy, business, and relationships within the Zambian diaspora. Dr. Munshya advocates for open dialogue and collaboration to strengthen ties between Zambia, Australia, and New Zealand.



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