

Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change
Series II African Philosophical Studies, Volume 17
General Editor
George F. McLean

Philosophy in African Traditions and Cultures

Zimbabwean Philosophical Studies, II

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The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy

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Cardinal Station
Washington, D.C. 20064

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Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication

Philosophy in African traditions and cultures : Zimbabwean philosophical studies, II / edited by: Fainos Mangena, Tarisayi Andrea Chimuka, Francis Mabiri. -- First edition.

1. Philosophy, African--20th century. 2. Philosophy, African--21st century. I. Mangena, Fainos.

B5320.P45 2014
199'.6891--dc23

2014036575
CIP

ISBN 978-1-56518-299-8 (pbk.)

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INTRODUCTION

**PHILOSOPHY IN
AFRICAN TRADITIONS AND CULTURES**

FAINOS MANGENA, TARISAYI A CHIMUKA AND FRANCIS MABIRI

Most of the chapters in this volume were intensively discussed by an international team at the University of Zimbabwe. The chapters cover three broad areas of philosophical interest, namely: Culture, Tradition and Development and/or progress. In total the volume has ten papers all written by Zimbabwean Philosophers and others with a philosophical inclination.

The first section of this volume has chapters on *Ecology, Culture and Tradition* especially as these relate to Africa. One important contribution in the first section of this volume is from *John Douglas McClymont* who looks at the interplay between Tradition and Objectivity. McClymont contends that the traditional idea of progress suggests a forward movement, a form of elevation from a lower standard of living to a higher one. McClymont chides that this view is unwarranted, for progress can actually run backwards as seems to be the case with contemporary Africa. McClymont, cautions that the idea of progress in Africa must not be propped up by cultural thinking; rather it must be ascertained through critical thinking. He sees cultural thinking as fostering a blind appropriation of tradition, and since there are many competing traditions this leads to a relativism. By contrast, critical thinking stands aloof and takes an objective view of issues. This scientific attitude, for McClymont, is required in the interrogation of tradition and progress; in brief, it is the quest for objectivity. In the final analysis, McClymont criticizes cultural relativity opting for objectivity, because the former, with its emphasis on plurality of perspectives, leads to confusion. Thus cultural relativity, for McClymont, does not augur well for the idea of progress understood as maturation of knowledge beyond cultural thinking.

In her conceptualization of tradition and progress, *Kudzai Biri* proffers a Christian dimension as she reflects on the role of Christianity and Tradition in explaining the discourses of feminism and empowerment in the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (ZAOGA) Church. Biri argues that patriarchal configurations of African traditions are largely responsible for the oppression and marginalization of women, thereby constricting their social spaces.

Biri argues that the masculine conceptions that are found in the bible and in Shona traditions are oppressive to women and tend to promote gender-based violence. This affects the safe spaces for women and gives the undue position of dominance to men. She reviews the teachings of Ezekiel and Eunor Guti in order to demonstrate her thesis. For Biri, both the Church and tradition are used by Ezekiel and Eunor Guti (Leaders and co-founders of ZAOGA) to justify the oppression of women folk by irresponsible husbands. By the same token, Biri argues that women's choices are curtailed including the right to question. In addition, their contributions in the home and at church are sidelined and this kind of thinking, for Biri, stifles progress.

To conclude the first section of this volume, a chapter from *Nisbert Taringa* and *Fainos Mangena* explores the link between Shona Religion and Ecological Ethics in the context of the Land Reform Program in Zimbabwe. Here Taringa and Mangena bring the issue of religion, land reform and ecology into focus. The authors examine the Shona religious tradition before and after the Land Reform Program. They try to show how the land and its resources have always been handled by traditional leaders as well as by the liberation fighters in history and they contend that respect for the environment has always been very high. Taringa and Mangena argue that during the liberation war for instance, some animals were regarded as sentinels. Thus, if animals were considered as comrades in the struggle, it follows that they were not killed. That way the liberation fighters were able to preserve the animal species.

Taringa and Mangena bemoan the sad developments brought about by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) which, to them, paid no respect to the environment, with the net result being the possibility of an ecological disaster. Taringa and Mangena argue that there is need to be sensitive when approaching environmental issues. To this end, the authors suggest a Shona ecological ethic incorporating a spiritual attachment to the land (and other resources) as paradigmatic. This Shona ecological ethic is hinged on the Shona people's strong beliefs in the unity of beings, the sacredness of the land, reverence of life and responsibility towards nature.

The second section of this volume has chapters that fall under the theme: *Ethics, Poverty and Crisis in Africa*. At face value these chapters appear unrelated and yet they all have one common characteristic: they address the concerns of opposing socio-political binaries in the society. These socio-political binaries are represented by specific socio-political players or agents. The tension between these opposing socio-political players impinges on the envisaged socio-economic progress in Zimbabwe, hence the need to have ethical principles to address these issues in order to bring about harmony and equality in society.

To open the discussion in this section is a chapter from Fainos Mangena entitled: *Moral Anchors of National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration in Post-conflict Zimbabwe*. In this chapter, Mangena identifies and critiques the underlying values and principles in Zimbabwe's national effort to heal, reconcile and integrate its society after the civil strife spanning the years 1999 to 2009. 1999 marked the inception of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) as an opposition political party challenging the revolutionary party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU-PF). The two political parties, which were diametrically opposed to each other ideologically became not only political adversaries, but also engaged in violence which resulted in the polarization of society and, therefore, divisions among Zimbabweans, hence the justified call for national healing, reconciliation and integration.

Mangena challenges the role of the Church in its attempt to bring together the opposing forces in the Zimbabwean society as he advocates openness and inclusivity that take into account religious and cultural pluralism. Here Mangena is worried by the fact that the Church wants to go it alone in this process of national healing, reconciliation and integration. He summarizes the submission of the Church in some of the major regions of Zimbabwe, namely: Mutare, Masvingo, Gweru and Bulawayo.

Mangena proposes *hunhu* or *ubuntu* principles as moral anchors that can be used to achieve the desired national healing, reconciliation and integration. He presents *hunhu* or *ubuntu* as the authentic and genuine Zimbabwean (if not African) moral basis for living together and doing well in society. The Christian churches can borrow *hunhu* or *ubuntu* principles such as unity-in-diversity to help bring about national healing, reconciliation and integration.

Mangena also reflects on issues of inclusivity as practiced in *hunhu* or *ubuntu* in regard to the search for consensus. For him inclusivity and consensus are pillars of democracy. Inclusivity calls not only for tolerance of 'neighbours' but also for acceptance and meaningful participation of all citizens in the affairs of society. *Hunhu* or *ubuntu* principles can engender a sense of belonging that can only enhance harmony in society according to Mangena.

Another important contribution in the second section of this volume is a chapter from *Isaiah Munyiswa* who introduces and discusses the discourse of racial harmony focusing on two countries in Southern Africa, namely; Zimbabwe and South Africa. Munyiswa defines reconciliation as the re-engagement and coming together of a people once in harmony but separated by strife (whether civil war or political violence). He contends that only people previously living in harmony but intermittently separated by strife can be said to need reconciliation.

The social groups perceived to be opposed to each other in both South Africa and Zimbabwe – blacks and whites – must have lived in harmony before in order for them to want to reconcile after Zimbabwe's protracted liberation struggle and South Africa's pernicious apartheid era respectively.

Munyiswa maintains that the concept and practice of reconciliation can assume a fuller meaning in both South Africa and Zimbabwe if social strife is the intermittent break in relations between blacks and whites. The enunciation of the policy of reconciliation by the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, at independence in 1980 and the efforts of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) after the attainment of freedom and majority rule in 1994 were meant to bring people together regardless of race, colour and creed and to forget the evils of the past. Munyiswa further suggests that bloody conflicts elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa may have been caused by tribal, ethnic and religious factors apart from colonialism and racial tensions and prejudices between blacks and whites. In this regard, Munyiswa gives examples of strife in Nigeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Ivory Coast.

Munyiswa goes on to posit social justice as the hallmark of racial harmony. For him, the embrace and practice of social justice brings about peaceful co-existence and development. He believes that reconciliation is conceptually and practically incapable of mending relations between blacks and whites in South and Zimbabwe because it falls short in its attempt to address issues of social justice and tends to leave some aspects of social life untouched in terms of race relations. It is Munyiswa's contention that blacks have never totally accepted white settlers as their fellows in as much as whites have tended to look down upon blacks and seem to regard them as an inferior race. He thus proposes the notion and practice of citizenship to build a wholesome and racially harmonious society.

For Munyiswa citizenship engenders and entails free association and equality in society whereby social rewards and burdens are equally distributed and evenly shared. Accordingly, there is need for citizenship education, a deliberate effort to make members of society aware of who is a citizen in terms of common identity, meaningful participation in societal endeavours by all races and sharing of rewards and burdens in matters of the state and nation-building.

For Munyiswa, a sound sense of belonging and a sense of citizenship engender racial integration that should result in racial harmony. There is a need for citizenship education; this must include such facets of life as national identity and patriotism that, in themselves, presuppose common interests, rights, beliefs and directional efforts by way of economic and other projects. For Munyiswa, it was this

communality between blacks and whites in Zimbabwe that was missing at the inception of the policy of reconciliation in 1980.

Munyiswa further contends that the South African scenario was different from that of Zimbabwe in that the South African society needed to rid itself of entrenched racial barriers and also quell hostilities between and among the different races. He thinks that a high degree of interest and involvement in public affairs helps in finding some common ground for the races in South Africa to actually integrate and move forward. From the interest and involvement in public affairs is derived actual participation and belonging as a citizen.

In their chapter entitled: *Poverty and Hunger in Zimbabwe in the Light of Jesus' parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus*, Nyasha Madzokere and Francis Machingura introduces and discusses the concepts of poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe; by drawing inspiration from the Biblical story of the Rich Man and Lazarus as found in Luke 16 verses 19-31 and note parallels between this story and the situation in Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2008. They focus exclusively on Goal 1 of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that reads: 'Eradicating Extreme Poverty and Hunger.' This chapter analyzes issues of poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe in the light of the parable and the new economic landscape ushered in by the use especially of the United States dollar as legal tender. Machingura and Madzokere contend that the new circumstances have deepened the gap between the haves and the have-nots as is depicted in the relationship between the rich man and Lazarus.

The chapter begins by listing the eight Millennium Development Goals and then focuses on the Zimbabwean scenario with regard to poverty and hunger. It touches on the unemployment situation as an attendant and compounding problem to the incessant poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe. In light of all this, Machingura and Madzokere question whether or not any of the Millennium Development Goals can be achieved considering that there is rampant corruption in Zimbabwe generally and insincerity on the part of government in particular when it comes to the execution of poverty alleviating socio-economic programmes. They liken the insincerity and lack of care of the Government of Zimbabwe to the rich man's disregard of the plight of Lazarus in the parable. They further contend that serious development cannot take place in circumstances of poverty and hunger in which survival is the major pre-occupation.

In this chapter, Machingura and Madzokere are disappointed by the decimation of the economic jewel that is Zimbabwe by corruption and the economic crunch of 2008. Their analysis of poverty in urban settings and the situation in rural areas concludes that rural folks are worse off than people in towns and cities. They then suggest that the

embrace and practice of *hunhu* or *ubuntu*, a human-centred philosophy, may help in the restoration of the human dignity ravaged by poverty and hunger.

Machingura and Madzokere advocate a social ‘caring and sharing’ mechanism as taught by *hunhu* or *ubuntu* as Zimbabwe attempts to distribute and utilize its abundant resources more fairly. According to them, this will engender meaningful development; the MDGs are achievable as long as they are diligently planned for and execution for their realization is sincerely carried out.

In the third and last section of this volume, there are four chapters covered under the theme: *Ethics in Zimbabwe’s War of Liberation and the Development Paradigm*. We begin this section by a tantalizing contribution from Tarisayi A Chimuka entitled: *Witches, Sellouts in Zimbabwe’s War of Liberation*. In this contribution, Chimuka postulates that while the terms ‘witches’ and ‘sellouts’ denote vice, the terms were more often used in Zimbabwe’s Liberation war and even after to condemn innocent people to death. In this chapter, Chimuka investigates the historical basis for the victimization of witches and sellouts in Zimbabwe. In the process he seeks to establish whether this is part of a tradition that can be passed to future generations without causing serious problems.

Chimuka also shows how, in the absence of a clear and transparent method of weeding out witches and sellouts, framing can be used to victimize innocent people and the moral implications of this practice. He quotes Gordon Chavunduka (1980: 142) who proffers some of the methods used to flush out witches and sellouts such as the boiling water test, divination and/or the throwing of bones were not full-proof. Having discussed these methods in satisfactory details, Chimuka explores the twin practices of witching and selling out during Zimbabwe’s war of liberation and how these twin concepts are again used in post-independence Zimbabwe, especially during the era of the *Third Chimurenga*, to victimize those who support opposition politics (Muzondidya, 2007: 325).

Chimuka’s important contribution is followed by an emotive and thought provoking piece from Molly Manyonganise entitled: *Women in Zimbabwe’s War of ‘Liberation’: An Ethical Appraisal of the Sexual Conduct of Male Guerrillas*. In this contribution, Manyonganise renews memories of the liberation struggle when she looks at issues of right and wrong especially as they affected women during Zimbabwe’s war of Liberation and beyond. Manyonganise makes the important point that while men celebrated gaining independence in 1980, most women especially those who had participated in Zimbabwe’s war of liberation as liberation fighters saw nothing to celebrate as they had suffered

emotional stress due to the sexual abuse they had endured in the hands of their male counterparts.

Monyanganise laments the reality that more than three decades after independence the government of Zimbabwe has not bothered to find out how victims of sexual abuse during the liberation war feel and what should be done to address these injustices of yesteryear. Manyonganise thinks that if justice is to be attained, then the sexual conduct of the male freedom fighters needs to be judged against the liberation war's code of ethics as dramatized in the song *kune nzira dzemasoja* as well as the consequences of their sexual abuse on the female victims.

To buttress the foregoing, Monyanganise makes use of both Shona and Ndebele novels which have captured some of the sexual abuses that women had to endure during Zimbabwe's war of liberation. To justify her use of these novels, Monyanganise quotes Ngwabi Bhebe and Terrence Ranger (1995: 3) who argue that "guerrilla experience has come to us through fiction rather than through history and autobiography." In this case, literary texts are critical as we try to reconstruct the history of Zimbabwe's liberation war with a special focus on women's sexual experiences.

The contribution from Francis Mabiri and Isaiah Munyiswa entitled: *Re-thinking the 'Right to Development' in Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa* is another masterpiece in the third section of this volume. Mabiri and Munyiswa problematize the concept of 'right to development' as applied to Africa. The authors make two important claims with regard to Africa's 'right to development,' one that calls for the injection of development aid in order to develop and the need to give Africa some form of autonomy so that it can develop on its own.

Mabiri and Munyiswa anchor these claims on what they call the total African experience. The argument is that Africa experienced colonialism, both direct and indirect, which means that they no longer trust the sincerity of Western countries who themselves are former colonizers. Mabiri and Munyiswa reject the notion of 'right to development' that is tied to development aid as they think that this promotes neo-colonialism and negative development as promoted by multinational and international corporations that continue to siphon off Africa's raw materials.

Mabiri and Munyiswa argue that Africa needs introspection in order to seek ways in which it can be self-reliant. Mabiri and Munyiswa use Amartya Sen's approach to development: they hold that there is need for Africa to define and outline a development framework that is owned and subscribed to by African governments collectively in solidarity with a fair degree of awareness of the same by the generality of the people (Simon, 1980: 23).

The third section of this volume closes with a piece from *Josephine Muganiwa and Fainos Mangena* whose chapter is entitled: *The Development Paradigm in Three Zimbabwean Literary Texts: A Philosophical Analysis*. In this chapter, Muganiwa and Mangena problematize the concept of development using both literary and philosophical frameworks. With literary insights from Petina Gappah's *In the Heart of the Golden Triangle*, Sekai Nzenza's *The Donors' Visit* and Reason Kufonya's *Gweja Nyumwawo*, Muganiwa and Mangena are able to marshal a strong philosophical argument in favour of an Afro-centric development paradigm.

Muganiwa and Mangena argue that Euro-centered notions of development as found in Gappah's *In The Heart of the Golden Triangle* do not sit well with African notions of development which are culture centered and are premised on the idea of *hunhu* or *ubuntu*. Thus, the story of the husband and the 'small house' that lavish themselves at the expense of the poor masses in this literary prose text shows that some Africans have failed to appreciate the value of culture when defining the concept of development. Instead, they seem to be attracted to Western forms of development which are far removed from their context, values and traditions.

The same mentality is found in Nzenza's *The Donors' Visit* where a certain character by the name Chiyevo sacrifices her traditional values of sexual abstinence before marriage because she is attracted to the Western notions of development where one can engage in pre-marital sex in exchange for food. The introduction of the condom complicates matters as Chiyevo feels that she is protected from contracting sexually transmitted diseases and can therefore have sex and donor supplies concurrently. This infuriates her mother and grandmother who feel that there is value in respecting traditional customs and values. There is a clash of perceptions as Chiyevo is more attracted to Western notions of development while her mother and grandmother want her to be a true African woman. Muganiwa and Mangena challenge this Hegelian and Bentleyan mentality by arguing for an Afro-centric development paradigm which sits well with Africa culture, values and traditions.

In *Gweja Nyumwawo*, Muganiwa and Mangena challenge notions of development that celebrate consumerism at the national level. The setting is Chiadzwa diamond fields in Marange. Muganiwa and Mangena think that the mentality of consumerism disrespects values of hard work and education which are the pillars of development in any progressive society. Immoralities are celebrated in the name of survival and people have utter disregard for the values of *hunhu* or *ubuntu* which give them identity and belonging as Zimbabweans. Muganiwa and Mangena call for a return to these values if Zimbabwe is to develop in the truest sense of the word.

PART I

ECOLOGY, CULTURE AND TRADITION

CHAPTER I

TRADITION AND OBJECTIVITY

JOHN D. MCCLYMONT

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, which deals with the meaning of tradition and progress for Africa, I shall start with an oxymoron. I shall describe what may be called the traditional idea of progress. This traditional idea of progress is encapsulated in the image of a grandfather and a grandson. The grandfather is telling his grandson what it was like when he was a child. "When I was a child," says grandfather, "we had no airplanes, no computers; we lived on a farm," and so on. A basic point of the image is that the march of progress is forward; we start with a lower standard of living, and move on to a higher standard. This march cannot be reversed; it is the law of evolution. It is the way the universe is built. The grandson is always more advanced than the grandfather.

But if I had children today, I would, being Zimbabwean, have a different tale to tell. "When I was a child," I would say, "Harare used to have real drive-in movie theatres, the Marbelreign and the Nite Star drive-ins. There were also four movie theatres in town with KINE in their names, the KINE 100, the KINE 200 and so on. Moreover, we used to have electricity most of the time, even without a generator, and if there were power cuts it was something unusual. We also used to have more roads without potholes," and so forth. In other words, the story would be in some ways a reverse of the traditional image of progress. The elder's culture would be in some ways better than that of the child.

What this shows is that there is nothing inevitably 'upward' about progress. The later ways are not necessarily an advance on the earlier ways. It is possible for the march of progress to run backwards, especially in Africa. In C.S. Lewis' (1980: 49) novel *Voyage of the Dawn Treader* the King of Narnia is asked, "Have you no idea of progress, of development?" He answers, "I have seen them both in an egg. We call it 'Going Bad' in Narnia."

So it is possible for societies in some respects to get worse as time goes on. In the sphere of knowledge, it is possible for later ideas to be worse than earlier ones. Yet when a contemporary academic talks about "progressive" ideas, two things are implied. Firstly, the idea in question is a better one. Secondly, it is more recent and thus, the idea that "later" is "better," a "traditional" idea of progress, seems to be in operation here. This is an idea I intend to criticize in this paper. This is because, in

the area of philosophy, we are in a situation where some of the latest ideas are in fact far from being the best ideas. If we treat certain of the latest ideas as progressive and better, we will end up in Zimbabwe with a situation where progress in the sense of genuine improvement in knowledge becomes sabotaged.

CULTURAL AND CRITICAL THINKING

I shall first explain what I believe to be important ways in which knowledge is obtained. There are two stages through which much human knowledge goes, which I give the names of cultural thinking and critical thinking.¹

When we are young children, we normally just accept what we are told by our parents and teachers. It is our culture; it is part of the air we breathe. We swallow it whole rather than reasoning it all out. We have no alternative at a young age; we are not in a position to question things or reason them out for ourselves. This is what is called cultural thinking. It is present in children and also in adults who accept myths, who believe everything they read in the newspaper, who trust the experts without question, and who accept a religious tradition on the authority of their parents without rational questioning.

But when one grows up one may start questioning what one has received. One may try to rationally inquire into things, question contradictory beliefs, or look for certain foundations in experience and reason rather than in unquestioned acceptance of one's culture. This sort of thinking – critical thinking – lies at the heart of scientific and philosophical inquiry. It is a mode of thinking for adults rather than children.

The distinction between cultural thinking and critical thinking is similar to some extent to Dorothy Rowe's distinction between Category One and Category Two reasons (1991: 33, 35). It also is reminiscent of Anthony Robbins' (1997: 256-257) distinction between having an external and internal frame of reference, in the sense that the frame of reference for cultural thinking is usually external, while that for critical thinking has an internal element, in so far as one thinks for oneself – although external data may form the basis for reflecting and reasoning.

Cultural and critical thinking are not either/or matters. If you as an adult have never studied Shona grammar formally but still speak the language correctly, you are using the fruits of cultural thinking, dating

¹ The distinction of cultural and critical thinking may owe something to Horton's (1995) discussion of African traditional thought and Western science. Some African traditional thought is an example of the former, and some Western science, of the latter.

back to your childhood when you first learned your language. If you as a child saw a butterfly for yourself, as opposed to just being told about butterflies, you have an experiential foundation on which critical thinking can be based. Human thought uses both. But there are problems if one attempts to use only cultural thinking when critical thinking is called for.

EDUCATION AND MODES OF THOUGHT

The contrast between cultural and critical thinking mirrors what the educationist John Holt (1964: 94-95) referred to as answer-centered and problem-centered thinking. According to him, less successful students use answer-oriented thinking. They assume that when they are given a math problem, then somewhere out there in Answerland there is an Answer and they have to find it. They may try to get the Answer out of the teacher, or they may use formulae or recipes uncritically in order to get the Answer. In the latter instance they do not understand really what they are doing, but are just blindly following procedures given by the teacher that they may not have understood correctly. What matters is to get an answer, ideally The Answer, but failing that, some answer, any answer (Holt, 1964: 58).

By contrast, the problem-centered student tries to see the problem whole in his mind and think out the problem, and in so doing he or she is able to see what is needed and to solve the problem intelligently (ibid. 94-95). A problem-centered strategy is on the whole more successful than an answer-centered strategy.

This educational example shows that in an educational context answer-centered thinking, which is usually cultural thinking, is, generally speaking, less effective than problem-centered thinking, which is usually critical thinking. Yet Holt (1964: 94) indicates that even adults can resort to answer-centered thinking when they are under pressure. Answer-centered thinking, it should be noted, does not merely believe that questions have answers. It is rather trying to get the answer in an uncritical fashion, without thinking through the problem critically.

In a broader context, how might one resort to answer-oriented thinking? One way is to uncritically trust the media. Another way is, in an uncritical fashion, to always follow the most recent fashion in thought, what all the “respectable” scholars or “progressive” scholars are saying. Do not think the issue out for yourself; just follow what the experts or the latest authors are saying. They have been to Answerland.

This is not always wrong. Sometimes the experts have been to Answerland. For instance, a scientist who has been carrying out tests on a drug in the laboratory may be trusted to have discovered some valid scientific findings concerning that drug. We do not have to go to the

laboratory ourselves before we believe him. We can, so to speak, be children in the area of pharmacology and leave the grown-up thinking to the scientist. But it is not healthy for adults to be children in all areas of life. Particularly, in areas where we seek to be specialists ourselves, we should aim at adult-type thinking or critical thinking.

AUTHORITY, TRADITION AND RELIGION

When it comes to any point of view that is based on tradition, especially a religious point of view, the difference between cultural and critical thinking becomes crucial. It is a normal thing to accept religious and other beliefs in a traditional fashion, uncritically, as part of our culture and the air we breathe. This would be an obvious instance of cultural thinking. Some people talk as if this is the only way one would get religious beliefs – uncritically imbibing them from others. This idea of religious beliefs may underlie the ideas of those who talk of belief as contrary to reason (see D’Souza, 2007: 196). Richard Dawkins’ idea of religious belief as a “meme” that spreads from person to person like a virus (Aikman, 2008: 74-75) seems to imply the idea that religious belief is imparted uncritically, by something like what we would call cultural thinking.

But it is possible to assimilate tradition in a rational fashion, not only by finding reasons for individual traditionally held beliefs, but also by means of a rational defense of authority. Often authority is accepted in an uncritical fashion: a belief is in the air, and we believe it. But it is possible to defend an authority-based belief in a more syllogistic fashion:

If 1) what a person says corresponds to what is in his mind
And 2) what is in the person’s mind corresponds to reality,
Then 3) what the person says corresponds to reality.
But 4) what this person says corresponds to what is in his mind
And 5) what is in this person’s mind corresponds to reality
Therefore 6) what this person says corresponds to reality.

Steps 1-3 are intuitively obvious, and in many instances Steps 4 and 5 can be defended as probable for given sources of information, leading to the conclusion that 6 may be reasonably believed. Step 4 is a matter of how veracious a person is, whether he or she is likely to be lying or telling the truth. Step 5 is a question of how well informed a person is, or whether he or she is likely to be in error. The steps may be expressed in shorthand form, reducing the above syllogism to an enthymeme by saying “If the source is neither deceiving nor deceived, then what it says is true.” Thus authority, even religious authority, may

be rationally defended if we can provide rational evidence that the source was not lying and was not mistaken. Christians defending the idea of the resurrection of Christ rationally appeal to the considerations that the witnesses of Christ's resurrection appearances were neither deceiving nor deceived (Tanquerey 1956: 73).

ANCESTRAL AUTHORITY AND JUSTIFICATION

In African tradition the role of the authority of ancestors is paramount (Mbiti, 1989: 202). Yet if a belief handed down by African tradition is rational, how would one defend it? To defend it as simply part of one's culture is a child-like form of reasoning and this is what we mean by "cultural thinking." If we are to defend it more critically, we might appeal to objective rational considerations, saying that the belief has a basis in experience and reason. Yet if the belief is accepted not on the grounds of intrinsic rational evidence but on the grounds of ancestral authority, how can acceptance of this authority in relation to a particular claim be reasonably justified? If we use the authority-syllogism just given, we would have to establish, firstly, that the ancestors were not lying to us, and secondly, that the ancestors knew what they were talking about, or were in a position to know first-hand of the things they spoke about. The competence of the ancestors' direct knowledge and their veracity is a necessity if belief in their authority on a particular point is to be trusted without corroboration. So, were the ancestors deceivers, or were they deceived, or were they speaking the truth?

That the ancestors did not intend to deceive future generations is something an African might reasonably presume on the basis of "innocent until proven guilty".

So we proceed to the question of whether the ancestors were deceived. Ancestral authority may be invoked for various customs and beliefs. But did the ancestors know what they were talking about? Could they have been sincerely deceived? The impact of Western technology and science has imperiled the security of African tradition in this area. Can one believe simultaneously in scientific medicine and traditional medicine? Some traditional medicine may have a physical effect, but can we safely accept all of it, or does science justify the questioning of at least some aspects of traditional medicine (cf. Roder 1991: 292)? Can a scientist believe in the spirits called *mashavi* or *ngozi* (Thorpe 1991: 57)? If we reply that there are more things in heaven and on earth than are dreamt of in science (cf. Shakespeare (s.a.: 1136), *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene V), then the argument turns to the competence of religious authorities. Is it possible that Jesus, viewed by Christians as the only Son of God, may have known better than the ancestors what sort of spirits really existed? If so, what do we make of the fact that Jesus mentioned

neither *mashavi* – spirits who have not yet been purified and who can influence us who are still living, nor *ngozi* – spirits of restorative justice? Both Western science and some understandings of religion have imperiled belief that the ancestors knew what they were talking about.

But the final area of questioning raised for us by the topic of ancestral authority is this: who are the ancestors? It is sobering to reflect that in relation to future generations, we contemporary Africans are the ancestors. Children will be relying on our authority for values and beliefs, or will be questioning that authority. This places a serious responsibility on contemporary Africans: firstly, not to lie; secondly, to know what we are talking about. If these conditions are fulfilled, future generations can trust their ancestors of the twenty-first century and if they are not, then future generations who trust in us as ‘ancestors’ will be relying on ignorant or fraudulent authorities. Maturity in the intellectual sphere requires that we do not rest content with a child-like breathing in of the air of our social environment, but that we should be able to investigate the relation of culture to objective truth.

IS THERE OBJECTIVE TRUTH?

Since the existence of objective truth is widely questioned in our era (Bloom 1987: 25), we shall briefly have some comments on the reasons for believing that there is such a thing as objective truth.

The Pursuit of Happiness

In the first place we maintain that everyone, be they objectivist or relativist or whatever, no matter what culture they belong to, pursues happiness. So this is already something on which everyone agrees. But what is happiness? Aristotle raised the point (Thomson, 1953: 30) that pleasure is not the same thing as happiness. Consider this: assume that you are drinking a coke on the day your best friend has died and you have lost your job. In such a circumstance you will feel a pleasant sensation on your tongue, but will you be happy? Happiness is not merely feeling pleasure but having an overall satisfactory condition in one’s life as a whole (cf. Kamalu 1990: 130). A happy life may be thought of as a life where at least most things go right or fall into place; it is therefore a state of fairly perfect order. Inasmuch as everyone in any culture desires happiness, everyone in any culture desires fairly perfect order, or a maximum elimination of disorder, in their life. Order may be viewed as unification or unity, and disorder as disunity.

The Search for Order

The preceding section argued that the universal desire for happiness implied a universal search for order or the maximum elimination of disorder. Now applying this search for order to your thought-life will have several consequences. Firstly, you will desire the maximum elimination of confusion from your thought; for confusion is a form of disorder. Secondly, you will desire the maximum elimination of contradiction from your thought; for the disunity of contradiction comes under the heading of “disorder”. This already leads you in the direction of objective reason, for now you are accepting the consistent attempt to avoid logical contradictions, which amounts to a belief in objective logical law.

This is an important point. If you claim to think in terms of culture rather than an objective truth, but at the same time you draw attention to contradictions in various perspectives, then objectivity is introducing itself into your life, in the form of the law of non-contradiction. At this point I may respond to an issue that a questioner introduced me to at question time, when the paper on which this chapter is based was presented: is it possible to think culturally and critically at the same time? Can one think critically while simultaneously thinking culturally, e.g. in critical artistic activity? We may not have grasped the questioner’s point correctly, but one would respond that strictly speaking you cannot do both at the same strict instant, although you can shift focus between the two. Cultural thinking can be combined with critical thinking, and this takes place when one professes general acceptance of a culture (cultural thinking), yet raises questions about its particular internal dilemmas or contradictions (critical thinking).

A third consequence of searching for order is that you do not trust or rely on states of consciousness that are disordered or disoriented. Thus, we do not accept dreams or hallucinations as veridical. This leads us to rely on what is called “the waking state”, for our beliefs.

A fourth consequence is that, in the waking state, finally involuntary beliefs are simply accepted as true. By a finally involuntary belief I mean a belief which you may claim to reject initially, but which has a way of returning when you try to reject it, so that in the end you must accept it as true. For example, you may try to reject the reality of the world around you. You may close your eyes and say, “The world out there does not exist for me” (cf. the beliefs of the Chinese philosopher Wang Yang Ming, as described by Liu Wu-Chi (1955: 169)). But you cannot do this forever. In the end you have to open your eyes and get on with life, and thus the assumption that the world is real returns. So the assumption of the reality of the world cannot be finally rejected; it is finally involuntary.

Dealing with Finally Involuntary Assumptions

Now if one cannot finally reject a finally involuntary assumption in the waking state, what options are left? You can simply accept it; or you can finally accept it and at the same time try to reject it. This last option is referred to as “counter-postulation”. It involves the assumption of contradictory beliefs, and is against the principle of maximum elimination of contradiction from your thought. If you really believe in not contradicting yourself unnecessarily, then that rules out counter-postulation.

What about suspending judgment on a finally involuntary belief? But suspending judgment requires withdrawal of assent, and if a belief is finally involuntary, the assent cannot be consistently withdrawn. If one tries withdrawal, one is caught in a contradictory situation where one fluctuates continually between withdrawal and acceptance. This, like counter-postulation, goes against the principle of the maximum elimination of contradiction from your thought. So suspension of judgment on a finally involuntary belief is not possible. Thus the belief in question cannot be properly doubted, since doubt is a suspension of judgment (cf. Guinness, 1976: 18-19). Where finally involuntary beliefs are concerned, one is left with the sole option of finally accepting them as true; and this acceptance does not admit of doubt. Thus finally involuntary beliefs in the waking state are certainties. It is here that we find the foundations, to my mind, of objective thought.

Which Beliefs are Objectively True?

Finally involuntary beliefs in the waking state, which in our view are objective certainties, include the following:

- Certain experiences or empirical beliefs about the real world out there.
- Experiences of internal events (appearances, acts of imagination, thoughts).
- The laws of thought or logic.
- Certain metaphysical assumptions, such as the existence of the self (cf. Descartes), the unity of the universe² and the freedom of the will.

² J.S. Kruger noted the existence of a need among humans to view their world as a meaningful Gestalt, an observation which we may interpret as a sign that the belief in the unity of the universe is finally involuntary. Unfortunately we have not succeeded in locating the source of this remark.

- The belief that happiness is to be pursued.

Not all percipients will have the same empirical experiences; so this view allows for the experiences of different facts by different persons and indeed different cultures. These perspectives are, however, not contradictory “plural realities” but different aspects of the one objective reality. So, from this point of view Africa and the West share one objective reality that includes, for example, laws of thought, metaphysical assumptions, and a pursuit of happiness. Yet not all aspects of African cultures will be similar to aspects of Western cultures, for cultures are based partly on the different experiences that different persons enjoy from different perspectives in place and time.

Voluntary Beliefs

Beliefs in the waking state are not all finally involuntary. How should we respond to voluntary beliefs, then?

Certain voluntary beliefs can be justified in terms of involuntary beliefs by being logically deducible from them, or rendered probable by them. Other beliefs can be justified (but not certified as true) on the grounds that one would be confused without assuming them. (Remember that the search for order in life involves maximum absence of confusion). The acceptance of cultural thinking by a child or of expert judgment by a non-expert may be justified provisionally in this way. We have explained, moreover, in Section 3 earlier how a belief held on the grounds of authority may be justified.

Problems arise, however, when there is no necessity or reason for holding a voluntary belief. To hold beliefs unnecessarily and arbitrarily, for no clear reason, is a source of confusion, especially when you hold many such beliefs. In order to maximally avoid confusion we should avoid retaining beliefs in our worldview unnecessarily and arbitrarily, for no good reason. Finally involuntary beliefs have to be accepted; but voluntary beliefs without a good reason are arbitrarily chosen, and if held firmly are “dogmatic” in a negative sense. A voluntary belief from African or Western culture that lacks a good reason should to my mind be jettisoned.

Having spoken on objectivity, we now pass on to relativist thought.

RELATIVISM AND PROGRESS

Given the existence of a less mature and a more mature form of thought – namely cultural and critical thinking – it is important to attend to a fashionable epistemological idea in contemporary academia, namely

the idea of cultural relativism. Cultural relativism raises its head whenever ideas are discussed not in terms of whether they are true or false but in terms of whether they are African or Western. It raises its head whenever Western or African ideas are not assessed on their own merits but ruled out of court in advance – Western ideas being ruled out simply because they are not African and came in with colonialism, African ideas being ruled out because they are not Western but came to be known only when the West came into contact with Africa.

Cultural relativism does not ask whether an idea is true or false, but whether or not it conforms to a specific culture. Truth is determined for some Africans and some Westerners by what is handed down as the content of an African culture or a Western culture, not by objective experience or reason. For cultural relativism there is nothing for critical reason to fasten on except “What does the culture say?” or “What do cultures say?” or “What does the culture I or my friends have just created say?” Thinking of this sort effectively reduces thinking to cultural thinking only. And in so doing, it traps thought in a condition of child-likeness or immaturity. The last mentioned choice of creating your own culture may appear to some to be a more adult option, but to me creating a culture without an extra-cultural objective basis does not differ essentially from a child making up a story and then believing it himself or herself. This too is cultural thinking, except that now the culture has been sucked out of your own thumb. We have the basic fact of cultural material being uncritically accepted.

What can progress mean for a cultural relativist? It cannot mean the maturation of knowledge beyond cultural thinking. It cannot mean a developing increase in one’s knowledge of actual reality. Relativism does not focus on such actual reality beyond one’s culture. What are cultural relativists left with? Perhaps they may use the word “progress” to mean movement from one culture to another, for example, from African culture to Western culture. Perhaps “progress” will mean a shifting exposure to many cultures, leaving us with a potentially confusing plurality.

Perhaps our “progress” will mean an attempt to unify this seeming mess by a set of common assumptions, a new shared culture which may be just as lacking in foundation as may be the many cultures it is replacing or complementing. (I do not deny that common ground is important. Shortly before the time of writing the last sentence I took part in a *viva voce* on a doctoral dissertation that favored ecumenism or a search for “common ground” between two particular churches, hence my thinking that cultural relativism could take the form of a search for common assumptions. Nevertheless, cultural relativism cannot give common assumptions grounding in objective extra-cultural reality and truth.)

“Progress” in a cultural relativist sense, if it is a matter of cultural change or creating a new culture or trying to manage at least seemingly contradictory cultural pluralism, is therefore a matter of the child-like breathing-in of an atmosphere, or a matter of constructing your own creation and then believing it, or a matter of risking the experience of confusing turmoil. Yet there is more to progress than this. The moment one realizes that there are certain things such as the empirical world or the laws of logic or the laws of science or fire burning that hold true objectively without reference to culture, one cannot be content with what cultural relativism offers us by way of progress.

Why be restricted by cultural ideologies and identity politics and nothing else, when there is a reality and a truth out there that are greater than any culture, which we can explore, and knowledge of which will help us to adjust ourselves not just to our society but to broader life? Life can never be fully meaningful so long as we are cut off or alienated from reality; and progress in knowledge of reality is to my mind a more satisfying progress than progress in knowledge of an ideology or ideologies ungrounded in sufficient reality, however fashionable these ideologies may be. For example, interest in analyzing things from a Marxist perspective becomes problematic when what you say has less to do with the reality of society than with an ideologically approved Marxist response to a social problem.

Knowledge of objective phenomena leads us to embrace objectivity instead of cultural relativism. It likewise rules out individual relativism, the belief that what is true for me is true for me, and what is true for you is true for you (cf. Zacharias 1995: 101). In a communal culture such as an African culture (Mbiti 1989: 106), individualistic relativism is less tempting than cultural relativism. Yet this also is ruled out as a valid option once one knows objective truth.

We regard cultural relativism as incompatible with “progress” in the sense of maturation of knowledge beyond cultural thinking, and incremental knowledge of the reality and the truth that are really out there. For this reason, we regard modern academia, especially in Africa, as being in crisis, because cultural relativism is everywhere (cf. Bloom 1987: 25-26). We may not be in favor of an idea of “progressive thought” where progressiveness means not increase in knowledge of actual reality and truth but slavery to uncritically accepted intellectual bandwagons, or the ruling out of court of ideas not because they are objectively disproven, but simply because they are not “African” or are not “Western”, depending on the thinker’s perspective.

Thus, for example, a logical criticism should not be rejected because it is based on “Western” logic and not “African” logic, or a plea for democracy refused because the democratic ideas alluded to are “Western”. Nor (and I am indebted to Fr. J. Stacer for this example)

should a younger African rule out the possibility of respectfully questioning an elder merely because that is “not African”. Nor, of course, should non-Western ideas and values be rejected as invalid *on the sole ground that* they are not the sort of ideas Westerners are used to, at least in the present age.

CONCLUSION

Pope Pius IX in his *Syllabus of Errors* did something which some contemporary thinkers may find shocking. He condemned the idea “that the Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism and modern civilization” (Bettenson, 1963: 273). What the Pope was basically doing here was rejecting a particular form of cultural thinking. So-called progressive ideas, modern ideas, liberal ideas, are not to be accepted merely because they are the latest thing and are part of the air we breathe. Rather we should realize that ideas that are called “progressive” in our day may be wrong, and so may ideas that are called “liberal” or “contemporary”. They are not all correct.

The same might in our opinion also be said of ideas called “African” and of ideas called “Western”. Let us therefore not uncritically accept everything in African or Western culture. Such uncritical acceptance would amount to ideologizing, not to authentic and rational philosophizing.

FINAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Acknowledgements are due to the reviewer, Fr. J. Stacer, who helped with the editing of this document, especially with providing the definitions of *mashavi* and *ngozi*, and to the other anonymous reviewer whose revisions were mostly implemented.

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CHAPTER II

**CHRISTIANITY AND TRADITION: AN ETHICAL
EVALUATION OF THE DISCOURSE ON
FEMINISM AND EMPOWERMENT IN THE
ZIMBABWE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD AFRICA
(ZAOGA) CHURCH**

KUDZAI BIRI¹

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I attempt to unravel femininities in the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) with a clear focus on the teachings pertaining to what it means to be a woman, a mother and a wife. I argue that patriarchal attitudes that are found in Pentecostals churches like ZAOGA are sourced from Shona traditional culture which also has its expression in the bible. Such attitudes are disempowering or dismembering to the womenfolk and as they nurture attitudes that promote gender based violence and the complexities therein. In this chapter, I consider teachings in ZAOGA's Gracious Woman as providing a fertile ground for examining these disempowering attitudes that militate against safe spaces for women, and at the same time place men in a dominating position.

I give attention to Ezekiel Guti and his wife Eunor who are the founders of ZAOGA, considering them to be important figures in ZAOGA whose sermons and teachings have influenced the theology of this church. While Gracious Woman teachings are said to empower women in the home and in Christian service, I argue that these teachings continue to entrench patriarchy because the church's perception of the role and status of women is largely sourced from the Shona traditional paradigm. Consequently, this results in contradicting scenarios that militate against the total liberation and empowerment of women.

It is, however, important to argue that not everything is bad about the Shona tradition as in it there is what is called *hunhu* or *ubuntu*, a welfarist and relational philosophy which does not promote self-seeking

¹ The author is a member of ZAOGA which is Women's fellowship as Gracious Woman, with its subset "Go Quickly and Tell". Guti has written books for women and his teachings and books are adopted by his wife Eunor and other pastors. This research is based on the author's experience as a member of the Church.

attitudes as those advanced by patriarchy. This philosophy is important as it regards both men and women as important agents in the development of communities. This important philosophy knows no gender. As an entry point to this discourse, I analyze the language that the ZAOGA's Gracious Woman employs in its sermons and teachings which language infringes upon women's development and empowerment. In this analysis I also use the philosophy of *ubuntu* to expose the limitations of Pentecostal discourse of submission that does not promote gender partnership or equality and African womanism to unravel the quest for gender partnership in marital relations that African theologians and scholars advocate.

LANGUAGE: A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD

The role and function of women have been the major forces in the call for the recognition and respect of the well-being of women worldwide because of the negative experiences that women have had. In proverbs, women are portrayed as being extremely valuable in the sight of society. Not only do they bear life, but they nurse, they cherish, they give warmth, they care for life since all human s pass through their bodies (1991:63-64). An African woman, like biblical Proverbs 31, is a family woman. She has to meet the needs of her family, be it nuclear or extended. It is unfortunate that her concerns for the family are viewed as a weakness (Masenya 2001:34).

Pentecostal teachings reinforce the traditional stratification of cultural roles. Part of this lies in their understanding, attitude, reading and interpretation of sacred scriptures. Most African religions are patriarchal in nature as household chores are generally relegated to the woman. Many women, as a result, limit themselves in fear of the social opprobrium of challenging the traditional role and function of women, even if they are aware that these are oppressive.

ZAOGA sources its language from the Shona traditional oral literature. It also employs symbols that are commonly used among the Shona to explain scriptures. ZAOGA teaches the doctrine of the Trinity and that a woman represents the Holy Spirit. But I shall focus on the attributes of God and the Holy Spirit only for the purpose of this study. According to this trinity, God represents men and the Holy Spirit represents women.² In the Trinity, God is the head (leader) who gives orders to the Holy Spirit and the Holy Spirit gives instructions to Jesus. Although this does not appear to be theologically sound, I need to point out the significance of the teaching.

² This is a teaching that is common in Pentecostal women's meetings.

As the Holy Spirit is the representative of a woman, ZAOGA teaches that a woman should emulate the characteristics of the Holy Spirit,³ which is quiet, gentle and persistent, endures, intercedes, carries our burden and takes what he hears from God. This promotes docile attitudes and behaviour among women because they always act and behave to please men. They endure hardships and continue to pray in the hope that things will change for the better for them. Any attitude that challenges male behaviour is suspect, hence the need for deliverance. Women therefore do not question or argue with their husbands because they are taught to obey and to take orders from their husbands.

Because women are the image of the Holy Spirit who is obedient, they also have to obey and submit to their husbands (Ephesians 5 v 22ff). ZAOGA pastors, both male and female teach the headship of men and submission of wives and that 'God is not democratic'. The notion of headship and submission therefore places men in a domineering position and women in a subservient position.

In ZAOGA women's fellowship, it is also taught that the role of women in Shona culture is that of care-giving. Thus, women are caregivers of their husbands. It is common to hear the phrase "*Varume imbwanana*" (men are puppies). They need care, support, warmth and tenderness. The implication is that men need extra care. While it is plausible to teach that men need care, there appears to be lack of reciprocity. If men are puppies, then what are women? A combination of the above symbols and images that ZAOGA uses and the emphasis on submission seem to perpetuate gender imbalances in status and roles that disadvantage girls and women.

Women work a double shift – at home and at work. Thus, women's duty is to obey the husband. These symbols and images that ZAOGA use justify the observation made by Mercy Amba Oduyoye (1997) who points out that patriarchy, as a system that does not advocate the development and empowerment of women, can be traced through language and symbols. My research findings also show that through language and symbols, ZAOGA male pastors emphasize submission and do not teach or dwell much on the responsibilities that are assigned to men.

ZAOGA AND THE DISCOURSE OF SUBMISSION

Guti and his wife Eunor teach that, submitting to a husband is a Godly choice (Guti 1997, 2006). In *Wise Woman* (2006), Eunor teaches that a woman was created to submit to a man and that one's husband is

³ ZAOGA Gracious Woman's teachings and sermons encourage women to emulate the characteristics of the Holy Spirit.

always her perfect shoe. Guti adds that men need lordship, they have to be respected and honoured, hence a woman has to submit, surrender herself to the man (Guti 1992:36). According to Eunor, even if the shoe is itching, she has to find ways to cope with it. This means that a woman has to endure in marriage and continue to submit to the husband. Another aspect that appears to disadvantage those in marital relations especially women is the issue of divorce. Women are encouraged to pray and *ZAOGA Rules and Policies* do not permit divorce. Any woman who divorces is looked down upon. Yet, married women sometimes experience difficulties in their marriages some of which warrant divorce. Insisting that women who face hardships in marriage should pray is noble, but at the same time women are made sacrificial victims in marriage. This means that such women do not have space to develop because they are not empowered in marriage. They work more than a double shift, at home and at their place of employment (Oduyoye 1997). Their energies are devoted to household chores, pleasing the husband and also demands/expectations at their work places, if they are employed. Eunor Guti (2006) argues that a woman should not refuse her husband sex because it is a duty that she has to fulfill.

The teachings also deny women the power to say no to safe sex, which sometimes exposes them to HIV and AIDS infections especially in cases involving promiscuous husbands. Thus, Chestnut says men love Pentecostalism because it takes them from being masters in the streets to kings in the house and does not publicly question them. Maxwell (2005) also notes that ZAOGA does not question aberrant husbands. Thus, women and girls remain vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. While ZAOGA has men's fellowship where men are taught to respect their wives and how to run their families, the teachings are based on "soft masculinities" (Chitando 2007). For Maxwell (2005), ZAOGA does not publicly denounce and question aberrant husbands as noted by Maxwell. Rather, ZAOGA emphasizes that a woman should pray so that she does not lose her husband to other women.⁴ This attitude deserves critiques using an African womanist framework.

AFRICANA WOMANISM: AN INTERPRETATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES

Womanism was birthed out of the inadequacies/deficiencies of feminism, as an African American Variant, and it purports to interpret black female experiences globally (Mabolanle Ebundita 2009: 228-229). It recognises the triple oppression of black women as racial, classist and

⁴ Eunor Guti teaches women not to leave their husbands and that they should endure at all costs.

sexist oppression that is identified and fought by womanists. The underlying assumption is that the needs of black women differ from their white counterparts and they recognise and accept male participation in the struggle for emancipation. Unlike feminism, womanism is rooted in black culture, recognising the centrality of the African family, motherhood and community in its discourse.

Womanism is the “totality of feminine self-expression, self-retrieval and self-assertion in positive cultural ways (Modupe-Kalowole, 1996:18). Thus, the term *womanism* is derived from the writing of Alice Walker’s *In Search of our Mothers’s Gardens: Womanist Prose*. The term describes the experiences and perspectives of African American women, primarily based on their ‘despised’ colour. Both *Africana Womanism* and *African Womanism* are theories that fully express the experiences of black women.

The issues in *African Womanism* consist of ‘power’, ‘rights’ and ‘equality’ (Mwale 2002). This African worldview provides terms and conditions by which women live. The historical process of continuity and change of African movements also saw the birth of this African womanist ideology called *African Womanism*. Theories pertaining to the particularised nature of African women’s experiences have largely been inadequate because social conditions of women have been critiqued within the Western/Europeanised societies and solutions sought within the European contexts (Dove 1996). Therefore, *African Womanism* is an ideology that seeks to address the struggles and aspirations of African women, through ‘delineating the indigenous African women’s experiences, worldviews and perceptions” (Mabolanle Ebuntuta 2009:228).

The goals of *African Womanism* include self-determination that has economic overtones ‘sewn on materialistic metaphysic.’ According to Mwale (2002), despite its pretensions to seek cooperation or its advocacy for inter-dependency between men and women, it uses the model of conscientisation of women that is foreign to Africa and runs the risk of obscurantism, in authenticity and irrelevance. Although gender has made tremendous strides in conscientising women about their plight vis-a-vis male dominance, its future demands re-positioning. Modupe Kolawole (2002) points out that consciousness in *African womanism* is important for self-recovery and discovery. It is against this background, that the African womanist theory is employed in this chapter to critique Pentecostal language as a tool for entrenching patriarchy and disempowering women instead of promoting cooperation and partnership to develop and empower women.

ZAOGA AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

I have argued that contradictory scenarios characterize ZAOGA teachings and practices on empowerment. While ZAOGA endeavours to be modern in outlook, holding on to tradition appears to impinge on progress. Offering women space in leadership positions has ‘empowered them’ but at the same time, the teachings on submission play down the achievements. In spite of this criticism, ZAOGA has empowered women economically, especially through the “School of Talents”. Talents refer to the projects that ZAOGA (especially women) engage in to raise money for various purposes. Guti teaches that the biblical way to prosper is through working hard, tithing and giving. Many women have testified in ZAOGA that they were able to amass wealth, buy houses, residential stands, cars and other household goods by selling. Thus, talents are a form of entrepreneurship that has empowered women in ZAOGA (Biri 2012). Single women have managed to raise their families.

Togarasei (2011) also notes and defends the gospel of prosperity among Pentecostals in Zimbabwe by pointing out that the gospel has empowered people and has also helped in poverty alleviation. However, this study argues that in spite of the economic empowerment that women have enjoyed in ZAOGA, the promotion of gender inequity through the teaching of submission defeats the economic advantages that women would have gained. For example, some women complain that their husbands always take the money that they get and because the women have to submit, they are powerless to resist (interviews 6/09/2012).

This confirms the observation by Mwaura (2008) that stripping women of the right to argue and question limits their intellectual capacity. This defeats the call for partnership that Eunor advocates, “Not above him, not under him but side by side with him with sweet spirit.” Guti (2007) also writes that a man should think sharper than a woman. Patriarchy can be traced in such teachings and this does harm women, especially if they are conditioned to relegate decision making to men. The teaching implies that men’s decisions should define women’s because they are intellectually limited.

ZAOGA AND THE CREATION NARRATIVE

ZAOGA theologizes the status of women and her feminine roles from the creation narratives. Guti (2007) interprets Genesis 2 and writes that a woman was taken out of the man’s rib, placed under for her security, and she should stay there; she was created for man. One notes selective interpretation of scriptures where scriptures that refer to the significant role of women and encouraging reciprocity are not given

attention, for example, man is also born of a woman. Claiming that women need the authority and protection of someone appear to defy the capabilities of women. Instead, the creation narrative encourages gender dependence and not superiority of men over women because of the realisation that it was not good for a man to be alone.

Guti's teachings give the impression that women cannot develop on their own without the help of men. Yet, many women have demonstrated their capabilities without men, both within the church and society. ZAOGA is an example of a church where women have attained high positions and organised conferences and conventions without men. This is proof of women's leadership capabilities without the help of men. Thus, the interpretation of Genesis 2 is limited to those in marital relations and does not account for those women outside marriage. Deficiencies in such interpretation might explain why Guti's teachings on singlehood is quite suspect. This again confirms Oduyoye's claim (1997) that a woman who successfully runs her affairs is an affront to the society. This emanates from the Shona traditional religion and culture where women are expected to be married. Mbiti (1991:61) points out that in Africa, at birth a woman is destined to be married and that a single lady has nothing to contribute to the society. Yet, in ZAOGA single women have been acknowledged by Guti for their financial contributions in the church and their vibrant 24 hour intercessory prayers for Guti.

However, it appears single ladies in ZAOGA have not completely escaped the social marginalization that single women face in the traditional religion. Often one hears the label *musinguru* (single). This word has been applied to the single ladies. This word carries some derogatory connotations. The twenty four hour prayer ministry is acknowledged but it appears they become victims of exploitation of their services. Guti says *hunhu hwavo* (their character) does not attract men and that is why they are not married (sermon 23-10-2010). This teaching overlooks the fact that some women choose not to marry. We need to point out that in ZAOGA there are different classes of single ladies. These include, the widowed (who appear to be respected), divorced, "hit and run" (those who were simply impregnated without *lobola* (bride price) paid to their parents). Generally, the image of this group is that of people who are sexually immoral.

The group of those who are divorced is also suspect as the following questions are always asked: Why did they divorce? Did they pray enough and endure? On the whole, ZAOGA's images of a divorced woman perpetuate the Shona traditional thinking that, there is no dignity for a woman outside marriage. Often, this line of thinking strips single ladies of their confidence to become "high fliers in society" and relegate them to lower positions in the church (Soothill, 2010). It also forces

some to enter into marital relations in a bid to gain dignity in society. At the same time some of these women endure and do not enjoy their marriages because they want to stay in marriage in order to avoid the castigations and marginalisation that they often experience in the church.

Also, the notion of “Umbrellas” in ZAOGA need not escape our critique. In ZAOGA, an “umbrella” is a pastor (in most cases male) who is appointed to look after the welfare of single ladies. The pastor acts as an advisor to these single ladies. An umbrella protects us from the heat of the sun and from rains. The sun and rain are symbols of the vicissitudes of life that single ladies can experience in their lives. In order to shelter them, there is therefore need of an umbrella. The term “umbrella” thus, refers to the protection, shielding and care that the pastors often give to these ladies. Single ladies are encouraged to visit their umbrella from time to time. They share their problems, challenges and concerns with the ‘umbrella’. The ‘umbrella’ then acts as the advisor and helper to the single ladies.

While it is common for these ladies to have female “umbrellas”, the whole exercise is significant. Firstly, it gives the impression that a single lady cannot make it by herself. Second, it discourages secrecy in the life of the single lady because in ZAOGA they say, *musunguru ngaafambe zvakajeka/pachena* (a single lady must not have private affairs but everything that she does should not be private). One questions why someone should be denied the right to privacy in matters of her life. However, the saying appears to emanate from the suspicion that accompany singlehood, suspecting them of immorality or having the potential to be immoral or the belief that they are vulnerable to many sexual temptations. Third, it appears to have been sourced and modeled along the Shona traditional paradigm.

Among the Shona, a woman cannot manage her affairs on her own. She needs someone, a male to be with her. The idea that a woman cannot manage her affairs finds justification in the traditional practice of *kugara nhaka* (to inherit). There is need for the widow to be inherited by the deceased’s brother (*Kugarwa nhaka*). Hence we note overt or camouflaged interaction of ZAOGA with Shona traditional religion and culture. While it shows a concern for the single woman, it does not encourage single women to run their affairs privately but places their lives on the public scale and open to public scrutiny.

Bourdillon (1976) has also pointed out that it is not true that the Shona woman is not empowered. This empowerment can be seen in the affirmation of the role of women in society and home. This affirmation is expressed in Shona proverbs and riddles. For example, proverbs such as *musha mukadzi* (a woman is the backbone of the home), *mukadzi mutsigo wemusha* (a woman brings dignity in the home). These depict and acknowledge the important role that the woman plays in the home

and society. Thus, they allude to the role (work) that the woman does. However, the question is; what are the gains of a Shona woman in terms of empowerment? Defenders of patriarchy often point to titles that women have among the Shona, for example, *babakadzi* (female father). The implication is that a woman can play the role of a father in some instances. Yet, there are clear deficiencies that are noted in the legal sector (Bourdillon 1976).

A Shona woman has no right to divorce and at a council (*dare*) she has to be represented and cannot speak on her own. This appears to be evidence of patriarchy that discriminates against women on the basis of gender. It also portrays women as people who have no power to express themselves, let alone, make decisions that bind the home and the society. ZAOGA appear to have emulated this by excluding women from Day to Day Council. Day to Day Council is the highest court in ZAOGA that judges serious matters and makes important decisions that pertain to the well-being and welfare of the movement. For years, the Day to Day Council was comprised of men who were mostly bishops and overseers in the church.

There were some salient queries over why the council had excluded women.⁵ In response to this, an old lady was therefore appointed to be part of the *dare*. While the appointment of a lady in the council is praiseworthy, one notes an imbalance in terms of the numerical strength that is based on gender balance. This exclusion of women (which I construe as deliberate because, the archbishop appoints them, hence is another manifestation of a religiously bound patriarchy) from the highest council reinforces Shona tradition that affirms the significant role of women in the home and society but at the same time places barricades in specific domains.

These domains remain taboo for women. The effect of this exclusion is twofold. Firstly, women's ideas, experiences, mental capabilities and leadership abilities are sidelined or relegated to the "private sphere out of record". Second, women's abilities, experiences and ideas are suppressed. I emphasize suppression and relegation of women's ideas because men cannot wholly represent women's ideas and aspirations. This equals deprivation of empowerment. Although women are disadvantaged because of one-sided emphasis on submission, we need to take note of some areas in which ZAOGA appears to be sensitive to the needs of women.

In some respect, this sensitivity is manifest in the men's fellowship, Husband Agape. In the men's fellowship, men are

⁵ Some women in ZAOGA are becoming aware of the need for men and women to partner and have begun questioning some of the teachings especially on marital and leadership issues.

challenged to be responsible and to take care of their families and love their wives. Marital fidelity is also advocated in this ministry; ZAOGA discourages sexual promiscuity and adultery. This is positive in ZAOGA's quest to build families, to protect their disintegration, and also to encourage men to be responsible fathers and husbands. Chitando (2007) has also made similar observations and comments on ZAOGA men's fellowship. He noted that Pentecostals in Zimbabwe have taken a giant step in creating fellowships for men. This is important because the goal of Husband Agape is to teach men to be responsible in their marital relations and families (Guti 1997, 2012). However, as I pointed earlier, these men's fellowships are characterised by "soft masculinities" which are built on the traditional paradigm. Men, especially leaders, are not publicly questioned or rebuked for their wrongs,⁶ typifying the Shona man, whose weaknesses are not always challenged and therefore condoned.

ZAOGA also teaches the 'catch them young' philosophy. That is why Guti has founded the youth ministry that comprises girls and boys fellowships. The underlying ideology in the youth ministry is to foster values in line with Christianity as they prepare the boys and girls for manhood and womanhood. However, girl fellowship is more vibrant and there is a tendency to emphasize morality on the girl child rather than the boy child.

'GIRLS ON THE MOVE FOR JESUS: ZAOGA'S EXPECTATIONS FOR GIRLS

There is a gap in ZAOGA that requires attention. This gap is manifest in the emphasis that is placed upon the teaching of girls in the church. While boys have their fellowship, they do not regularly meet and rarely hold *Bachelor's Parties* for those who are about to wed as compared to the intervals that girls meet (also the same with Gracious Woman meetings that meet regularly unlike Husband Agape). In ZAOGA girls are taught the 'techniques' of how to attract men and to find a potential husband in the church. These 'techniques' are: eating, dressing, how to walk, and hard work, to being prayerful. *Kitchen Tea Parties* are held for the ladies who are about to wed. The girls are taught a wide range of subjects that include: relating with the in-laws, how to care and fend for the children, and how to be 'a Proverbs 31 woman.'

⁶ Through participant observation and interviews that the researcher carried out, the so-called 'big men' in the church, or those who donate a lot of funds, are not publicly questioned or rebuked. Another advantage that men have is that they are at the apex in the church's hierarchy, hence decision-making remains with them.

While it is noble to encourage the girls to work hard, the research criticizes the one-sided emphasis, emphasis on the girl child and not the boy child.

Girls are taught that they have the power to keep their future husbands in marriage or they can be foolish to leave husbands to stray to other men. Thus, the ladies are taught how to care for their husbands and 'sexual techniques' that deter husbands from 'preying' on other women. Women are always blamed for marriage challenges or marriage failure. This emanates from the Pentecostal ideology that prayer is the solution to every problem. Thus, women bear the brunt of marital challenges because they failed in one way or the other to preserve the marriage. ZAOGA's teachings during *Kitchen Tea Parties* betray the Pentecostals of their continued allegiance to Shona traditional religion in which a girl of marriageable age undergoes sexual education. This is meant to prepare her for marriage and its accompanying roles. Just like in Shona traditions, the teachings in *Kitchen Tea Parties* appear to over-emphasize responsibility and purity on the girl rather than the boy child.

In the ZAOGA church, ladies about to wed are also taught to submit to their future husbands and not to have a threatening character because *varume havazvidi* (men do not like strong character traits). How then do these teachings and preparations for marriage militate against the well-being and empowerment of girls and women? It appears the teachings are noble and that the problem does not lie in these teachings. However, there is lack of reciprocity in these teachings especially on marital fidelity and hard work. This is a major source of problem among the youths (girls and boys fellowships). Emphasis is placed on the girl child, overlooking the important role that the boy child needs to play as he is nurtured into manhood/fatherhood. This paper contests this approach to gender and highlights the significance of this approach as it infringes with the development and empowerment of girls and women.

EFFECTS OF SERMONS BASED ON GENDER INEQUITY

ZAOGA does not subscribe to gender equality; leaders teach that God is not a democrat.⁷ ZAOGA has failed to strike a balance on teachings on gender. This failure has created a number of challenges and problems. Men and boys take advantage of the teachings and sermons to dominate girls and women. From an early age, boys expect girls to serve them and look down upon girls as a second and inferior to them. The whole orientation of the girl child is to please men. The images that are

⁷ Many Pentecostal leaders in Zimbabwe teach that God is not a democrat: the husband is the head and the wife should follow and submit to the husband. They perceive the husband and wife relationship as ordained by God.

perpetuated in ZAOGA condition the girl child to be docile and subservient to men. They are conditioned to be 'caregivers' and to serve. The feminine qualities that ZAOGA advocates are a source of potential exploitation and abuse of girls and women by boys because there is lack of emphasis on masculine roles.

Boys also expect the services of girls and women. Women have to sacrifice and please them all the time. Thus, it creates potential avenues of abuse and exploitation of girls and women by both boys and men. In marriage, some women are denied the chance to express their views and ideas in decision-making. Yet their contributions in the home are enormous. Chitando (2007) also notes that most families and homes are taken care of or run by women in Zimbabwe because apart from the Shona tradition that has assigned household duties to them, Christianity also teach women to be industrious like the Proverbs 31 woman.

Women fend for the families. Evidence came to light through an increase in the number of cross-border women. The number of cross border women shot up as a result of economic hardships in Zimbabwe. Unemployment is high and the number of unemployed men is high. Unemployed men cannot fend for their families. Women are therefore taught to work hard to fend for the families and not to wait for their husbands. Proverbs 31 woman is emphasized and women should demonstrate to their husbands that they can make it in life. Noble as the teaching appears, it is in this context that I need to expose the shortfalls inherent in ZAOGA discourse of submission. In spite of the significant role that they play, they are required to submit, even to irresponsible "heads" of families. Yet women have assumed the position of "headship" in terms of the role that they play. What is the role of men in such circumstances of economic hardships? ZAOGA appears to be silent on men, over-emphasize and encourage women to work "Talents."

This produces contradictions on gender roles and requires a revisit to the theological teachings of ZAOGA. It teaches that women will receive different crowns in heaven. Significant to this paper are 'crowns' of endurance, patience and hardworking. Thus women are encouraged to endure all odds of life in the hope to get the crowns in heaven. The paper challenges Pentecostal leaders to be sensitive to women's sociological diverse experiences by placing emphasis on the joy that women need on earth before they go to heaven. They should also teach men on the roles that they should perform. Gracious Woman sermons on submission take for granted women's diverse experiences. The result is that women and their unique experiences and challenges are 'silenced' and called to endure those challenges in the name of submission and pleasing God through persistent prayer.

I carried out research among ZAOGA male pastors in Harare. My intention was to inquire how many of the male pastors emphasize

biblical verses that teach on the responsibilities of men in order to establish how the bible is used by pastors. Most of them admitted that they rarely teach the verses because they are much used to Ephesians 5 v 22 ff and Proverbs 31 and some even blamed women for encouraging their oppression. One pastor admitted:

I am used to Proverbs 31 and Ephesians 5 because from an early age these were the verses that were emphasized in the church. I accept that we need to change that in the church but change is difficult; that is why we leave things as they are (interview 22/10/2012).

The important thing in this interview is how the pastor points to tradition. His views represent many male leaders (including female leaders) in ZAOGA. The biblical teachings that call men to responsibility are rarely taught. I have to point out that, apart from teachings in either Gracious Woman or Husband Agape, the responsibilities of women are taught during Sunday services but few sermons emphasize the responsibilities of men. The selection and emphasis of scriptures that point to women's responsibilities in order to suit the desired agenda show that ZAOGA leaders entrench patriarchy.

They continue to draw upon Shona traditional religion and at the same time, to pay attention to scriptures that advantage men. Thus, lack of reciprocity make ZAOGA overlook the ethical dimensions called for both in Shona traditional religion and in Christianity for both men and women. In Shona traditional religion and culture, the principle of *hunhu* or *ubuntu* is very important in improving human interactions. Below, I explore this principle to see how it can be deployed to tame masculinities and empower women in the ZAOGA church.

HUNHU OR UBUNTU AND THE PROMOTION OF RECIPROCITY

Hunhu or *ubuntu* is a humanist philosophy that focuses on people's allegiances and relations with one another. According to Samkange and Samkange (1980), there are three maxims that underlie the philosophy of *hunhu* or *ubuntu*, namely; affirming one's humanity, recognising the humanity of other and opting for the preservation of life in all circumstances. Thus, the philosophy of *hunhu* or *ubuntu* is about how one relates with others in various spheres of life (Samkange and Samkange 1980). This communalistic philosophy encourages concern for the welfare of others especially on the maxim the 'recognizes the humanity of others.' This means that Zimbabwean men, in general and ZAOGA men in particular need to recognize the humanity of women in

order to build a society that is based on justice and gender equity. This is hinted at by Ramose (1999) in his analysis of the reasons why South Africa requires *ubuntu* in politics.

While this study is not on politics, Ramose's insights are significant because it emphasizes the importance of justice and societal harmony. I argue that through *hunhu* or *ubuntu*, gender justice and equity can be achieved in the ZAOGA church. While *hunhu* or *ubuntu* is a liberating philosophy that is often ignored or glossed over, it should be noted that this is the only home grown philosophy that breaks gender barriers as its focus is on how individuals, be it men or women, contribute towards the betterment of their communities.

There is also a need to point out that although *hunhu* or *ubuntu* is a liberating philosophy, it can also entrench patriarchy as manifest in the teachings of the Pentecostal women that are one-sided. Failure to emphasize reciprocity in this regard does not promote mutual recognition and gender equality. As the application of *hunhu* or *ubuntu* becomes paradoxical, there is a need for mutual consideration in Gracious Woman teachings. John S Mbiti (1969) puts it aptly when he says: "I am, therefore we are; since we are, therefore I am." Thus, what is more important according to this thinking is not the individual man or woman, but the community.

The statement *munhu munhu muvanhu* or *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through other persons) shows that both men and women need each other in order for their humanity to be affirmed. Any attitude that is discriminatory is against this humanist philosophy. Thus, ZAOGA men need to embrace this philosophy so as to live in peace with their women.

The philosophy of *hunhu* or *ubuntu* promotes the spirit of reciprocity in that it is against personal self-aggrandisement or self-seeking attitudes that destroy communal harmony.

Against this background, I argue that patriarchal attitudes that are sourced from Shona traditional religion, apart from biblical teachings, oppress women and are against the spirit and letter of *hunhu* or *ubuntu*, which is a welfarist and relational philosophy.

CONCLUSION

Pentecostals largely source their gender ethics from the both Shona and Jewish traditional paradigms. Yet, both Shona traditional religion and culture and Christianity are dogged by patriarchy. Both traditions encourage the domination of men in marital relations and encourage subservience and submission of women, instead of equally teaching and emphasizing both feminine and masculine roles to encourage partnership. I acknowledge that the Shona acknowledge the

significance of women, but it is rather more theoretical than practical. ZAOGA is one of the churches that are radical. In terms of leadership positions, women have not been limited; they are bishops, overseers, pastors, elders and deaconesses in the church.

More so, the wife's founder is an archbishop. However, one can note that ZAOGA is fraught with contradictions. It purports to empower women economically, but at the same time espouses disempowering theologies through the femininities that they promote in the church. These femininities are sourced from the Shona traditional paradigm and also biblical verses that have been interpreted from a patriarchal perspective.

Economic empowerment is noble but real empowerment of women needs a radical approach that challenges the seeds of patriarchy embedded in the traditional socio-religious culture. Hence, tradition and Christianity have militated against the empowerment and development of women in ZAOGA. Its pastors are not wrong in teaching the verses and pointing to culture that encourages women to submit. However, there is a lack of reciprocity in the teachings that has the effect of placing women at the margin and encouraging the domination of men.

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CHAPTER III

SHONA RELIGION IN ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM PROGRAM: IS A SUSTAINABLE SHONA ECOLOGICAL ETHIC POSSIBLE?

NISBERT TARINGA AND FAINOS MANGENA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the place of Shona Religion during and after the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) that was launched in Zimbabwe in July 2000. The objective of the chapter is to show how the attitudes of the beneficiaries of this program impacted on the environment and its ethics. While the chapter does not challenge the key objective of the FLTRP, which was to address land imbalances whose history dates back to the colonial era, it challenges the attitudes of these beneficiaries in terms of their utter disregard for the proper exploitation of the environment.

In the process of dealing with these attitudes, the chapter discovers and explains the basis for a sustainable Shona ecological ethic as follows: The primary unity of beings, soteriology, sacredness of the land, reverence for life and responsibility as they help in the protection of non-human species in the environment especially those in the extinct category. These values are discussed under the banner of sustainable Shona ecological ethics. As an entry point into the discussion on Shona Religion and a Sustainable Ecological Ethics in Zimbabwe's Land Reform, which stands out as the title for this chapter, it is instructive to have a word on what constitutes Shona Religion.

A BRIEF STATEMENT ABOUT SHONA RELIGION

Shona Religion is one of the many Indigenous Religions that define Zimbabwe's religious landscape, which include Ndebele Religion and Tonga Religion among other minor Religions. Among Indigenous Religions, Shona Religion is the most popular since it has the largest following given that the Shona people make up the majority of Zimbabwe's total population (Mangena, 2010: 66). The Shona believe in a tripartite relationship of the human; the natural and the spiritual worldview that has remained intact in Zimbabwe.

In explaining this tripartite relationship between human beings and the spirit world, Fainos Mangena (2012: 13) identifies three kinds of

beings, namely: *Vanhu* (human beings or those living their dated lives), *Midzimu* (ancestral spirits or the living timeless) and *Musikavanhu* (the one who created human beings). To ensure that *Vanhu* respect their surroundings Mangena argues that the world of *midzimu* (ancestral spirits) enforces the moral principles that allows for this harmonious relationship through appropriate sanctions on those who break the moral code (Ibid.).

As Shoko (2006) puts it, the existence of each world is dependent on the other; they are not separate entities, but are interlinked through ritual and conciliation. The respect and belief that mortal beings hold towards the natural world as the habitat of the spiritual world and the provider of foods, minerals and other resources, is a phenomenon from which one can infer a manifestation of conservation consciousness among the Shona (Ibid.).

The sacred shrines, wetlands and woodlands are deemed to be spiritual habitats and foundations of survival. Society, however, also depends heavily on the spiritual world for guidance. Communication with the spiritual world via the animal kingdom would not be possible if the environment was not conducive. Good and bad messages are transmitted through various sacred species within the animal kingdom. Special ritual ceremonies are performed under specific sacred trees or shrines (Chingono, 2010).

SHONA RELIGION AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO THE ENVIRONMENT

That the war of liberation was fought in order to take back our land from the colonial white settlers is not something debatable. The colonial imbalances during the colonial era surely needed to be redressed and this inspired freedom fighters to fight on until freedom was delivered. The liberation struggle popularly known as the Second Chimurenga was fought in the bush and this had a bearing on the survival of other animal and plant species of Zimbabwe but the freedom fighters respected the socio-religious rules and boundaries made in order to protect the interests of other species in the environment. This ethics guided how the freedom fighters would relate to the environment.

The guerrillas respected immensely the animal life (Fauna) as well as the plant life (flora). There are abounding myths that explain the relationship that existed between the freedom fighters and the environment. For example, they are said to have forged cementing relationships to the extent that animals could give warning to guerrillas about an impending danger and the freedom fighters would react promptly. Even harmful animals and reptiles spared their lives. They

would not even kill these animals unless a proper ritual was conducted with the assistance of a spirit medium.

This underlines the notion that there had to be a justifiable need to kill animals. Similarly, the flora provided shelter, cover from the enemy, fruits to energize the freedom fighters and some medicinal herbs to ensure that they remain in sound health. The land itself was the stage where the interplay of all these forces took place. It gave life to animals and the vegetation as well as hiding places for the guerrillas; it was and is still the abode of the ancestor spirits to whom they give libations from time to time for spiritual guidance.

ATTITUDE TO THE ENVIRONMENT DURING AND AFTER ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM PROGRAM

In terms of attitudes to the environment, the Third Chimurenga ushered in a different scenario altogether. The history of traditional rights to the land, its expropriation by the white settlers during the colonial period justified the need by the government of ZANU PF to re-distribute the land and the ZANU PF government got support from people in the rural areas particularly the war veterans, which probably explains why the party's power base lies in the rural areas (Cox, 2007: 134). The Third Chimurenga also prompted the resurgence of the spirit mediums, who claimed to be possessed by the spirits of fallen heroes and heroines of the liberation struggle of the 1970s, who fought for this land but were denied decent burial. These mediums, it is claimed, also supported the chaotic re-distribution of land which was coined as the Fast Track Land Reform Program in Zimbabwe.

When all is said and done, it is important to realize that the political justification of the land invasions seems to skirt the fundamental issue of the attitude of the land invaders, who became known as new farmers, to the environment. The Third Chimurenga witnessed one of the worst chaotic periods on the environmental scene. Some lands and forests that had been revered as sacred in some communities fell victim to the land hungry Zimbabweans. Unlike the scenario that obtained during the Second Chimurenga where freedom fighters lived harmoniously with the environment, the Third Chimurenga saw many conservancies intruded and animals slaughtered at will.

The decisions rightly belonging to the chief were being usurped and overridden by pro-government elements. It would appear as if Indigenous Religions such as Shona Religion were used to justify a haphazard, chaotic and destructive method of land acquisition which left most animals dead and the biotic environment ravaged. Referring to the impact of the FTLRP on bio-diversity, Paul Chibisa, Annamore Ruzive and Clifford T. Mandipa (2010: 82) put it thus:

The wave of farm occupations was more violent and the white farmers were evicted from their farms. Initially it was done in a haphazard manner with the new settlers exploiting available wildlife and plant resources in an unsustainable manner, both in the areas of high agricultural potential and those of low potential like conservancies.

By virtue of its rapid pace, as well as its unplanned and chaotic nature, the FTLRP was bound to adversely affect biodiversity. The land allocation process took insufficient account of some of the fundamental requirements for wildlife conservation, such as core animal refuges, buffer zones around the refuges and corridors between them and yet conservancies had been developed on the basis of those principles (Campbell *et al.*, 1989).

Any land reform program that fails to take cognizance of these fundamental requirements is bound to result in biodiversity loss. The major issue was not just equitable land distribution, but how land could be sustainably exploited. This is an important consideration given the fact that inappropriate peasant farming systems in the communal lands are said to have caused soil loss ranging from 40 to 100 tons per hectare annually (Du Toit *et al.*, 1992). The land reform program, therefore, was not well suited for conservancy.

These attitudes are likely to impact negatively on the interests and needs of future generations. If any forceful social group like a church, that can have some potential to influence election results, exerts pressure requesting a piece of land, its request is easily conceded at the expense modalities that are environmentally protective. These were some of the attitudes which led to the destruction of the environment during the FLTRP as no consideration was given the importance of biodiversity when the land invaders went about killing farm animals after evicting white farm owners.

Please note that it is the method of redressing the land imbalances that we challenge in this chapter. We believe that the land reform program should have been gradually undertaken in line with the traditional socio-religious ways of relating to the environment that have from time immemorial ensured a proud communal, as opposed to individual, ownership that breeds a capitalist mentality. Below, we show how Shona Religion can be used to craft a sustainable Shona ecological ethic which can then inform behavior when it comes to how the Shona people should relate with their environment.

ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A SUSTAINABLE SHONA ECOLOGICAL ETHIC

Before considering the benefits of a sustainable Shona ecological ethics in Zimbabwe, it is important to define *Ecology* and *Ethics* separately. While *Ecology* is about inter-relationships between living organisms (both plants and animals) and between biological and physical entities, *ethics* is a set of principles about right and wrong and how human beings ought to behave (<http://ecologicalsociety.blogspot.com/2011/02/ethics-and-ecology.html>).

Thus, *Ecological Ethics* refer to issues of right and wrong as they relate to the inter-relationship between human beings, plants and other non-human animals. Ecological Ethics ask such questions as: Are human beings justified in ill-treating non-human beings? Do non-human beings have moral standing? Is there such a thing as animal rights? If so, how can they be explained? In defining *Ecological Ethics*, it is also important to consider issues that have to do with culture and context. For instance, in the West; attitudes towards the environment or the ecological space are individualistic as defined by *reason* while in Africa attitudes towards the environment have a communal or group dimension as defined by *experience*. In other words, in the West, the individual appeals to the faculty of reason when deciding whether it is important to respect non-human creatures and other environmental entities.

Those of anthropocentric or homocentric disposition are usually inclined toward disrespecting beings in the environment that are non-human, which attitude has disastrous consequences for ecological management. In most African countries particularly sub-Saharan Africa, knowledge about the environment is passed on from elders to the youths and the latter grow up knowing that it is wrong to ill-treat other beings which are non-human; this becomes part of the furniture of communal wisdom. For instance, in Shona we say; *Zvinoera kungouraya mhuka zvisina tsarukano* (It is a taboo to kill animals without a valid reason). Having learnt this from a tender age, the Shona child grows up knowing that it is wrong to ill-treat non-human entities.

Drawing from the above definition of *Ecological Ethics*, one can refer to *Sustainable Shona Ecological Ethics* as ecological ethics that considers the interests of future generations of both human and non-human entities in Zimbabwe when managing the environment and its contents. To put it in its proper context, we argue that the attitudes of the current generation of Zimbabweans towards the environment and its contents should not impact negatively on the interests and needs of future generations if a sustainable Shona ecological ethic is going to be developed.

Having defined and explained *Ecological Ethics* and *Sustainable Shona Ecological Ethics*, it is important to note that Shona Religion, while it is open to abuse, as was the case during the Third Chimurenga, has a *proviso* for ecological awareness and preservation. In other words Shona Religion contains an ecological ethic which allows its practitioners to respect non-human entities. We saw this in the second section of this chapter where we focused on the cordial relationship that existed between freedom fighters and the environment during the Second Chimurenga.

To see that Shona Religion contains an ecological ethic, note that the Shona people hold that human beings and nature are bound together by one moral order and that the ultimate sanction for morality resides in sacred authority. This is conceived in a hierarchical pattern of the supreme God (*Mwari/Musikavanhu/Nyadenga*), territorial ancestors (*Midzimu ye Nyika*), family ancestors (*Midzimu ye Misha*) and community elders (*Vakuru*). At face value, this moral order appears to be homocentric and yet it serves the interests of both human beings and non-human entities. This is depicted by the reverence that is given to inanimate beings such as sacred mountains and caves, especially during rainmaking ceremonies.

We often hear the Shona people saying: *Kana pasi paoma, vakuru vanotungamira vadiki kuenda kunokumbira mvura mumakomo nedzimwe nzvimbo dzinoera* (When drought has hit the land, elders lead the youths to sacred mountains and other sacred places to ask for rains). In Bulawayo, there is a rock near *Matopos* called *Zame/Matojeni* where elders go and talk to an invisible voice especially when the society is afflicted by challenges that require spiritual guidance and solutions. This is a sign that all beings have spiritual significance in Shona Religion and any being that has spiritual significance also has moral value. This is a basis upon which a *Sustainable Shona Ecological Ethic* can be developed.

According to Shona Religion, the land is an invariant core in the equation of life and therefore a precious treasure. This position is consistent with the Shona assumptions about nature which hold that:

Life force permeates the whole universe, and matter and spirit are almost an inseparable reality. Behind the natural things, and intimately coexisting with them, is the non-material power. Although they see a distinction between different animals, this does not allow them to see things in isolation. So the ideal is that, like most Africans, the Shona are kin to all creatures, gods, spirits and nature (Ruch and Anyanwu, 1981: 87-90).

The spiritual attachment to the land inspired by Shona Religion and revered by the people ensures a very positive ecological ethic. Shona Religion inspires an environmental conservation culture by fostering a society that respects some order and harmony amongst all the constituents of the cosmic totality. All this suggests that at the heart of Shona self-understanding is the question of ecology. For example Thabitha Bishau (1997) argues that Shona religious beliefs inspire positive values and attitudes towards nature and should be crucial components of any efficacious environmental policy involving Shona community. Religious taboos and restrictions could take the place of scientific explanations of environmental degradation. Masaka and Chemhuru (2010:121) affirm this when they argue that:

Prohibitions and restrictions through taboos on unsustainable use of certain plant species, forests, mountains, rivers, pools and non-human animals, among other ecological species in the eco-system, is not a new Epistemology among the Shona people, but reflects a long tradition. At the same time they are currently very lively and continue to shape Shona Environmental Ethics.

For Masaka and Chemhuru, religion is central to the Shona worldview and reference to supernatural beings is always made when trying to dissuade people from performing certain actions that are harmful to the environment as these supernatural beings are feared and respected. Thus, a breach of taboos is understood as a provocation of the Shona spiritual world and an invitation of severe punishment (2010:123). Levison Tatira (2000) supports this point when he avers thus:

...an act that breaches a taboo triggers a reaction supposedly at the supernatural level. Without this fear of the unknown, young people are generally adventurous, full of doubts and questions, and like experimenting with things. To curb the excessive desire to venture out, there is a ready consequence for each prohibition.

Having outlined and characterized Shona Religion and its attendant ecological ethic, it is important to discover the basis for a Sustainable Shona Ecological Ethic.

THE BASIS FOR A SUSTAINABLE SHONA ECOLOGICAL ETHIC

In this section, we shall attempt to identify and explain what in Shona Religion should convince us that Shona Religion is environmentally friendly. In other words, we try to discover the areas of commonality between human beings and non-human beings and we argue that it is through these areas of commonality that an ethic which serves the interests and needs of all beings can be crafted for both the current generation and other generations to come. These areas can be summed up as: The primary unity of beings, kinship with nature, sacredness of the land, soteriology, reverence for life and responsibility.

The primary unity: human beings, spirits, nature

In the Shona worldview we may infer that people look out upon the cosmos partaking at once the qualities of human beings, nature and God/ancestors. What the Shona confront seems to be not three separate things, but rather one thing with different aspects of vitality. We note that if we compare their worldview with a triangle of the three conceptions of human beings, nature and God/ancestors- the Shona worldview is one in which the triangle itself might not be very apparent. This unitary character of the cosmos in the case of Shona people is recognised when it is said that the world of the Shona is pervaded with sacredness. So there seems to be an aspect of primary unity which the land reform programme managers may use.

Kinship with Nature

The Shona people emphasize intense knowledge of the aspects of nature in the land in which one lives and have rapport with nature. Shona attitudes may be confined to one geographical region. So it may be difficult to translate to other places where different aspects of nature do not necessarily hold the same religious significance. The underlying assumption is that the Shona people identify some aspects of nature as positive and vital parts of religious life particularly providence and soteriology. Because there is kinship between ancestors, human beings and nature there is a sense in which the Shona worship nature. In the myth of creation we learn that humans and nature descended from the same ancestors. So in relation to kinship the Shona emphasize appropriate restrictions or taboos for relating to nature.

Sacredness of the Land

The Shona share with most Africans the belief in land as sacred. Land is sacred because it bears the remains of the ancestors particularly in the form of graves of the chiefs. Shona religion is based on the grave. In the central rituals of *kumutsa mudzimu* (rituals in honour of ancestors) the point of entry is the grave. In other rituals, libations are poured on the ground. In the land is also buried the umbilical code of a people. It is the abode of the dead and when counting members of the family the Shona always include *varipasi* (those who are dead). Land is the rallying point because non-human creatures also live on the land. Although non-human creatures do not get buried when they die as humans do, like human beings, they decompose on the land after they have died. As a result, land is respected or sacralized in sayings such as *pasi ratsamwa*, *pasi panodya* (the land is angry, the land eats).

The issue here is that if everything dies and decomposes, it will form part of the soil, *hence pasi panodya*. Land belongs to the living, the unborn and the dead of both human and non-human creatures. The Shona believe that if one does not relate to sacred aspects of nature according to prescribed taboos and restrictions the ancestors would be angry (*kutsamwa*) and as result some misfortune, such as drought and epidemics, might befall the community. So the fundamental attitude to land is a religious one and is based on fear of mystical sanction by the ancestors. This underlies all attitudes to other aspects of nature like animals.

Soteriology

To the Shona, both human beings and nature have intrinsic value. Furthermore, the sacredness of some aspects of nature is linked to the ruling chieftdom and the fertility of the land. So life forms depend on nature. It is good to respect nature because only happy ancestors in liaison or communication with spirit creatures such as the Lion or the Python who are deemed to be guardians of the land work together to give people good rains. Thus, the Shona attitude to nature is a model of restraint in the knowledge that not everything we can do should be done. For instance, in order to get good rains, we must not kill terrestrial creatures unnecessarily.

Thus, human beings and nature are bound together by mutual limits and prohibitions. The interaction has both personal and ritual meaning. Shona people hear voices in sacred beings around them that guide them in living together for mutual benefit. This is based on the concept of *shura* (an unusual happening). The Shona way is an ethic of minimal intervention, *Zvakakosha kuva netsika dzino chengetedza*

masango nekuti mhuka zhinji nemiti iri musango zvinoyera (It is important to have rules that protect the environment because most of the creatures in the environment are sacred). Since ancestral spirits are part of nature's furniture, there is a sense in which nature takes care of itself.

Reverence for Life and Responsibility

Reverence for life is accepted in the worldview of traditional Shona religio-cultural worldview. It entertains the sacredness of nature. Yet the vision that seems to be driving land reform programme is more influenced by mechanistic thinking. The mechanistic thinking finds it hard to entertain the sacredness of nature. The Shona people believe that all life forms are important including the lives of non-human creatures. Responsibility is a principle that enables the Shona to revere nature and appreciate its transphysical dimensions. It is an ethical principle in the sense that as the Shona understand the unity of life and the fact that they are part of nature, and one with nature then they take responsibility for life, for all life. So the understanding of the sacredness of nature implies responsibility for it. Scientific and rational land reform ethic without responsibility is monstrous to the environment. In fact ethics without responsibility is empty.

CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at the role of Shona Religion in shaping human beings' attitude towards the environment and its contents herein referred to as ecological systems. The paper addressed these issues in the context of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Program of 2000. The chapter traced these attitudes from the colonial era right up to post-colonial Zimbabwe particularly the Third Chimurenga phase of the struggle. It was argued in this chapter that during the Second Chimurenga which led to Zimbabwe's independence, freedom fighters lived in harmony with nature while these attitudes changed when these same people now known as War Veterans took away land from a residual group of white owners during the Third Chimurenga phase of the struggle. They used Shona Religion to justify the unnecessary killing of creatures found on those farms as they were planning to settle as new farmers. Vegetation was not spared as they also started cutting down trees and burning forests. We argued in this chapter that this unfortunate scenario was made possible by the fact that no sustainable Shona ethic was there to warn these veterans of the impending danger of failing to properly exploit the environment. We argued that Shona Religion provides a basis for this kind sustainable ethic.

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PART II

ETHICS, POVERTY AND CRISIS IN AFRICA

CHAPTER IV

MORAL ANCHORS OF NATIONAL HEALING, RECONCILIATION AND INTEGRATION IN POST-CONFLICT ZIMBABWE

FAINOS MANGENA

The single main ingredient which made the achievements of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission possible was a uniquely African ingredient – **ubuntu** (Desmond Tutu cited in Richardson, 2008: 67).

Ubuntu is a piece of homegrown African wisdom that the world would do well to make its own (Gabriel Setiloane cited in Vicencio, 2009: 115).

INTRODUCTION

Following the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008 which gave rise to the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe, in February 2009, political parties in the GNU, namely ZANU PF, MDC-T and MDC-M (now MDC-N) agreed to come up with an organ that would heal the nation's body politic as a result of the political violence that had gripped the nation for a decade (from 1999 to 2009) leading to the loss of many lives and much property. The organ became known as the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) and is led by three cabinet ministers from the three political parties mentioned above. Ever since the organ was formed, the Church has been on the forefront in showing the organ the direction the national healing process should take.

This chapter is partly an attempt to persuade the ONHRI to take stock of its *modus operandi* in the process of bringing about lasting peace and stability in Zimbabwe through national healing, reconciliation and integration. The chapter argues that the Church, by which I refer to the community of all Zimbabwean Christians, while it has an important role to play in bringing about peace and stability in Zimbabwe, must not apply a might is right approach to this process since Zimbabwe recognizes and respects religious pluralism.

The Church must therefore broaden its definition of 'national framework' to include more other stakeholders in the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration. Against this background, I argue

that the Church must be prepared to work with other religions such as African Traditional Religions, Judaism and Islam in the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration in Zimbabwe. I call this attitude 'religious inclusivity.' The Church and these other religions must also remember that every nation has founding principles or philosophies in which their submissions must be anchored. In this paper, I outline and explain the founding principles or philosophies that can guide the ONHRI in its quest to heal the nation's body politic.

BACKGROUND TO NATIONAL HEALING AND RECONCILIATION IN ZIMBABWE

Article 7 of the GPA provides for the establishment of a mechanism to properly advise on necessary and practicable measures to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre-and-post-independence political conflicts (NANGO document, 2010: 5). In this chapter, reference is made to article 7 only. The provisions of the GPA, including article 7, were adopted in the Zimbabwe Constitution by Constitutional Amendment 19 (2010: 5).

Accordingly, the ONHRI is a constitutional creation established by an act of parliament (2010: 5). But while the ONHRI puts emphasis on the political turmoil of the last decade, it is grossly unfair to consider this period as the darkest period of our history. The Matabeleland and Midlands disturbances of the 1980s are yet to be addressed, and the government does not seem to have a common position regarding these disturbances (2010: 41).

The unity accord which was signed by ZANU PF and PF ZAPU in 1987 was an attempt to deal with this problem, but some scholars feel that this unity accord was just a pain killer since the victims of these disturbances are still suffering in silence and no attempt has been made to heal their wounds. A commission of inquiry was instituted in 1985 (two years before the signing of the unity accord) to look into what happened during the Matabeleland and Midlands disturbances, but the results of the inquiry were never publicized (Harold-Barry, 2006: 9). There is also a feeling from some sections of society that the unity accord was an agreement between politicians that had no bearing on the people whose relatives and friends were victims of these disturbances.

On the issue of reconciliation it is important to acknowledge that in 1980 the government, led by ZANU PF through the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, promised reconciliation to its erstwhile enemies. The spirit of unity and solidarity, as enshrined in *hunhu/ubuntu*, led to both an economic boom and social stability, and at some point Zimbabwe became the breadbasket of Southern Africa (Mangena, 2009: 71-87). The Zimbabwe government successfully rolled

out a program that would educate the masses who were to contribute towards nation building. Except for Matebeleland, for almost twenty years Zimbabwe enjoyed the status of a very stable country: socially, politically and economically.

A host of factors, however, led to economic downturn, political instability and social discord at the beginning of the new millennium, which led to serious polarization. This polarization has been a source of Zimbabwe's problems which range from chronic political violence as a result of divided opinion on matters of policy and governance, media polarization and the gross violation of individual human rights. These problems therefore call for *hunhu/ubuntu* to heal the nation's body politic and to bring back economic, political and social stability so as to bring Zimbabwe back to the community of progressive African nations.

Thus, the ONHRI was set up by the GNU to deal with these toxic problems. It is, however, important to note that for the ONHRI to succeed in healing the wounds of the victims of the political violence of the last decade, it must involve all stakeholders. That is, all interested parties in this whole process namely the Church, the Civil Society, academics, the traditional leadership as well as the victims and the perpetrators. In this paper, however, I concentrate on the submissions of the Church since the Church is one of the stakeholders that have put in writing what they consider to be the 'national framework' for national healing, reconciliation and integration that the ONHRI should adopt. In this chapter I contend that the Church's submissions cannot be considered to have a national outlook since these are submissions from just one sector of society; moreover, the submissions are not anchored on Zimbabwe's founding philosophy. In the absence of the submissions of other key stakeholders, the Church submissions remain isolated and largely ineffectual.

CHURCH SUBMISSIONS TO THE ONHRI

In 2009 through to 2010, the Christian community gave their submissions of what they expected the ONHRI to do in order to heal the nation and initiate the process of national healing and reconciliation. The submissions were captured in a document produced by the National Association of Non-governmental Organizations (NANGO) and the document was entitled *Church and Civil Society Submissions: Towards Development of a National Framework for National Healing, Integration and Reconciliation in Zimbabwe*.

In highlighting Church submissions, I will concentrate on the five major cities in Zimbabwe; namely Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Mutare and Masvingo. In Mutare, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), for instance, came up with what it called a five-fold mandate of

the Church vis-à-vis national healing. These are: (a) The Bible-based mandate, (b) The Constituency-based mandate, (c) The Community-based mandate, (d) The Call of God-based mandate and finally, (e) The Constitution-based mandate (NANGO Document, 2010: 10).

Below, I revisit this five-fold mandate of national healing, reconciliation and integration as presented by the EFZ of Mutare as follows:

(a) The Bible-based mandate: This mandate stipulates that the church is empowered to take a leading and active role in national healing, reconciliation and conflict resolution issues. This is especially true when applied to Western forms of reconciliation and conflict resolution where the church provides the blueprint (2010: 10).

(b) The Constituency-based mandate: According to this mandate, the church is a clearly defined constituency that also is in need of national healing (2010: 10).

(c) The Community-based mandate: According to this mandate, the church is similarly affected by polarization, strife and conflict and the attendant consequences in the communities to which the church leadership should provide social and spiritual answers (2010: 10).

(d) The Call of God-based mandate: This mandate stipulates that the church leadership has a role to provide a national healing service to the communities regardless of the risks involved. The idea is simply that the church leadership must answer God's call of spreading the word even to dangerous territories (2010: 10).

(e) The Constitution-based mandate: This mandate stipulates that Article 7 of the GPA empowers the church leadership to participate in the national healing process (2010: 10).

Having outlined the five-fold mandate of the Church, the Church leadership recommends that a Church-based national healing program should be implemented through four broad-based strategies with the following elements: advocacy, training, pastoral counseling and referral. The strategies should ensure the buy-in of opinion leaders of the Church-based national healing program for Zimbabwe and enhance service delivery by the Church on national healing (2010: 10).

In Masvingo, the major concerns of the Church were:

(a) That the mandate to lead the national healing process was to be vested within the Church, Civil Society and retired judges, but not politicians (2010: 21).

(b) That the process was to be premised on grassroots consultations and representation (2010: 21).

(c) That an independent commission needed to be constituted with the authority to research past violence and conflict, interview traditional and community leaders and victims and perpetrators of violence and conflict (2010: 21).

(d) That the national healing mechanism should be based on truth telling and confessions. The national process should guarantee amnesty for truth (2010: 21).

(e) That the national healing time frame should cover the period between 1980 and the present. As war veterans have already been compensated, the need was to focus on more recent conflict eras (2010: 21).

(f) That a commission of enquiry should hold the state accountable for all the political violence and conflict that happened within its jurisdiction. Where responsible ministers have not acted as per their duty to avoid such violence, they should be prosecuted in their personal capacities (2010: 21).

(g) That the process should ensure that offenders (all those found guilty of inciting, sponsoring and participating in violence) should be removed from holding public office (2010: 21).

(h) The national healing mobilization and awareness campaigns should be led by the Church and Civil Society. The Church and the Civil Society should draw up practical interventions that should ensure national healing, reconciliation and integration (2010: 22).

In Gweru, the Church gave the following submissions to the ONHRI:

(a) That for the process to move forward, political will was a major success factor and that it was now time for implementation (2010: 25).

(b) That the Church was committed to the process and was prepared to embark on a civic education campaign (2010: 25).

(c) That civic education was stifled at the grassroots level and should be urgently encouraged by fostering the necessary environment and,

(d) That government should develop information tools such as national jingles that support national healing (2010: 25).

To add to the above submissions, the Christian Alliance, an interdenominational group of concerned Christians, echoed views concerning retributive justice and the leadership of the national healing process (2010: 28). According to the Christian Alliance, the national healing process was supposed to ensure that there is retributive justice. Through the punishment of perpetrators and the compensation of

victims, the national healing process would send the correct message to society that murderers, rapists and other offenders need to face justice for victims and their relatives to be healed (2010: 28). For purposes of transparency, the Christian Alliance urged that politicians and traditional leaders were not supposed to lead the process of national healing given that the former were beneficiaries of the violence while the latter were politically oriented (2010: 28).

Churches in Bulawayo made the following submissions:

(a) That there be a national sensitization process which will educate Civil Society on the national healing process and its relationship with the GPA and the constitution-making process (2010: 34)

(b) That there be community capacity building which will dismantle prejudice and bias and develop mediation skills as well as conflict-management and communication skills (2010: 34)

(c) That there be identification and prevention of outbreaks of violence by teams at ward level (2010: 34)

(d) That the national healing process should cover the pre-independence era, the *Gukurahundi*, land distribution, Operation *Murambatsvina*, election periods and other community specific eras, where applicable (2010: 34)

(e) That the healing process should adopt a bottom-up approach where communities should determine how the process should unfold (2010: 34)

(f) That the government should play a facilitative role while the Church and Civil Society lead the process (2010: 34)

In Harare, the Church underscored the need for urgent national healing in view of the very many different ways that the country is hurting (2010: 53). The Church, as the bearer of the message of reconciliation, has a God-given mandate not only to reconcile all humanity to God but also to reconcile people to one another regardless of race, color, religious or political party affiliation (2010: 53).

The Church must assume a central and leading role in assisting the nation of Zimbabwe to undergo this physical, emotional, sensitive and spiritual process of transformation to bring about economic, social, spiritual and political healing and reconciliation (2010: 53). The role of the Church in Zimbabwe is vital for promoting peace, unity and reconciliation for the development and prosperity of the people (2010: 53). Having highlighted the submissions of the Church to the ONHRI for consideration, it is important that I subject the content of these submissions to a critical reflection to establish the extent to which the

submissions can be used to craft a national framework for national healing, reconciliation and integration.

REFLECTIONS ON CHURCH SUBMISSIONS TO THE ONHRI

It is important to begin this section by noting the major highlights of the Church submissions as drawn from the five cities above. Firstly, all the Church submissions seem to give the Church a leading role in the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration in post-conflict Zimbabwe and affirm that the national healing process must address issues of the injustices of colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe.

Secondly, with regard to the post-colonial era (which is the main subject of this paper), the issue of the Matabeleland and Midlands disturbances (also known as *Gukurahundi*) features prominently in submissions from Churches in Bulawayo, and these submissions treat the *Gukurahundi* issue as an urgent matter. This is not surprising given that most of the victims of *Gukurahundi* were from Matabeleland. Thirdly, Church submissions from Bulawayo and Gweru raised the important issue of civic education on the process of national healing and how it is linked to the GPA and the constitution-making process.

Fourthly, submissions from Masvingo, Gweru and Bulawayo excluded the role of the political leadership in the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration. It is not clear why submissions from Masvingo, Gweru and Bulawayo excluded the political leadership in the national healing, reconciliation and integration process but it may have to do with the fact that politicians were among the chief perpetrators of political violence in the period under review.

Fifthly, the issues of punishment or restorative justice, spirituality and reconciliation came out clearly from the Church submissions in Harare, Mutare, Masvingo and Gweru. It came up probably out of the realization that for the process of national healing to be achieved in Zimbabwe, some people should be held accountable for their actions and must suffer the consequences. The process of challenging these people must also be spiritual, which in the final analysis must allow parties involved to be reconciled in Christian ways.

So, having outlined the submissions of the Church above, it is important to critically reflect on the feasibility (or lack thereof) of these submissions in building a peaceful Zimbabwe.

To begin with, in the title of the NANGO document whence these submissions are largely drawn, there are important catch words; namely 'national framework,' 'national healing' and 'reconciliation.' In this paper, I am particularly interested in the catch phrase 'national framework,' which for me means any framework that respects the religious and cultural diversity of a people. Considering that Zimbabwe

is not a Christian nation in the sense that it recognizes and respects the role played by other religions apart from Christianity, a national framework should therefore, include the input or submissions of other religious faiths such as African Traditional Religion(s), Islam and Judaism to name just a few.

Thus, the phrase 'national framework,' while it is open to different interpretations, should encompass the input of all religions when formulating national policies. The ONHRI through the submissions in the NANGO document should not have given the Church such a leading role in the formulation of a national framework. Probably this has more to do with the fact that the ONHRI is working with Civil Society, which is also by and large Christian in orientation. The involvement of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the national healing, reconciliation and integration process could also be a reason why the Church seems to be taking the lead, since the UNDP funds the operations of the ONHRI and is headquartered in one of the citadels of Christianity, the United States of America. Remember the English adage: Those who pay the piper call the tune.

A further complication is that the submissions of the Church do not speak very well to the problems faced by the people during the period under review, since they are drawn from Churches in the urban areas and yet political violence was more pronounced or predominant in the rural areas. For instance, in order to get accurate information about political violence in Muzarabani, one would need to find out what happened from Churches as well as from the traditional leadership in Muzarabani. Thus, the absence of the submissions of the Church in the rural area is rather conspicuous.

Another point to note is that the Church should not be entrusted with the responsibility to lead the national healing, reconciliation and integration since it is also in need of national healing (NANGO Document, 2010: 10). One recognizes this when one considers what is happening in the Anglican Church today, which is now divided into camps. One was aligned with Bishop Sebastian Bakare, but now is now aligned with Bishop Chad Gandiya, and the other one which is aligned with Bishop Nolbert Kunonga (Vengeyi, 2011: 15-41).

Many scholars believe that the split in the Anglican Church was caused by Kunonga's endorsement of the regime, which followed his excommunication from the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA). After this development, Kunonga resisted an order to return assets of the Church and to cede use of church buildings to the CPCA (Sachikonye, 2011: 76).

This resistance sparked conflict between the Church led by Kunonga and that led by Bakare and later by Gandiya (Sachikonye, 2011: 76). At times this conflict exploded into violence between

members of the two Anglican factions as they fought over where and when to worship in existing church buildings in Harare (Sachikonye, 2011:76). In some cases, violence was imported into the Church with state backing for one of the factions (*The Standard*, 18 April 2010 quoted in Sachikonye, 2011: 76). However, the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe made its ruling in November 2012 to the effect that Kunonga was not the *bonafide* custodian of the Anglican property as it belonged to the CPCA led by Gandiya. With this ruling Kunonga was asked to vacate all immovable property including church buildings and houses and to return, to the CPCA, all movable property including vehicles. He has since complied with this ruling.

The abiding question now is: How can the Church lead the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration with this track record? We also have apostolic sects such as Johane Masowe and others that have dabbled in politics, and it becomes difficult to trust the Church to bring about a genuine national healing, reconciliation and integration process. The aspect of prophecy in the Pentecostal movement in Zimbabwe has also divided the nation especially the emphasis on the performance of miracles some of which are not in line with Biblical teachings. Some of the so-called 'prophets' or 'Men of God' in these Pentecostal movements seem to thrive on controversy as they seem to concentrate on worldly affairs such as giving their congregants 'miracle money' or promising congregants 'gold from heaven' contrary to Biblical teachings which stipulate that human beings must work or sweat in order to earn a living (See for example Genesis 3: 19).

With this kind of background, it becomes difficult to trust the Church to lead an important exercise such as National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration. Having said that, it is critical to argue that a 'national framework' for national healing, reconciliation and integration can only be formulated by embracing the spirit of truthfulness and non-partisanship and by adopting what I would call 'religious inclusivity' whereby all religious faiths participate in the national healing, reconciliation and integration process.

But before one can say whether the submissions of the Church are the Alpha and Omega in the process of establishing a national framework for national healing, reconciliation and integration or that all religious faiths must be involved, there is need to answer the question: On whose morality should the submissions of the Church and other religious faiths be anchored? A response to this question is critical, since it should show us the direction the whole process of national healing, reconciliation and integration should take.

One thing for certain is that it may not be possible to have these submissions anchored on Western moral philosophies since these are not in touch with African moral realities. This prompts us to search not only

for a philosophy that is in sync with African moral realities, but a philosophy whose legitimacy can be established by considering the founding principles of a nation. In the case of Zimbabwe, these founding principles are *hunhuist* or *ubuntuist*.

Thus, the Church submissions outlined and explained above together with submissions from other religious faiths must be linked firmly with these *hunhu/ubuntu* moral anchors. In the next section, I outline and explain these qualities or tenets, which are required in the process of establishing a genuine and inclusive national healing, reconciliation and integration process in post-conflict Zimbabwe.

HUNHU/UBUNTU AS ZIMBABWE'S ANCHORING PHILOSOPHY

For a nation to have lasting peace and stability, mechanisms must be put in place to deal with crisis situations, be they social, political or economic. These mechanisms must be based on a nation's foundational or anchoring philosophy or ideology. In most Western countries the philosophy is individualistic, while in most African states the ideology is communitarian. It is important to note that in Zimbabwe we have had crisis situations that have called for a return to the nation's founding philosophies or ideologies, and yet we have relied too much on the guidance of the Church and have mitigated the challenges with limited success.

For example, at the heart of the Zimbabwe crisis, Churches were in the forefront of praying for the nation and at some point Church leaders drafted a document called *The Zimbabwe We Want*, which document seemed to express weakly a Christian agenda; and yet Zimbabwe was founded on a solid *hunhu/ubuntu* ideology (Samkange and Samkange cited in Gade, 2011: 310). It is not surprising that the Church initiatives yielded little, for they did not communicate clearly the nation's founding principles. The spiritual forces of Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Mkwati and King Lobengula that had delivered independence to Zimbabwe from colonial rule were sidelined in favour of foreign solutions to the crisis. Might it be that political violence escalated partly because these spirits were and are still angry? The answer is mostly likely to be in the affirmative.

In section 3 of *The Zimbabwe We Want* document entitled: *Vision and Values of the Zimbabwe We Want*, Churches identified what they considered to be the core values of nation building. In this paper I only discuss three of these core values, namely: spirituality and morality, unity-in-diversity as well as democracy and good governance (Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference *et al*, 2006: 17-21). These three core values are important for this chapter because these are the

values that, if understood properly, can bring about unity and solidarity among people of African extraction. After outlining and explaining these core values from a Christian perspective, I will show why we need to reflect on these same values using African lances.

Referring to what it considers to be the core values of a peaceful Zimbabwe, *The Zimbabwe We Want* document states that:

There is a very real danger of secularism eroding our spirituality and our morality. If we define our personhood apart from the biblical concept that we are created in the image of God, we inevitably devalue one another leading to violence or political corruption (2006: 17-21).

It is important to observe that in the above paragraph, spirituality and morality are defined in Christian terms and yet we know that the two terms go beyond Christian boundaries. The idea is probably to try and truncate or demonize other religions in order to advance only a Christian agenda. This is against the spirit and letter of religious pluralism which Zimbabwe as a nation celebrates. I know that I may face the same accusation of limiting the meaning of spirituality and morality to one religion, that is, to African Traditional Religion specifically Shona Religion especially as *hunhu/ubuntu* philosophy is an aspect of this religion, but I will not be bothered by such a criticism as I believe that the National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration as an important national exercise can best be defined by a home grown philosophy.

On unity-and-diversity, *The Zimbabwe We Want* document states that, “the principle of unity-in-diversity is at the core of our definition of a nation. A nation is the aggregation of individuals, families, communities and ethnicities bound together by a combination of history, birth, geography and a common system of governance” (2006: 17-21). In general, “a nation cannot be an individual or a select group of individuals and communities that define history, birthright, geographic space and political power to the exclusion of a significant portion of individuals, families, communities and ethnicities” (2006: 17-21).

As *The Zimbabwe We Want* document put it:

The Biblical analogy of the tribes of Israel, who were originally the children of Jacob, gives us an idea of the divine gravitation from singularity to diversity. This gravitation towards diversity is exemplified right through the Bible: from Adam, Noah, Jacob, the twelve disciples, the diversity of the four gospels, the unity in diversity of the early Jerusalem Church and the grand finale of the

multitudinous throng of thousands upon thousands from every tongue and tribe before the throne of God (Revelation 7). Modern day Christianity is a plethora of diversity of doctrine, creed, belief and practice but all co-existing in tolerance and non-violence (2006: 17-21).

While there is no denying the fact that unity and diversity are key elements of a nation, these have to be defined within the framework of *hunhu/ubuntu* rather than to define them within the context of Judaic traditions. *Hunhu/Ubuntu* celebrates unity in diversity as well. Martin Prozesky is one such *hunhu/ubuntu* scholar who considers unity in diversity to be a key notion of African humanism. Referring to the South African reconciliation process, he argues thus:

History has given South Africa a diversity of peoples. We come in a range of colours. We speak different languages. We follow different faiths and profess different philosophies. Our cultures and life styles vary. We do not all like the same kinds of foods. We do not all support the same football teams. We do not all support the same political parties. Diversity like this is not a problem or a curse. It is a blessing, just as nature's forests with their diversity of trees are more beautiful than any plantation. Indeed, there is unity in diversity (Prozesky, 2003: 5).

With regard to the issue of democracy and governance, *The Zimbabwe We Want* document states that:

Unity must be characterized by democracy and democratic participation, built on the premise that all its citizens, in their diversity and divergence with respect to the color of their skins, ethnic backgrounds, social or economic status, gender, religious or political persuasions, are equal and must be given equal opportunity to participate in the definition of our collective destiny. Our diversity is a source of enrichment to the nation as it provides opportunity for us to look at issues from different perspectives in the light of our different experiences. In a democratic system every citizen has a right to contribute to a shared and common destiny and must therefore be heard and protected as they exercise their democratic rights (2006: 17-21).

It is through this dialogue that we construct a future where each one of us becomes a beneficiary (2006: 17-21). Thus, “the essence of democracy is the government by the highest consensus and the affirmation, recognition and engagement of all, including minority groups, marginal sectors of our stakeholder communities, informal sector players, children, women, the poor, the disabled, the senior citizens, and the alien” (2006: 17-21). *The Zimbabwe We Want* document recognizes and affirms a collective, comprehensive and inclusive citizenship and national stakeholder base that does not exclude, repress or vilify any section of the community on account of gender, class, ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation.

According to *The Zimbabwe We Want* document, “our view of democracy therefore seeks to include rather than exclude” (2006: 17-21). I agree with some of the issues addressed in *The Zimbabwe We Want* document, for instance, issues of democratic participation, issues related to unity and diversity, its banishment of discrimination based on gender, class, ethnicity, place of origin and political affiliation. Yet I argue that this document remains largely irrelevant as long as the issues in it do not directly speak to the common person in the rural area who was severely affected by political violence more than his or her urban counterpart. Its effect will remain at the level of idealizing.

In a bid to prescribe practical and concrete solutions to the Zimbabwe crisis, I argue that only a homegrown philosophy which a common person in the rural area can identify with will be the most appropriate to bring about a genuine and inclusive national healing, reconciliation and integration process. Samkange and Samkange identify *hunhuism/ubuntuism* as a philosophy or ideology about how the new Zimbabwe should be governed, understood as a positive human quality (2011: 310). According to Samkange and Samkange (1980), the socio-political implications to be extracted from *hunhuism/ubuntuism* are fivefold as follows:

- (a) That *hunhuism/ubuntuism* dictates that there should be a government of national unity in new Zimbabwe (1980: 45).
- (b) That the new Zimbabweans ought to live amicably with their neighboring states (1980: 50).
- (c) That the new Zimbabwe government should use the inhabitants’ fear of *ngozi* (aggrieved spirits or spirits of restorative justice) to prevent murder (1980: 54).
- (d) That communal land ownership should not be eroded by Western ideas of private ownership (1980: 59), and
- (e) That there should be state, communal and individual property (1980: 64).

But how can this *hunhu/ubuntu* philosophy or ideology be appropriated to heal the nation's body politic? To answer this question satisfactorily, it is important to note that *hunhu/ubuntu* as an African ideology has a three-pronged approach to national healing, reconciliation and integration. The first approach is metaphysical or spiritual (See, for example, Nafukho cited in Ovens and Prinsloo, 2011: 21), where the spirit world is invoked or invited to help us deal with crisis situations. This is so partly because during the Zimbabwean crisis there was a lot of bloodshed. This calls for a national healing and reconciliation process that recognizes the need to cleanse the soils where the blood was shed and to compensate those who lost their lives, lest the spirit of *ngozi* wreaks havoc to the perpetrators and their families. The Church and Civil Society do not have any jurisdiction over these matters as most have no idea of what *ngozi* is, how it operates and how it can be appropriated to bring about a restorative or restitutive justice that is a mortar of African solidarity.

The second approach is the dialogical approach where parties involved in the crisis must come together, form a roundtable in the form of Family Group Conferencing (FGC) in order to heal the nation. The third approach which is built up from the second emphasizes the need for consensus, that is, the offended must be prepared to forgive those who offended them provided that the latter accept that they were wrong and that they are prepared to pay some form of compensation to their victims. This third approach must lead to reconciliation and integration. The point is that once appropriate steps are taken to heal the victims through dialogue, there is no reason why the victims and their families should not forgive their offenders and there is also no reason why these offenders should not be integrated back to society.

Having said that, it is also critical to note that the liberation struggle was won partly by invoking the spirits of Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Mkwati and King Lobengula. The same spirits must be invited to heal the nation's body politic. This is probably an aspect of what Samkange and Samkange (1980) mean by Zimbabwe's founding ideology. These same spirits, which we have relied on from the beginning, that is, from the time of the liberation struggle, should lead this three-pronged national healing, reconciliation and integration process.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I looked at the contribution of the Church in the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration as mooted by the Zimbabwe's Government of National Unity in 2009. My position was that the Church alone could not successfully lead the process of

national healing, reconciliation and integration, partly because it is also in need of national healing. I cited the conflict in the Anglican Church as an example of some of the problems that have plagued the Church in recent years. I then argued that for the process of national healing to be genuine and inclusive, it must not only involve the Church but must open up to other religious faiths as well and must build on Zimbabwe's founding principles, namely *hunhu/ubuntu*, since Zimbabwe is a creation of *hunhu/ubuntu* as a philosophy and ideology.

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CHAPTER V

RACIAL HARMONY IN ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE

ISAIAH MUNYISWA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about a critical analysis of the ethics of racial harmony in former colonized states of Southern Africa with a particular focus on the extent to which reconciliation has helped in harmonizing black/white relations in independent Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa. Arguably, the idea of reconciliation in both countries was not just a matter of healing the wounds of former warring sides, but critically also, a way of harmonizing races¹. For example, the liberation war in Zimbabwe was neither between the *Shona* and *Ndebele*² nor were acts of black resistance in apartheid South Africa a clash of tribal groups. In each case, black Africans sought to free themselves from oppressive white minority establishments. To this end, reconciliation in these two societies included racial integration as a critical component of the healing and transition process.

The chapter will proceed by interrogating the concept and practice of reconciliation in Zimbabwe and South Africa. In particular, I examine whether reconciliation as understood within the context of these two societies leads to a sustainable racial harmony of previously socially antagonized races. To this end, I will in the following sections, discuss the trajectory of the racial reconciliation model in Zimbabwe and the extent to which it can provide vital insights into the South African model which was seeded fifteen years later and currently struggling to sustain itself. This discussion and its conclusions logically lead to my proposal for an alternative theory of racial harmony to reconciliation.

In Southern Africa the idea of reconciliation was first seriously put into practice by Robert Mugabe at Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 when he 'unconditionally' invited the former colonial white

¹ By racial harmony I mean any situation where people of different races come together to work and live harmoniously as one big family in a state or any society for that matter; when everyone is clear of their counterpart cultures and practices so as to avoid any unnecessary mistakes, whether it be in casual speech or in daily behaviour. Underpinning racial harmony is equality and the absence of any form of racial stereotyping.

² The Shona and the Ndebele are arguably the main tribes in Zimbabwe.

settlers to remain and be part of the new state despite a near century of racial exploitation and oppression. Until 1999, whites in Zimbabwe kept most of their properties. The reconciliation of South Africa was somewhat different and more complicated. In 1995 the new black South African government established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) – a court-like body meant to help heal the country and bring about a reconciliation of its people by uncovering the truth about human rights violations that had occurred during the period of apartheid. The TRC held public hearings at which victims gave testimonies about gross violations of human rights, defined in the Act as torture, killings, disappearances and abductions, and severe ill treatment suffered at the hands of the apartheid state³. Those who had suffered violations at the hands of the liberation movements by members and leaders of such groups as the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the Pan-Africanist Congress, also appeared before the Commission.

The proceedings of the Commission were just amnesty hearings that aimed at the creation of a ‘new nation’- the rainbow nation – a single nation celebrating unity in diversity, composed of people of different colours and backgrounds. Even though there is no clear-cut evidence to the effect that the South African model of reconciliation got its inspiration from the Zimbabwean model, a comparative analysis of the two models can provide a deeper understanding of the complexity of racial harmony in the former colonized territories. In the case of Zimbabwe and South Africa, both countries have four racial categories: Black Africans, who in each case account for three quarters of the entire population, Whites, Indians and Coloureds who are of mixed White and Black descent.

The size of the Asian population is continually increasing in the region now owing to China’s economic interests in Africa in recent years but this group does not usually seek permanent citizenship in Africa. To this end, I confine myself to the integration of former white colonialists and the former colonized black masses. This choice is not accidental, but the idea is to focus on the races that have a history of conflict since they are the ones that need to be harmonized. Racial harmony is a critical issue in Africa necessarily because as Gibson and Claassen (2010:255) rightly observe, the future of Africa’s nascent democracy depends upon the development of cooperative rather than conflictual intergroup relations. This however does not suggest that only racial harmony is critical to Africa’s development. Progress and development on the continent have been hampered even more by tribal, ethnic and religious conflicts. In recent times bloody conflicts of ethnic

³ I found this definition on the Commission’s website.

and religious nature are being witnessed in countries such as Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Ivory Coast to mention but a few. Africa needs harmony in various spheres. My choice to discuss racial harmony is founded on the fact that racial harmony necessarily includes social justice (in particular wealth redistribution) as one of its elements and social justice is crucial to peaceful coexistence and development. Subsequently, I argue that besides being conceptually vague, reconciliation does not give an adequate account of social justice for sustainable racial harmony.

RECONCILIATION AND COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

What does the term reconciliation in the concept of 'racial reconciliation' mean? This question qualifies to be one of the most difficult of all times to answer because there has always been confusion as to what reconciliation is. This confusion is worrying if the concept is supposed to inform practical action or if it is the theoretical basis of a critical and desired socio-political action. In the case of post-war Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa, the desired action has been or is meant to establish cordial relations between whites, representing former colonizers or oppressors, and blacks, representing the former victims.

Most of the confusion on reconciliation emanates from the fact that, most politicians and writers on the subject tend to skirt the practicality of reconciliation particularly the fact that it is not a voluntary and free act and something readily desirable to all concerned parties. Some truths, which many may prefer to ignore, remain critical to any meaningful discussion on racial reconciliation. Circumstances permitting, most whites in Zimbabwe at independence would have preferred to remain under the white minority government of Ian Smith⁴ and most white South Africans, particularly some Afrikaners, were more comfortable under the former apartheid government which fully protected their interests. For some of the whites in the two countries, reconciliation was a 'no other option' kind of situation hence the many years they fought to sustain either the colonial or the apartheid arrangements. For others, there was nothing desirable about reconciliation. Any genuine attempt on racial reconciliation must not ignore such historical states of affairs. Exceptions, however, were

⁴ See Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock's *Rhodesians Never Die*, published by Baobab Books, Harare, 1993. The book narrates how White Rhodesians, the majority of whom were not for political change, reacted to the "terrorist" war and the onset of black rule in the 1980s. It shows how most Rhodesians begrudgingly accepted black majority rule.

always there. There were some whites in both Zimbabwe and South Africa who helped liberation movements in one way or another.

On the other hand the general black populace of the two countries seems to have had a different understanding of reconciliation. To the blacks, reconciliation was something like a magic concept that would, in a second, transform the racist attitudes of their erstwhile oppressors in such a manner that these whites would all of a sudden start realizing how unjust and wrong they had been all along. To the blacks, the whites would soon after Robert Mugabe made reconciliatory overtures or soon after Nelson Mandela's release from prison, become remorseful and regret the wanton injury they had caused over the years. These whites would suddenly feel the need to apologize and commit themselves to never again repeat the harms they had caused. These former colonizers, it was hoped, would start seeing cordial relations between different races as mutually enriching and would feel morally obliged to compensate for the injuries they had directly or indirectly caused. This is what the ordinary black man or woman made of reconciliation as it cascaded down to him or her from the politicians. This black man or woman would, from that moment, start observing and scrutinizing the conduct of the former oppressors, assessing whether they would have indeed changed. Results of these progress evaluations appear to have always been negative. This is a clear indication that reconciliation always lacked a shared or at least an agreed meaning by all stakeholders. Matters are complicated by the fact that the word 'reconciliation' used in the context of racial harmony is unclear; it lacks a distinct English definition and therefore is susceptible to various and largely self-centred interpretations.

The word 'reconcile' is made up of the prefix 're-' and '-concile'. The prefix carries the sense of 'again' or 'again and again', hence 'reconciliation' might mean re-establishing a close relationship that would have broken through some reasons. To reconcile partners in a marriage is to reunite the couple that was previously united before some temporary break-up. Understanding reconciliation this way does not seem to represent what has come to be called racial reconciliation. This is precisely because there was never a period in the history of either Zimbabwe or South Africa when whites and blacks lived harmoniously as a unified nation. Does reconciliation in Zimbabwe and South Africa mean re-establishing broken racial relations? No history can confirm a once harmonious relationship between settlers and blacks in these two countries. In fact, history tells us that in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, white settlers were resisted from the beginning hence the Transvaal wars of the 1870s in South Africa and the first *chimurenga* wars in Zimbabwe in the 1890s. Black kingdoms and chiefdoms accepted whites and other races as trading partners but not as fellow-

settlers. Reconciliation in the context of racial reconciliation therefore does not make any historical or philosophical sense.

There is however another interesting use of 'reconcile' that is significantly different from the one discussed above. 'Reconcile' may mean bringing oneself to accept an unpleasant condition as in reconciling oneself to the fact that one's child is gay or lesbian. A person can reconcile himself or herself to poverty after realizing that there are no other clear alternatives. It means accepting a situation usually undesirable. It would be sad if reconciliation were to be understood in this narrow sense. Reconciliation may also mean bringing parties to a common understanding ideologically or on a particular contentious issue, but this is either difficult or slow as a process. For example, bringing a capitalist and a socialist to a common ground is not an easy undertaking. At a conceptual level, reconciliation therefore remains unclear⁵. What is clear is that the meaning of reconciliation currently in circulation, besides being vague, demands too much for it demands both practical and psychological transformation of a whole race. It would be good if such spontaneous positive transformation occurred, but there is always a danger of frustrations coming from unrealized expectations.

There is need however to always keep in sight the goal of reconciliation as racial harmony and racial integration remain critical particularly in post-apartheid South Africa, which is one of the few remaining countries in southern Africa with a potential for race related political and socio-economic challenges. Because of the inherent conceptual and operational challenges of reconciliation, I am, in this work, proposing the idea of racial harmony and integration founded upon the notion of citizenship and understood in the context of an association of diverse but equal citizens. Racial harmony in post-conflict societies would be sustainable if all races are citizens of that community. Citizenship determines how individuals behave and interact and how societal rights and burdens are distributed and shared. One of the critical elements of citizenship is equality. When all people are citizens, it means that they are all equal and this in turn means that social ills like racial discrimination, gender discrimination are supposedly absent. To this end, racial integration founded upon citizenship ought to be marked

⁵ Many writers including those on the South African reconciliation agree that the term 'reconciliation' has always been unclear. See Rosemary Nagy, *Reconciliation in Post-Commission South Africa: Thick and Thin accounts of Solidarity*, Canadian Journal of Political Science, June, 2002; also Jeffrey Herbst, *Racial Reconciliation in Southern Africa*, International Affairs, 1989; Hizkias Assefa, *The Meaning of Reconciliation*, European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation.

out by the following attributes, all of which are vital to sustainable harmony:

- A sense of national identity by all races. At the core of national identity must be a high level sense of patriotism and a desire to work for the common good.
- The enjoyment of equal political, civil and social rights by all races. A political system of equal citizenship is in reality less than equal if it is part of a society grossly divided by unequal conditions⁶
- A high degree of interest and involvement in public affairs by all races
- Sharing of all dues and burdens of society by all races

A multi-racial post-colonial society lacking the above attributes will always experience racial tensions. It remains a fragmented association of individuals with mostly conflicting interests. The above elements applied holistically are sure enablers of racial harmony. Subsequent discussions shed more light on the above attributes using Zimbabwe and South Africa as case studies.

FAILED RACIAL INTEGRATION IN POST-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE AND WHAT SOUTH AFRICA NEEDS TO WATCH OUT FOR

Only a few whites presently remain in Zimbabwe. In the ten-year period from 1980 to 1990 approximately two thirds of the white population left Zimbabwe due to various reasons among them an uncertain future, direct displacement due to black empowerment, and failure to accept the new circumstances by some hard-line former Rhodesians. Since the liberation war was prosecuted following Marxist principles, some whites of a liberal background feared the possible establishment of a socialist state that would have the potential to undermine their rights.

The white farming community and some urban business owners initially remained. This section of the white community later was drastically reduced following land reform and indigenous programmes which started in earnest in 2000. Presently in the capital Harare, a small group of largely elderly whites is usually seen doing business or relaxing in the relatively plush area of Borrowdale. A good number now show signs of financial strain, a marked contrast to previous social status before 2000. The circumstances of white Zimbabweans are a clear indication of a failed integration process because the assumption at

⁶ Barbalet J.M, *Citizenship*, Open University Press, England, 1988

independence was that white Rhodesians would still be bona fide citizens in the new Zimbabwe, hence they would fit into the new dispensation. Redistributive justice was naturally to be effected to accommodate the previously disadvantaged masses until some measure of 'equality' was attained in the multiracial society. However the multiracial 'harmony' collapsed in an instant in the year 2000 when landless Zimbabweans invaded almost all commercial farms owned by whites – a sign that something had gone wrong.

The indication was that social justice had failed and simultaneously racial integration had also failed. Who was to blame for this failure? I categorically state that both races fared badly in terms of strategy and negotiation. I want however to justify why I think white Zimbabweans could have done better to avoid their present circumstances of alienation from the Zimbabwean community. South Africa needs to consider these arguments seriously because it still has a chance to consolidate its otherwise unstable 'rainbow nation'. The following discussion looks at the various matrices of citizenship and racial integration. In each instance I discuss the Zimbabwean scenario and then evaluate the South African prospects on the same.

RACE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

A sense of national identity and patriotism are essential ingredients of citizenship. They are essential in maintaining a healthy and strong bond among members of society. While defining patriotism, Mangena (2011:36) states that by virtue of being the citizen of a particular country one becomes personally attached to the interests, beliefs and projects of that particular country, and would want to contribute towards the sustenance of such projects. Unfortunately, most former white Rhodesians in most instances displayed signs of their desire not to identify with the new dispensation ushered in by the black majority rule of the post-1980 era.

I vividly remember one white farmer in the 80s who declined to offer me a lift saying; "your government should avail buses to you." I now realize he was right and wrong at the same time. As an individual, he had no moral obligation to provide me with transport. Governments all over the world have the responsibility to offer some basic social services to their people. However, his reference to 'your government' was distasteful to me as it countered the idea of citizenship and identity. By that expression he probably meant that the black government was for black people and had the moral obligation to cater for their needs just like what the white minority government did to its white citizens.

As soon as a predominantly black government was in place, most whites assumed a new identity. They turned themselves into non-citizens

and became just like a constellation of foreign investors in the country. It is however a fact that loss of citizenship entails loss of certain rights and privileges. According to Arendt, by losing citizenship, “you lose the right to have rights” (Natalie Oman, 2010:280-1). The white population alienated itself to the extent of making recreational hideouts for themselves deep in some farms beyond the reach of the majority black Zimbabweans. They even abandoned their traditional burial sites and turned some farms into strictly white only cemeteries. The ‘we’ and ‘you’, ‘our’ and ‘your’ identities that ensued were counterproductive as they worked against the common good.

It is the feeling of belonging and attachment to a community that makes one a citizen and a member rather than an alien. The post independent white community in Zimbabwe chose to alienate itself by withdrawing to some privacy while seemingly remaining loyal to a dead regime of Ian Smith. Those of Indian descent who also had formed a significant population in Zimbabwe settled in well with blacks largely because they were not former colonizers and also the fact that they were comfortable with having limited rights; rights to operate their retail shops and nothing more. The Indian community was neither Rhodesian nor Zimbabwean but a community of wealth seekers whose businesses were of no significant interest to anyone.

The South African situation is however different. There are around 5 million white people in South Africa out of a total population of about 50 million with most either being Afrikaner or English. Many of those of English descent have British passports. But the Afrikaner population which has been in South Africa for the past 300 years does not seem to maintain a significant link with its past. Most of the descendants of the Boer settlers lost track of their roots back in Holland. It is therefore more meaningful for them to identify with South Africa than with Holland. Instead of forming a ‘nation within a nation’, the Afrikaners will be better placed to protect their interests by integrating with the mainstream society in areas of education, employment and, in particular, politics.

Racial integration does not prescribe intermarriages, holding parties together or interracial friendships; it rather means getting rid of hostilities and barriers that are either direct or indirect and acknowledging that they are a people together, equal and sharing the same space and working together to sustain that common space. Politically, Afrikaners may support the Democratic Alliance Party, but it is a better strategy for them to influence or neutralize things within the ANC. The DA remains a symbol of apartheid regardless of current efforts to include some blacks in its ranks. The white Afrikaners’ concerns are better appreciated if they are channeled through the ANC rather than coming from the direction of the DA. Sometimes the right to

choice must be overridden by some consequential calculations. Afrikaners just have to be loyal to their country, multiracial as it is. Divisions justified on claims of crime and violence cannot be supported as statistics show that violence is not targeted at whites alone, but it affects all races.

A DEGREE OF INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Dating back to ancient Greeks, participation has been used to distinguish citizens from non-citizens or aliens or slaves. Citizenship is a status one attains by acting accordingly in this case, as a citizen and is not just a criterion of eligibility. Being born and living within some territory does not automatically make one a citizen. Citizenship follows from actual participation, particularly political participation and sharing the benefits of society (see Michael Walzer, 1983, Adrian Oldfield 1990, and Richard Dagger 1988). According to Aristotle, we have to define 'citizen' in the strict and unqualified sense. A citizen in this strict sense is best defined by one criterion, 'a man who shares in the administration of justice and in the holding of office'⁷.

An individual who lives decently in his or her private life is not necessarily a citizen, but a citizen is one who is committed to participation in public life; at the very least to taking an informed interest in public affairs and, ideally, playing an active part in them. It is to be noted however that most states are populated with potential citizens and not citizens proper. Children, by virtue of age, are potential citizens. Mature individuals, who are denied political and civil rights, remain potential citizens. Societies where people lack basic social services like health facilities, schools, clean water, food and so on, are societies populated with potential citizens. The comatose and the insane are also potential citizens; citizenship follows from the actual enjoyment or exercise of rights of citizens. Besides being a hallmark of citizenship, participation in public affairs is important in safeguarding one's interests.

It would be doing great injustice to oneself to complain about how bad government is whilst being an inactive bystander. After the Zimbabwean independence in 1980, the white community withdrew from public life at an alarming rate. Black empowerment policies were a factor with some strategic positions, but the majority government needed the presence of the more experienced whites in pretty much all sectors. The logical thing for Zimbabwean whites would have been to maintain

⁷ Aristotle, *Politics*, Book 111, Chapter 1, Section 1274b. This version of *Politics* was translated by Enerst Barker

their presence in the police, the army and all other government departments. Participation in national sports teams would have made things even better. Through such participation, whites would have remained influential and better positioned to protect their century old interests. Even with the indigenization and agrarian reforms that came later, I strongly believe they would not have come with the ruthlessness that we have witnessed since 1999. There was a need for the whites to provide that counterweight within government structures.

Some whites who chose to remain loyal to the civil service like the director of human resources in the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Ms. Erica Jones, Dr. Timothy Stamps and a few others were accommodated within the inevitable wealth redistribution processes. If a significant number of whites were in government, their constituency interests would have been better protected. The feeling of oneness and togetherness obliges people to be ashamed of doing certain things towards each other. But the whites chose to remain elitist, distant; resigned from the civil service, from much of public life and formed their own separate 'nation', only to resurrect in the late 90s to try and steer the MDC to power in a desperate effort to protect their interests. Their efforts came too late. That was however strategically, a serious political error.

It is indubitable that following his reconciliation overtures, the first Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe expected an extra-ordinary change of behaviour from the former Rhodesian whites. By extending that hand of reconciliation, he thought he would himself become their hero of all times as they were supposed to unconditionally stick with him eternally and behave in a wonderfully transformed way. This explains Mugabe's deep-seated anger when almost the entire white community supported the opposition MDC when it joined Zimbabwe's political landscape in 1999. This fury from Mugabe was indeed a violation of the principles of justice, for he held an extreme and impractical understanding of reconciliation.

I believe that a morally acceptable forgiveness must not attach unbearable conditions, particularly those that infringe on individuals' choices and preferences. In the same vein, the white community could have been more strategic than rising from political slumber to all of a sudden start de-campaigning Mugabe, funding the opposition and campaigning against the February 2000 referendum for a new constitution. This political 'blunder' by the whites gave Mugabe the ammunition to unleash war veterans on white farmers' properties while simultaneously turning into a radical racist as he from that moment reverted to the pre-independence designation of whites as enemies.

Is South Africa headed in the same direction? Some notable changes are already taking place. In the area of sports, it is worth noting

that the 1996 *Bafana Bafana* squad was a marvel to watch as it really represented the multi-racial 'rainbow nation' team which every South African displayed. The outlook of the squad is not the same anymore. The rainbow nation team is fast disappearing with more whites now visible in sporting disciplines where you find fewer blacks – in sports like cricket and rugby. In 2009, 13 white Zimbabwe cricket national team players resigned, protesting the inclusion of blacks on the selection panel. This signaled the move towards the end of white participation in Zimbabwe's national teams although some still participate in rugby and cricket. If more blacks move into the Springboks, the same trend may be witnessed in South African rugby.

The South African civil service, viewed from outside and without full knowledge of its internal dynamics related to race, appears multi-racial. If a racial balance is maintained, so much the better for all the races and if all races except the blacks decide to leave the public service, then another Zimbabwe will be in the making and this calls for serious reflection. Instead of leaving the country, young whites must seriously consider joining key government departments, even if the principal director is of another race or is doing badly. If whites want less crime, then they must be part of the police and the judiciary. If they want clean cities, then they must remain within city councils. All races must be committed to see to it that Johannesburg is clean. If whites decide to leave it to the blacks to clean the city while they move to a cleaner Cape Town, they should expect all other races to run away from the dirty Johannesburg and make Cape Town dirty again. What causes the dirt is the resultant congestion, not really people.

RACE AND SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

T.H Marshall defines social citizenship as the enjoyment of a broad range of rights, from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being.⁸ A balanced multiracial society ought to ensure the enjoyment of equal social rights by all races. A political system of equal citizenship is in reality less than equal if it is part of a society grossly divided by unequal conditions. If race is central to country's social hierarchy, then racial tensions will always be present.

One way of effecting racial harmony is to ensure that any inequalities between races are not linked to past injustices. A society committed to a commodious coexistence among different races ought to

⁸ Marshall, T.H, (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class*, Westport, Greenwood Press, pages 10-11.

commit itself to resolving disparities created by past injustices. Hard decisions have to be made in the short run with a view to reaping benefits in the long run. Most white farmers in Zimbabwe had an average of 5 farms each. I know of one white farmer who had seven farms, all of them measuring over a thousand hectares. I argue that the farmer would still be in good shape had he surrendered six farms and remained with one instead of losing everything. The embarrassing chaos that has defined Zimbabwe for over a decade now is a result of failed negotiation processes on issues of national interest. Some peace-loving Zimbabweans are against the manner in which indigenous programmes are being carried out by President Robert Mugabe and his party and perhaps that is why he lost to the opposition in 2008. The reforms seem to be emotion-driven, uncivil and regrettable and this could have been avoided by undertaking a painful though necessary negotiation process.

All South Africans have to be committed to solving the current social challenges.⁹ Everyone knows what happened in Zimbabwe. It is time each race in South Africa considers what is best for it in the current circumstances. For example, Cape Town is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. In and around Cape Town are also some shack settlements like *Khayelitsha* and *Gugulethu* populated by blacks and these give an insight into the steep disparities of social classes in South Africa at the moment. Such states of affairs, if uncorrected, can lead to class conflicts or, in the case of South Africa, conflicts along racial lines.

Resource redistribution is therefore inevitable and it is critical that whites shed some of the resources they hold to other races. Serious negotiations must start now. Although the first black president of post-apartheid South Africa, Nelson Mandela's legacy remains a model of the new 'rainbow nation', the fact that he did not chart a clear path to solve the social ills affecting the majority of South Africans, means those who took up the reins of power after him have to work hard to ensure social justice.

Property rights are basic human rights that ought to be protected; even radical libertarians like Robert Nozick advises that justice in holdings requires us to assess whether the holding was acquired justly in the first place (Nozick, 1974:151). Redistribution, if done for the benefit of all concerned and, if done peacefully, even though painful to those who would shed part of what they owned, is nevertheless vital for sustainable harmony of races. In addition, property rights are better protected in circumstances where disparities in holdings are not acute and are not viewed as a symptom of injustice. All interested parties must

⁹ See Godfrey Mwakikagile's *Africa and the West*, Nova Science Publishers, New York, 2000. He details challenges facing post-reconciliation South Africa.

therefore agree to a temporary redistributive process for the sake of the more valuable peace, property security, or better still, the common good. The common good can only be realized through the suppression of our private interests however painful that might be; the goal being a sustainable peace and equality, equality being a critical element of citizenship.

CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to bridge the idea of racial harmony and the idea of citizenship. The intention was to present a clear framework for a sustainable racial harmony. Reconciliation, as a basis for racial harmony, has been rejected in this work first and foremost, for being conceptually unclear, and secondly for being inadequate vis-a-vis social justice. According to Bloomberg (2006:26), public, as well as expert, opinion still tends to see reconciliation as less muscular, less manageable, and perhaps less clear than other justice processes. Social justice programmes aimed at creating equal citizens take highly visible and public forms that better satisfy the public perception that something is being done. For the international community, social justice programmes also appear satisfyingly 'packageable' and replicable, and amenable to evaluation.

Reconciliation, on the other hand, is about relationship building and that demands behavioural change, according to Bloomberg. But it is very difficult to legislate for behavioural change. And behavioural change according to him usually produces only negative co-existence, not the more positive interactions demanded of a state of reconciliation. Citizenship rights, on the other hand, can easily be secured through legislation without worrying about whether people's minds have changed. Zimbabwe is all the poorer without the white community, and South Africa will go the same way if its white community leaves. This is the major reason why this paper is a plea for an effective racial harmony.

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CHAPTER VI

POVERTY AND HUNGER IN ZIMBABWE IN THE LIGHT OF JESUS' PARABLE OF THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS

NYASHA MADZOKERE AND FRANCIS MACHINGURA

INTRODUCTION

Years of political, social and economic crises from the period between 2000 and 2008 threw many people into abject poverty in Zimbabwe. Many have not yet recovered from the crises. The levels of poverty seem to have worsened with the dumping of the Zimbabwean currency and the adoption of the US dollar. This is despite the fact that the Zimbabwean government is still promising to work towards fulfilling the following UNDP-MDGs:

- Goal 1: Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger,
- Goal 2: Achieving universal primary education,
- Goal 3: Promoting gender equality and empowerment of women,
- Goal 4: Reducing child mortality,
- Goal 5: Improving maternal health,
- Goal 6: Combating HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases,
- Goal 7: Ensuring environmental sustainability, and
- Goal 8: Developing a global partnership for development.

Unfortunately the first goal of eradicating poverty and hunger has become a pipedream for the majority of Zimbabweans. The first goal caught the attention of this research as Churches, particularly Pentecostal ones, seem to have found solutions by preaching the gospel of prosperity in their bid to fight visible 'demons of poverty and hunger' to use a common cliché among preachers. The problem of poverty and hunger has continued to be the number one enemy of humanity and directly affects Africa's economic development. Economic development in any country cannot be realized when people are visibly poor and hungry.

Annual statistical data for Zimbabwe show that a sizable number of people are always in need of food assistance, for example, 8 out of every 10 people are presently unemployed and poor

(<http://www.fao.org/docrep/013/i1683e/i1683e.pdf>). As a result, the majority of people survive on donations from the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). What is ironical is that the level of crisis in terms of poverty, hunger, unemployment, politically motivated violence, endemic corruption and disease contradicts the usual claim that Zimbabwe is a de facto Christian nation guided by Christian ethics. Christians are identified as being upholders of faith, ethics and love. The social ills of corruption, hunger, unemployment and poverty again contradict the claim that Zimbabwe is a landlocked nation full of minerals, and has the highest literacy rate in Africa. If most people in leadership positions use the Bible as a source of guidance and authority, why do we have high degrees of corruption, poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe?

The achievement of the selected eight key millennium goals remains elusive as the promises and pledges made by our national leadership are not in tandem with the level of hunger, poverty and unemployment in Zimbabwe. However, the challenges are not unique to Zimbabwe alone but have become world phenomena. Critics could be right to argue that the problem centers on the half-baked and rhetorically half-hearted implementation or no implementation at all of such goals. The United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000 was historic because 189 member countries met to map the way forward with regards the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Yet Zimbabwe is three years away from the set deadline date (September, 2015) for the fulfillment of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The United Nations Millennium Campaign supports and inspires people from around the world to take action in support of the Millennium Development Goals. Our question is: Will the Zimbabwean pledge and the promised commitment by the government ever become a reality? This question is posed because Zimbabwe as a country encountered a plethora of crises as from 2000 to 2008. Critics would like to believe that the factors that led Zimbabwe to be dogged with crises have not been solved. Of particular mention are the problems of poverty, hunger, politically motivated violence and corruption. Zimbabwe's environment of corruption has made the rich to not morally sympathize with the poor; it is now "the survival of those with money".

What we have in Zimbabwe are 'two nations in one nation' with the majority poor and the rich few. Through the re-reading of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, this chapter challenges both the affluent and corrupt leaders not to fuel the crisis of poverty and hunger, if Africa's right to development is to be realized. This chapter further invokes Jesus' parable of the rich man and Lazarus in the light *Ubuntuism* as a challenge to both the leadership (religious, civic and

political) and the generality of the people on the crisis of hunger and poverty that has hindered the nation in the promotion of peace, harmony and sustainable development.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Before an attempt to establish the extent to which the MDGs have been achieved in Zimbabwe since 2000, it is important to define key terms such as development in the light of poverty and hunger. Generally, 'development' describes the growth of humans throughout their lifespan, from conception to death. The scientific study of human development seeks to understand and explain how and why people change throughout life and this includes all aspects of human growth that include the physical, emotional, intellectual, social, perceptual, and personality development (Mangena and Chitando 2011:235).

Wagner Kendra adds that (Mangena and Chitando 2011:235), development does not just involve the biological and physical aspects of growth, but also the cognitive, psychomotor, ethical and social aspects. It is important to note that, there is however no unanimity on the meaning of development. Development represents human growth in all aspects of life and is considered to be the process by which human beings experience abundant life and their liberties are upheld. It also involves a situation where citizens meet their basic needs (food, clothing and shelter) as well as other needs (emotional, aesthetic and intellectual). As a result, where there is no development, there is poverty, hunger, lack of freedoms, oppression and general discontent (Mangena and Chitando 2011:236).

Development is an integrated process of expansion on substantive human freedoms. Among the most important aspects of development are: freedom from famine, hunger and malnutrition, poverty, disease and ignorance. According to the World Bank, poverty is the state of living on less than \$2 a day or a general lack of opportunity and empowerment, and bad quality of life (www.combatpoverty.ie/povertyinireland/glossary.htm). People are said to be living in poverty if their income and resources are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living considered acceptable in society (www.combatpoverty.ie/povertyinireland/glossary.html).

Hunger as understood by food and health experts is the continued deprivation in a person of the food needed to support a healthy life. The more technical term is under-nutrition. Hunger slows the physical and mental development in children and leaves them more vulnerable to illness and disease. Under-nutrition is quantitative and means that people do not get enough to eat whereas malnutrition is qualitative and means that a person's diet is lacking the necessary amounts of certain elements

that are essential to growth, such as vitamins, salts and proteins (<http://www.womenaid.org/press/info/food/food4.html>). Therefore, development is to be understood in the light of the crisis of hunger and poverty in Zimbabwe.

“ZIMBABWE – THE TARNISHED JEWEL”: BREEDING CRISIS OF POVERTY AND HUNGER

When Zimbabwe gained independence, it emerged from a host of crises (political, social); for example, the colonial regime and the elite enjoyed the wealth of the nation at the expense of the majority. Most social services were accessible to the ‘chosen few’ whilst the majority wallowed in poverty. However, on the economic front, Zimbabwe was performing well. According to Kenneth Good (2002:8), Zimbabwe and its new leader Robert Mugabe inherited the second most advanced economy in Africa. As a result, the ZANU-PF government managed to espouse the policy of Socialism, hoping to address the economic injustice of the yesteryears (Meredith, 2002:24).

The first thing that President Mugabe realized in that stable economy when he took the reins of power was the plight of the poor peasants who needed food, shelter, a piece of land to cultivate, medication and education (Moyo, 1988: 379). It was against this backdrop of a stable economy coupled with the euphoria of independence that the late highly honorable statesman, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania warned his ally President Robert Mugabe at his inauguration as the new Zimbabwean leader in 1980 that, “You have inherited the jewel in Africa’s crown, but never tarnish it” (Kenneth Good, 2002:9). Critics argue that, ‘it was a prophetic warning by Nyerere which most people did not understand and even President Robert Mugabe took for granted’. Yet to some extent for critics, “Zimbabwe is now the tarnished jewel in Africa’s crown”.

Over the years, particularly the period from 2000 to 2008, economic mismanagement fuelled rampant inflation that saw Zimbabwean currency value rapidly eroded. The crisis had serious social, religious, economic, political and humanitarian effects on the people of Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos 2002:48-50, Raftopolous 2004:11-18, Raftopoulos 2009:201-202). For Mangena and Chitando (2011:233), the period that stretched from 1998 to 2008 can best be described as Zimbabwe’s decade of crisis. The country experienced the worst social, political, economic and humanitarian crises of alarming proportions. Machingura (2012: 249) regards it as having been the period of ‘multiple crises’.

Insights from Mangena and Chitando (2011:233-234) show that inflation rose to alarming figures and the last recorded figure was 230

million percent and the Zimbabwe dollar completely lost its value as one would need something like 5000 0000 000 to buy a loaf of bread. Supermarkets were under-stocked because of the shortage of basic commodities such as sugar, mealie-meal, bread, salt and cooking oil. Hunger became the order of the day and it led to malnutrition and under-nutrition especially on the poor who could not afford the exorbitant prices of these basic commodities at the parallel market. Poverty and hunger became difficult to contain, driving many people out of the country to neighboring countries (Crush and Tavera, 2010:15) in search of jobs.

The situation was worse especially in rural areas where a number of people depended on handouts from the government and non-governmental organizations. The Church and individual Christians were caught up in the dilemma of trying to righteously survive in the midst of a seriously polarized socio-political and economic crisis. The crisis saw Zimbabwe becoming a laughable basket case though formerly she had been the chief exporter of food to her neighbors. Mangena and Chitando (2011:237) think that the crisis could have been avoided had Zimbabweans observed and practised *Ubuntu*. They argue further that the MDGs can only be fulfilled if the philosophical concept of *Ubuntu* or *Hunhu* is used as part of implementation and the transformative philosophy that is meant to bring development to Africa especially when adopted by those in leadership. According to D. W. Nabudere (<http://www.grands lacs.net/doc /3621.pdf>):

Ubuntu philosophy, in its different settings, is at the base of the African philosophy of life and belief systems in which the peoples' daily-lived experiences are reflected. The philosophy is used on a daily basis to settle disputes and conflicts at different levels on the continent and is therefore central to the idea of reconciliation.

Ubuntu philosophy is essential in fostering development in any particular African society where emphasis is more on a community than an individual. The emphasis is on sharing against selfishness when others are in need. The philosophy that *Umunthu ngumuntu ngavabantu or motho ke motho ka batho or munhu munhu nevanhu* is an age-old African philosophy, which means a human being is human only because of others, with others and for others (Maimela 1991:18). The utilization of such a philosophy produces what is generally referred to as human-centred anthropology (Maimela 1991:19). The present crises of corruption, poverty, greedy, politically motivated violence and unemployment can be addressed if *ubuntu* characterizes the life of Zimbabweans.

If communities lived more as a united family, then poverty and hunger would not be part of a crisis to the nation's development and this is what was lacking on the part of the rich man and Lazarus as shown by Jesus' parable in the gospel of Luke. The rich man was greedy, egocentric and individualistic such that he could not share the plenty of food he had with Lazarus. This is also typical of Zimbabwe where the majority of the poor suffer from poverty, lack of shelter and clothing, disease and hunger whilst a few rich and powerful plunder the country's resources.

Through living out the philosophy of *ubuntu* what the rich man was doing to Lazarus in the parable would come to an end. The rich man typifies the greedy, corrupt and affluent people of Zimbabwe and Africa who do not want to exploit in common the resources available. The poor Lazarus of the parable represents the majority people in Zimbabwe and Africa who languish in poverty not because of laziness but because they are being deprived by the greedy, corrupt and powerful elites. Poverty and hunger would be minimized if those with resources were prepared to share with the needy and stop grinding the face of the poor that the 8th century BCE Prophets condemned (Isaiah 3:15; Amos 2:6-7; 4:1 and 5:11).

'THE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAM': BREWING POVERTY AND HUNGER IN ZIMBABWE?

The Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) variously termed 'agrarian revolution', 'Third Chimurenga' or 'jambanja' (Violence) has brought about the redistribution of the most valuable resource since 1980. After a slow but orderly process of redistribution from 1980 to 1999, L. M. Sachikonye, D. Masaka and R.A. Mudefi unanimously agree that the FTLRP was haphazardly, violently and chaotically implemented ([http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4684/thesis_mudefi_r.pdf?](http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4684/thesis_mudefi_r.pdf?http://www.progressio.org.uk/sites/default/files/Inheriting_the_earth_2004.pdf), http://www.progressio.org.uk/sites/default/files/Inheriting_the_earth_2004.pdf).

The latter phase of the land reform involved the acquisition of 11 million hectares of land from mostly white commercial farmers for redistribution. It was largely marked by coercion and violence (Sachikonye 2003:5). For critics, the violence factor set a bad precedence for any serious development in Zimbabwe. The FTLRP had long-term effects on the economy of the country because of its violent nature that exacerbated poverty and hunger. Various factors contributed to its unsuccessful implementation, for example, white commercial farmers sabotaged the program in retaliation against the treatment they were getting from the government. The other factor is that the Fast Track Land Reform Program was politicized against those who were not

ZANU-PF followers. MDC followers were not entitled to be beneficiaries of the FTLRP because they were accused of selling out the country to colonialists (Machingura, 2012: 212-235). As a result, the politicization of land besides bringing hunger and poverty fuelled disunity, violence and political polarization in the country and hence was a bad recipe to any meaningful development.

At independence, Zimbabwe's portfolio in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) regional grouping (now Southern African Development Community-SADC) was Food Security because Zimbabwe then was the region's bread basket. This completely changed with the inception of the FTLRP. The country relegated itself from being a 'bread basket' to a 'basket case.' Although the objective of the FTLRP was very noble because it redressed the unjust colonial past, the abrupt, violent and chaotic implementation process reduced the whole process to a racial prank as Mugabe used it to consolidate his political power which was now under threat from the MDC (cf. Berry 2002:638-668; Manzungu 2004: 53).

The FTLRP resulted in the transfer of land, in some cases, to corrupt absentee landowners, resulting in low agricultural production and a weak economy (Chirongoma 2009:79-81). Moeletsi Mbeki (2009:109-111) regards the FTLRP as the economic landmine that adversely exacerbated poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe. The plight of landless farm workers also shows that the FTLRP was more of a catalyst than an antidote to poverty and hunger.

THE FTLRP AND THE PLIGHT OF THE LANDLESS FARM WORKERS IN ZIMBABWE

The plight of the landless farm workers was not addressed by the FTLRP, for instead of being beneficiaries they were left out to die in grinding poverty. The FTLRP benefited the black elites who grabbed several farms from the commercial farmers. Most of the landless farm workers had from the colonial era worked as manual laborers for the commercial farmers (Hughes 2005: 622). The propagated government motto "one man one farm" was never a reality to most landless farm workers who were sidelined in the process because the political heavyweights had grabbed multiple farms from the commercial farmers as documented in the Utete and Buka reports (V Nmoma 2008:382-397).

There were a few cases when some of these farm workers benefited from FTLRP. In fact most of them remained settled in areas known to be infertile and not good for farming. The ultimate result was that poverty and hunger then abounded more for the majority of peasants and farm workers than in the colonial era. The situation of the landless farm workers was well captured by L. M. Sachikonye (2002:6):

The effect of FTLRP was haste and drastic: halted food production, created unemployment-jobless and foodless, eviction orders issued by the government impacted negatively on the lives of the poor landless farm workers, diminished access to crucial resources and services-housing, schools, clinics and safe water, most of the early child education centres were closed down. This impacted badly on food security because constant food shortages meant poor nutrition for HIV and AIDS patients, among others. The land invasions undermined crop production.

The FTLRP was bad news to the poor landless farm workers who, instead of benefiting from fertile land, were settled on infertile lands hence inheriting poverty and hunger. Their children's rights to food, education, shelter and health was thwarted. Because of the poor implementation of the FTLRP, the MDGs' main goal, namely the eradication of poverty and hunger as part of development by September 2015, remains unachieved.

“AND LONGING TO BE FED WITH THE CRUMBS”: AN EXEGESIS

The disparity between the rich and the poor in Zimbabwe during the crisis of the last decade can best be described by the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus found in Luke 16: 19-31. The rich man shamelessly enjoyed life everyday whilst Lazarus was hungry and dejected under his table. The story of Lazarus depicts the challenges of life still faced by the poor. According to J. Jeremias (2003:182):

What fell from the rich man's table were not just 'crumbs' but pieces of bread that the guests dipped in the dish, wiped their hands with, and then threw under the table. Lazarus gladly got his satisfaction from such pieces of bread.

The rich man never bothered to think of his fellow who was wallowing in poverty. However, their fortunes are reversed after death. The structure of the parable is divided into two parts based on two life settings, that is, an earthly life setting (16:19-22) and afterlife setting (16:23-31). The rhetorical devices echo a structural organization and include a narration in the first part and a dialogue in the second part. The use of Abraham's dialogue in the second part of the parable is a powerful rhetorical device by which God's evaluative point of view is made on humanity (Scott 1989:146-147).

The descriptions of the rich man's life style in the first part and his dialogue with Abraham in the second part show the day-to-day characterizations of life. Jeremias (2003:185) notes that:

Lazarus' lying on the bosom of Abraham is a designation of the place of honor, the highest that could be hoped for. Lazarus has experienced a complete reversal of fortune: on earth he saw the rich man seated at his table and now he himself is entitled to sit at the festal board; on earth he was despised but now he enjoys the highest honor. Lazarus has discovered that God is the God of the poorest and most destitute.

We find the same concept in *ubuntu* where *Mwari* expects his people to take care of the poor members of society. The emphasis is on taking care of the poor. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus does not imply that having and enjoying wealth in itself warrants hell and that poverty in itself merits paradise. The central message conveyed by the parable, just like the Zimbabwean understanding of *ubuntu*, looking from the structure, rhetoric, setting, characterization and the plot, is that we should share what we have together with those in need (Deuteronomy 15:1-11) and (Isaiah 58:7). What Jesus really implied in this parable is that impiety and lovelessness is punished, and that piety and humility are rewarded (Bornhauser, 1934; Michaelis, 1956).

The rich man reveals his impenitent state. The parable by Jesus is a warning to those with power and riches of the impending danger of their actions and lifestyles that demean the poor and the weak. Development for them may mean their feasting whilst the poor struggle to survive to the next day. The parable can also be used to rhetorically challenge the Zimbabwean rich and powerful leaders who corruptly accumulate vast properties at the expense of the poor. The rich man lived in selfish luxury, careless lifestyles, at the same time being oblivious to the plight of the poor and God's word. The threat in the parable calls for action to share with the poor and this includes the important resources like land, where those with multiple farms remain with only one farm and give up the rest.

The parable calls for moral consciousness in society and it serves as a reminder that even the poor and hungry are loved by God. And that the time for the poor to be rewarded will come and those who enjoy life on earth at the expense of the poor will be judged accordingly. The re-reading of the parable in the context of Zimbabwe serves to explain the reason why the MDGs can never be met and the reasons why the country is crippled by shameless accumulation of properties, corruption, unemployment, poverty and hunger. The irony of it is that God has

generously bestowed upon the country vast and rich resources or minerals that if responsibly used would minimize the social and economic difficulties, thereby promoting peace, tranquility and development in the country.

**“LET US SHARE WHAT IS ON THE TABLE”:
THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT**

Why should Zimbabwe a *de facto* Christian nation suffer from corruption, poverty and hunger? Why would Africa remain poor against a record of abundant and untapped natural resources? Zimbabwe has plenty of resources like platinum, diamonds, coal, iron ore, copper, zinc, chrome gold, silver, limestone and land. Recently, vast fields of diamonds were discovered at Chiadzwa and Murowa but their discovery does not seem to have changed the level of poverty and hence the plight of the poor in Zimbabwe. What we have seen is the continuous accumulation of wealth by the rich and powerful whereas the poor have continued to languish in poverty. It is the poor that find the parable of the rich man and Lazarus a familiar and identifiable story in their daily lives. With vast natural resources, why would Zimbabwe struggle to fulfill the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)? President Robert Mugabe writing in the “Foreword” of the MDGs 2010 Report says:

Zimbabwe is convinced that the MDGs are achievable as we continue to consolidate our independence through social, political, and economic empowerment of our people, by crafting and implementing pro-poor development policies and programmes. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Zimbabweans for the patriotism, dedication and perseverance they have shown under the weight of illegal sanctions imposed on our country by those opposed to our pro-poor programmes (The Millennium Development Goals 2010 Report).

President Mugabe blames the sanctions on the failure to achieve the MDGs, but deliberately and grandstandingly ignores the inside retrogressive forces of greed, corruption, nepotism and egocentrism that the evangelist Luke addresses through the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. The failure by the African political leadership to have a self-introspection of their governing style has led them to continue scapegoating on national issues rather than finding ways and means of solving problems of hunger and poverty. Sanctions, whether targeted,

smart or restrictive have negatively fuelled poverty and hunger on the people of Zimbabwe.

Sanctions should not be treated as the 'total' factor to the challenges or crisis facing Zimbabwe since there are also factors like bad government policies and unchecked corruption that ruined the country. It is the same rich and powerful people across the political divide feasting in the same environment of the sanctions, yet the poor have found their lives ransomed in the tussle for power between and among political parties. The levelheaded and morally upright of society must be prepared to help the poor by fighting corruption, poverty and hunger. Anything short of that makes the rich and powerful in Zimbabwe fit the image of the rich man against the poor masses as represented by Lazarus.

The central teaching in Jesus' parable of the rich man and Lazarus serves as a strong challenge to those rich and corrupt leaders who perpetuate poverty and hunger. The majority of the poor look forward to their liberation and the punishment of shameful, corrupt, wealthy and powerful people in society. Most of the teachings of Jesus attacked the Jewish authorities of his time because of their failure to show love to the needy. Instead, the religious leaders shamelessly sided with the rich and powerful at the expense of the weak and poor. Religious leaders should have sympathized with the poor and weak people of society, but they chose to attack Jesus for dining with the poor, tax collectors, widows, sinners and outcasts.

In response Jesus rebuked them for lack of love for the despised, outcasts and the poor in society. This is typical of Zimbabwe where those in leadership whether religious, social, economic or political who choose to grab resources for their betterment at the expense of those in the doldrums of life (Nyota and Sibanda 2012:130-144). An adoption of a transformative philosophy of *hunhu* or *ubuntu* by those in leadership would mark the fulfillment of the MDG Goal 1: Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe. Jesus rebuked the rich man because he failed to practice *ubuntu*, which was failure to be there for Lazarus.

This is also the crux of this chapter to challenge those with the rich man's mentality who lacked love, generosity and care for others. Extreme poverty and hunger can be addressed when the leadership and the rich realize their custodial role in sharing their economical excesses with the poor. The rich man was supposed to share food with the poor Lazarus because he was expected to demonstrate love for his brother (Verster 2012:314-335). The adoption of the philosophy of *ubuntu* helps to castigate those in Zimbabwe who typically resemble the rich man in their egocentric, greedy and cruel tendencies.

The Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC) pastoral letter of 14 January, 2011 entitled: "Let Us Work for the Common Good; Let Us Save Our Nation", made the following observations:

Africa is rich in human and natural resources, but many of our people are still left to wallow in poverty and misery, wars and conflicts, crisis and chaos. These are very rarely caused by natural disasters. They are largely due to human decisions and activities by people who have no regard for the Common Good...but then we urge political leaders to prioritize poverty eradication by using proceeds from natural resources like diamonds, land, and others, for the development of the whole nation and all its citizens.

Instead of blaming God for the evil and suffering prevalent in Zimbabwe, human beings, especially those in leadership, are the perpetrators of evil and suffering. Instead of asking, "Where is God?" when there is so much corruption, hunger and poverty, one needs to ask, "Where is man?" Poverty and hunger are mostly man-made, self-inflicting and artificial disasters where the greedy, egocentric and corrupt leaders abuse resources to the peril of the poor majority. Zimbabweans have recently realized that corruption has reached unprecedented levels where it is predominantly found in those in top leadership positions in Government. Evidence of multiple farm ownership on its own shows that there is a crisis of priority and leadership in the country.

Leaders should lead by example by virtue of being custodians of ethics (<http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/zanus-multiple-farm-owners-revealed.html-24.11.2009>). Even religious leaders who must be paragons of ethics and morality are also dipping their fingers in the pot of the greedy and corrupt. A typical example is deposed Bishop Nolbert Kunonga of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe who, because of greed, grabbed the properties of the Church to disadvantage quite a majority of the followers of this Church who were harassed and chased away from the Church premises by heavily armed police. Corrupt people should be punished despite their status if Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular are to experience peace, harmony and sustainable development.

CONCLUSION

This chapter challenges those with corrupt tendencies about the consequences that befall the nation as a result of their wayward actions in relation to development. Unethical tendencies short-change the nation from achieving the set Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Through an exegetical exposition and contextual reading of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, this chapter reminds corrupt and affluent

leaders in society not to exploit the country's resources for their own good at the expense of the majority poor. The spirit of *ubuntu* and fellowship should characterize the lives of Zimbabweans as they share every resource that comes on the table in contrast to the scenario of the rich man and Lazarus; this promotes peace, harmony and sustainable development in Zimbabwe.

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PART III

ETHICS IN ZIMBABWE'S WAR OF LIBERATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

CHAPTER VII

**WITCHES AND SELLOUTS IN ZIMBABWE'S
WAR OF LIBERATION**

TARISAYI A. CHIMUKA

INTRODUCTION

The period after 2000 in Zimbabwe was volatile as it was characterized by tension, intolerance and deep animosity – all of which suggested bleak social and political realities. The net effect of all this was the constriction of the social space necessary for the self-actualization and fulfillment of citizens. The political space was characterized by turbulence and polarization. The population came to be driven into binary opposition – regime intellectuals versus left nationalists, nativists versus neo-liberals, patriots versus sellouts, witches versus upright citizens and so forth. Cumulatively, this threatened to pull our beloved nation apart. Curiously enough, the practice of witch-hunting and punishment appears to have been carried over into the contemporary political situations – where opposition political parties are naturally described either as sellouts, witches or traitors. While acts of witchcraft and selling out are vices in themselves where they are committed, the problem comes when there are no clear-cut modalities of trying the accused. In the end, fears regarding the possibility of the condemnation and punishment of innocent citizens arise.

This chapter investigates the historical basis for the victimization of witches and sellouts in Zimbabwe. It seeks to establish why this is part of the cherished practices of our forefathers. It also seeks to establish whether this is part of a tradition worth passing on to posterity. In the final analysis it seeks to establish how framing is possible and evaluates the moral ramification of such framing to the citizens who are implicated in such framings. The paper seeks to argue that the practice of witch and sellout hunting, if not handled properly, can have an untoward effect on innocent citizens. Thus, the chapter explores the twin practices during Zimbabwe's war of liberation in search of possible links and connections.

Beginning with Zimbabwe's war of Liberation where witches and sellouts were hunted down and flushed out, the chapter traces how these twin phenomena are blighting the political scene causing untold suffering to some while giving undue benefits to others. The abiding

questions are: What is the moral standing of such conduct? What moral ground support such acts? If the practices of witch-hunting and the flushing of sellouts are rooted in the Zimbabwean tradition, then does this constitute progress and continuity? Wouldn't the net effect be the destabilization of the social fabric and national cohesion, which constituted part of the promise of the struggle for independence? If such practices are still prevalent in the Zimbabwean social life and politics, do they suggest development in our moral consciousness? The chapter seeks to investigate all this in light of major moral theories.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines the war of liberation in context and the dangers posed by witches and sellouts. The second analyzes the conduct against witches and sellouts in terms of the morality of the conduct of the war. The third section examines continuities and change in the treatment of sellouts and witches in contemporary politics and how this stifles democratic growth and development in Zimbabwe.

THE SECOND CHIMURENGA AND THE NEED TO WEED OUT WITCHES AND SELLOUTS

The subject of witchcraft, pervasive as it is in Africa and other parts of the world, is a controversial one (Chavunduka, 1980; Petrus, 2011) and varied (Shnoebelen, 2009). It is also caught up in the ambivalence between African and Western civilizations. There is the general belief that everything belonging to African tradition is associated with backwardness, darkness and evil; while Western practices and institutions are characterized as progressive, and civilized. This initial disparity of consideration of the two interfacing cultures has led to an uneasy existence of African traditions. As a result, there is no way any discussion on African traditions and religions cannot tumble against a sense of marginality and ambivalence.

While some scholars claim that witchcraft exists in Africa, others make claims to the contrary (Chavunduka 1980:130). Of those who dismiss it, some regard it as superstitious, irrational and incomprehensible (Gittins, 2006). Further, those who believe in the existence of witchcraft divide into two sub-classes – those who consider the practice beneficial and those who condemn it as an evil and sinister force (Federici, 2010). Mawere (2011: 7) for instance regards the n'angas (traditional witch-doctors or healers) as pillars of African traditional religion and epistemological systems.

The multifarious nature of the subject of witchcraft has courted scholars of different persuasions – anthropologists, sociologists, medical doctors and lawyers, theologian and philosophers and psychologists – all of whom are immensely interested in the phenomenon for a variety of

reasons. Whichever way the phenomenon is viewed, one cannot escape the fact that it has brought serious tension in Africa (Cohan, 2011). According to Alexander, such studies throw light on meanings and legacies of violence (1998:151). Following from tradition, it is curious to ascertain what witchcraft is. Generally, the English word 'witch' refers to a person with magical powers:

Witchcraft is the mystical ability to cause harm to others...believed to be possessed by certain individuals. [...] Witchcraft is believed to be inherited, thus running in families. There are other individuals who, although not endowed with mystical powers, are also believed to act in an anti-social way by using medicines and other magical substances to harm others. Unlike witches, who inherit their powers, these others are normal human beings who obtain the medicines from herbalists (Hammond-Tooke quoted in Andi Fisher (2007:1).

In the Shona language, and perhaps in isiNdebele, the term *muroyi/umthakathi* cannot be properly substituted by the English term witchcraft. Witchcraft is an emotively charged concept that regards all the traditional African practices of health and well-being as evil and sinister. Yet, there are other practices such as *urapi/uchiremba* (traditional healing) that were beneficial to society, yet stood condemned in contradistinction to Western medicine. In defining *uchiremba*, Gundani (2007) contends that Chiremba was a 'wandering witchdoctor' of reputation and skill courted by chief Chirimba of the Chihota chiefdom. Perhaps this led any traditional healer of repute to be referred as chiremba.

Thus, witchcraft is a noun that embraces the practices of witches and wizards as well as healers and diviners. A distinction has to be made between witches (*varoyi, abathakathi*) and sorcerers (*varombi/ isanuse*). Witches are those people possessing the mystical powers to cast spells on others. Interestingly, witches have been mostly women or girls (Federici 2010: 10). By contrast, sorcerers are normal human beings who use medicines and harmful substances on others. These have mostly been men or boys. There are also those people believed to possess powers to undo or block what the witches would have done on others were called witchdoctors (*n'angas or sangomas*). Witchcraft was considered a vice that was supposed to be purged or eradicated. In the past, if a witch was found, she would be punished either through fining, beatings, banishment, ostracism or even killing (Chavunduka: 1980:129-130). The central goal in all this was the eradication of witches and sorcerers (ibid: 142). However, for a long time in the past the law,

beginning with colonial law, has always stood in the way of these cleansing efforts. Hence, in traditional Africa expeditions to hunt down witches, trap and punish them were common. However, Chavunduka concedes that the various methods of trapping witches were suspect, thus:

The methods of detecting a witch or a sorcerer that are commonly used, such as the boiling water test, divination either by spirit possession or the throwing of bones or the poison ordeal, are very unsatisfactory. Such methods often lead to the punishment of innocent individuals. In the boiling water test the accused person is normally instructed to remove an object from a pot of boiling water. If no injuries result the person under suspicion is deemed innocent. The other common method beside divination is the poison. If a person to whom the poison is administered vomits the poison she is believed to be innocent but if she retains the poison she is defined as a witch (1980:142).

Mafico (1986) followed through Chavunduka's work and argued further that no method of witch identification can be legitimate. Part of the problem is that people are subjected to more criminal practices such as dipping hands in boiling water or drinking poisonous concoctions. Besides, no legitimate conviction may be secured through divination:

Surely, a trial of innocent people by ordeal is unjustifiable by any criterion, be it used by traditional courts or by formal courts, whether this practice be based on cultural or legal grounds. Trying anybody by divination of any kind, including the throwing of bones, is more than criminal in offence (Mafico, 1986: 123).

Due to the fact that the methods of detecting witches and sorcerers were lopsided both at the level of design and execution, the exercise brought untold suffering on otherwise innocent people. In his words, "...countless atrocities were being perpetrated by the so-called diviners (Ibid, p. 124). One cannot escape the conclusion that the exercise of witch-hunting in traditional Zimbabwe was not watertight as it left innocent people at the mercy of the seers.

Zimbabwe's war of liberation represents a phase in history where witches, wizards and sellouts were sniffed out and destroyed. During the period in question, it was also common for people labeled as witches to be punished by serious beatings or by being killed at the instruction of Freedom fighters. The same would also happen to those perceived as

'sellouts' (*vatengesi/ abathengisi*). Who were the witches and sellouts in the context of Zimbabwe's war of liberation? Marowa contends that the idea of selling out was part of traditional Africa, which has only shifted in meaning with the passage of time (2009: 122). Generally, it meant one who was involved in disclosing confidential information – plans, strategies or ideas to the enemy (*ibid*). However, Marowa adds that such activities were less frequent and less pronounced in pre-colonial times (*Ibid.*).

Machingura gives an apt analysis of the motif associated with the New Testament character of Judas Iscariot, which epitomized the idea of selling out during Zimbabwe's war of liberation. It was instrumental in the mobilization of support of the masses as well as giving the rationale for punishment meted on the culprits (2012: 213). He adds that the concept has currency even in contemporary politics (*Ibid.*). For him, the morale of the story is that sellouts die miserably (*Ibid.*). However, unlike Judas who committed suicide, the freedom fighters had a hand in the punishments of persons accused of committing acts of witchcraft or selling out – either they supervised the punishment or, were directly involved in the torture of the suspects.

For Machingura (2012), the term 'sell outs' became very popular during the liberation struggle as the nationalists appropriated it in the execution of the war to refer to those who propped up the colonial government. Machingura presents the picture thus:

The label was associated with people who were regarded as bent on forestalling the independence of Zimbabwe by supplying the Rhodesian forces and regime with vital information that would be used against the nationalists and the eventual independence of Zimbabweans from colonialism. Such people would then be given money in the Judas style (as well as food, clothing and other materials) for personal use. The term 'sell out' was then used to describe their actions, and the consequences that befell them were then regarded as highly justifiable. Rhodesian forces also used the term against civilians and those who supplied the nationalists with information about their movements, but the 'sell-out' vocabulary usage was dominant in the nationalists' circles. The term 'sell out' had a lot of impact on the civilian mindset, and this included what was expected of civilians when they met the nationalists as well as the Rhodesian forces (Machingura, 2012: 223).

This point was initially made by Ranger who intimated that during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle the freedom fighters fought against the Rhodesian government and all its structures. Sustained efforts were made to paralyze the Rhodesian government through ambush attacks on its institutions at provincial and district levels. Thus, provincial and district commissioners were attacked and some killed. Rural district council buildings were razed to the ground and many chiefs were killed for betraying the struggle by working for the settler government (Ranger, 2002:25). It is in this context that all those Africans who worked for the Rhodesian government at whatever level were branded as sellouts. The presumption was that they had betrayed the struggle by continuing to work for the Rhodesian government, which epitomized the oppression of the black people.

Machingura argues further that ordinary people were placed literally in the middle, between the security forces and liberation forces (2012:224). Thus, in order to win the minds and the support of the civilians, Machiavellian tactics were used especially by liberation forces. This included terror tactics – raiding civilian homes, forcing civilians to attend clandestine 'all-night' meetings (*pungwes*), attacking women and children, committing horrendous acts against people considered to be 'sell outs' (Ibid.). In this mayhem, some shrewd people would settle their own personal scores by labeling other people as 'sell outs' and reporting them to 'the freedom fighters' (Ibid.). The victims were tried at kangaroo courts and ended up being tortured, maimed or even killed (Ibid.). One wonders what made the freedom fighters qualified to act as judges in such cases. Did the mere fact of wielding guns, transmogrify freedom fighters (*vana mukoma*) and other soldiers into unquestionable authorities? This state of affairs gives credence to the hypothesis that the freedom fighters either had no principles guiding their treatment of civilians or that they took the law into their own hands. Either way, the situation had dire effects on the ordinary people.

Mills and Wilson make startling remarks concerning the conduct of the Second Chimurenga; "The Rhodesian bush war involved atrocities and dirty tricks on both sides (2007: 21). They contend further that winning the support of the locals was a tricky affair, "With the guerrillas massing over the borders in ever-increasing numbers and using a mix of terror and political inducements to 'win' the support of local civilians"(Ibid.: 23). These statements are very important as they point at the direction of the treatment of civilians during the struggle for Zimbabwe. The insurgents, through a mixture of empathy, racism, language, cause or terror, achieved at least the passive cooperation of local inhabitants (Ibid: 25). The other tactic involved witch-hunting and the elimination of sellouts.

Thus, selling out meant different things depending on the perspective from which one was looking at it. For Marowa, there were three different levels and angles of selling out:

The levels from which sell outs existed concerned rendering support either to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla), the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Zipra) or to the Rhodesian Front (R.F.) or its auxiliary forces, the Pfumo re Vanhu (P.R.V.). The angles had to do with who applied the concept: that is, the Zanla could use it against Zipra, P.R.V. and the R.F.; the Zipra could use it against Zanla, P.R.V. and the R.F. and the R.F.; and the P.R.V. used it against the nationalist parties (Marowa, 2009: 122).

Thus selling out was associating or giving out information to any of the feuding parties. This forced the civilian population into a precarious position and came to be tossed about by the forces at play. For the freedom fighters, in general selling out meant dissenting from the goal of the liberation war, that is, dethroning the Rhodesian government. For the Rhodesian government, it meant supporting any of the guerilla groups. However, sometimes it meant supporting ZANU, ZAPU or any one group of fighters as opposed to the one interrogating the civilians. All possibilities caused dire straits for the civilian population. Understanding the notion of selling out in this way is problematic as, according to Marowa, it "fails to consider that society is not homogeneous but is made up of different classes of people who convey reactions and believe in different ideologies" (Marowa, 2009: 123). It is interesting to note that in the areas where the various forces were at play, the reaction of the civilian population was difficult to predict:

The people in areas where the war was fought reacted variously to different activities that happened during the liberation struggle. In Katerere, David Maxwell notes that there were conflicting peasant agendas based on ethnicity, social stratification, gender and generation. The Katerere people responded differently to the arrival of Zanla politicisation. Some supported it to square their differences with their enemies while others remained aloof (Marowa, 2009: 123).

The practice of witch-hunting and the eradication of sellouts, in part tell us, how Zimbabwe's war of liberation was conducted. In this case it tells a story about the manner in which civilians were treated by the competing parties in the conflict. This necessarily calls for ethical assessment. The lingering question is: Was Zimbabwe's war of liberation regulated by a certain sense of right and wrong?

For some scholars, the Zimbabwe war of Liberation was characterized by intolerance and authoritarianism. It was a revolution that ate its own children, and revolutionary justice was meted to eliminate others (Sithole, 1999). As Ndlovu-Gatsheni contends further, all was done in the buttressing a certain ideology of the liberation struggle. In his own word:

Beginning with the swallowing of autonomous youth, women, students, labour and church organizations, African nationalism and the liberation struggle proved to be intolerant of pluralism, dissent and different opinions, and tried to foster a mono-dimensional definition of the struggle based on the interpretation of dominant petit-bourgeois nationalist leadership (2011:8).

Differing interpretations of the struggle and methods of achieving independence led to the rise of splinter nationalist groups that were hostile to each other. Intolerance was indicated by the use of rigid and annihilatory terms such as ‘patriots’ versus ‘puppets,’ ‘freedom fighters’ versus ‘sell-outs’, as well as by officially sanctioned violence against those defined as ‘puppets’ and ‘sell-outs’ (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011: 8). These binary labels suggest that depending on which side one was classified, one was either privileged or condemned. Regrettably the classification was arbitrary and acrimonious.

Of interest is the fact that in the liberation struggle at least the nationalist leadership was hegemonic and authoritarian (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011: 9-10). The exigencies of war called for authoritarian discipline among the supporters of the nationalist movement. Violence was officially accepted as a legitimate tool of the struggle (Bhebe & Ranger 1995a). Unfortunately, the violence was directed at unarmed civilians, who were trapped in the war.

To have a different political allegiance was tantamount to committing suicide and treason. For instance, trade union leaders who supported the nationalist struggle but did not wish to sacrifice the autonomy of the trade union movement by joining the nationalist movement, like Rueben Jamela of the Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (SRTUC), were branded as sell-outs, imperialist stooges and threatened with direct nationalist violence such as ‘Kill Jamela, Drive him away – sell-out’ (Raftopoulos, 1999:141-142). The prosecution of the armed struggle also introduced the tendency of accumulating arms of war as the only surety of safety, and these arms of war were used as the hub of power.

It gave the fighters the authority to lead the liberation movement and the responsibility to regulate operations and all affairs having to do

with the war and the prospects of the envisaged future society. What policies did the politicians and soldiers make for the conduct of the war? Which humanitarian principles¹ were followed during the conduct of the war of liberation? Some scholars contend that Africa's ideology for liberation was a form of Marxist-Leninism. To this end, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius K Nyerere and others adopted socialism believing it to be akin to African political thought. However, liberation ideology for nationalist movements in Zimbabwe was associated with Marxist Leninism via Maoism. The liberation song *Kune Nzira Dzamasoja* (Soldiers' Conduct of War) attests to this fact. Meisner suggests that Marxist-Leninism was blended with Maoism. It is paradoxical for "the most archaic of nations to absorb the most modern of revolutionary doctrines" (Meisner, 1971: 2).

If this affinity between Marxist Leninism is granted then, the principles regulating the conduct of the war by the various nationalist movements have to be found in Marxist thought. Yet, paradoxically Marxism is often presented as anti-morality! Passages abound in Karl Marx's works giving credence to the view that he was against moral considerations in his revolutionary agenda. According to this interpretation, morality is useless in conduct because in the first instance, the principles are too formal and abstract. In the second, private individual rights become vacuous. Other interpreters however, suggest that Marx was critical of the moral principles that undergirded capitalism. In other words he was against the prevailing bourgeoisie morality and /or the moral views championed by theorists of his time. This, by no means, implies a complete rejection of morality per se. Though most of his pronouncements are at a normative level, one needs to glean for his meta-ethical views.

It is possible that most followers of Marx concentrated on his critique of capitalism as the wholesale view of morality and thereby dismissing the issue of human rights. Also Marx seems to have argued against the view of morality as ideology – an attempt to maintain ideas of the ruling class that champion the oppression of the proletariat. However, his critique suggests a moral platform from which he launched these attacks. He had a certain vision of the better life, a better state, and a better society. Just what this moral vision was, remains shrouded in mystery. Unfortunately, his writings do not reveal this secret.

If the Zimbabwean nationalists, both soldiers and politicians, were guided by Mao's revolutionary ideas and Mao in turn tapped into Marxism and Leninism, then they too were certainly influenced by

¹ The idea of *humanitarian principles* in the conduct of war is not new. It has been expressed variously in the different cultures. Generally it refers to the practices and behavior by the belligerents during the execution of the war.

Marx. If Marx's ideas about morality were controversial, then those of his followers too came to be controversial as well, no matter how hard they tried to act their best. For as long as Marx's texts give credence to two diametrically opposed interpretations of his views regarding morality, it would also impact on how the nationalists would conduct themselves during the execution of the war.

Perhaps the most important thing was to do whatever it takes to oppose colonialism and its capitalist values and consequently inflict pain on all those perceived as its adherents. Hence, the end justified the means. This view is augmented by other scholars, suggesting that the conduct of the war of liberation was conditioned more by the nature of the war than by anything else. Relationships with civil populations were influenced by whether the guerrillas operated among a hostile or a friendly population. A friendly population is of immense importance to guerrilla fighters, providing shelter, supplies, financing, intelligence and recruits. The "base of the people" is thus the key lifeline of the guerrilla movement (Human Rights Watch 2012).

An apathetic or hostile population makes life difficult for guerrillas and strenuous attempts are usually made to gain their support. These may involve not only persuasion, but also a calculated policy of intimidation. Guerrilla forces may characterize a variety of operations as a liberation struggle, but this may or may not result in sufficient support from affected civilians. Other factors, including ethnic and religious hatreds, can make a simple national liberation claim untenable (Biswas, 2005:1).

In some cases, the use of terror can be an aspect of guerrilla warfare. Terror is used to focus international attention on the guerrilla cause, kill opposition leaders, extort money from targets, intimidate the general population, create economic losses, and keep followers and potential defectors in line. As well, the use of terrorism can provoke the greater power to launch a disproportionate response, thus alienating a civilian population that might be sympathetic to the terrorist's cause (Ibid.). Civilians may be attacked or killed as punishment for alleged collaboration, or as a policy of intimidation and coercion. Such attacks are usually sanctioned by the guerrilla leadership with an eye toward the political objectives to be achieved. Attacks may be aimed to weaken civilian morale so that support for the guerrilla's opponents decreases.

In the quest for a liberation ideology, most African leaders envisioned the state as a homogeneous entity, and the nationalists its unquestioned principals. In the case of Zimbabwe, a monologue ideology was crafted (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). However, in the process, untold suffering befell all those perceived as either helping or maintaining the status quo and those opposed to this vision for a better society. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, the twin fork of persuasion and

violence was used to mobilize support by the belligerent parties (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011: 2). In the case of Zanu PF, the goal was the attainment of "primal and permanent political legitimacy. This maneuver received the benedictions from *masvikiro* (spirit mediums) (Chitando, 2005: 238-9).

Given this scenario, one notes how the culture of violence was manufactured in the quest for liberation. The violence in question was not confined only to the belligerents, but sucked in the civilian population in the process. The need by the Rhodesia government to isolate the freedom fighters (guerillas) from the civilian population and desire by the same fighter to launch their assault camouflaged by the civilians effectively placed these people in a precarious position. The intensity of the conflict created a rift among the civilians thereby dividing them into – loyalists and traitors. It was in the latter category that witches and sellouts were to be found. Thus loyalists were promised a reward in the liberated country, but traitors had to be punished or killed. This is how the culture of violence was brewed and fanned. At *pungwes* (night meetings) constant checks of allegiance were made through intimidation and punishment. However, it remained very dicey to identify the culprits. Hence, in some cases, innocent people ended up as victims.

WEEDING OUT WITCHES AND SELLOUTS DURING THE THIRD CHIMURENGA AND BEYOND

The period characterized by the land re-distribution in Zimbabwe is also associated with an unprecedented assault against people suspected to be sellouts. One may ask what the land re-distribution exercise has to do with issues of selling out. The current land reform exercise has been characterized by Muzondidya (2007:325) as violent, coercive, disorganized and divisive. In respect to Muzondidya's sentiments, it follows that the manner of execution of the current land reform was fertile ground for the furtherance of the sellout and witch motifs. It follows that the violent conduct that characterized Zimbabwe's war of liberation has persisted even to affect national processes such as voting, the distribution of social goods and so forth. We still have witches and sellouts who are opposed to land reform! In these contemporary times however, the motif shifts a bit to refer to all those against the ideals of the ruling party.

For Muzondidya (2007) the post-independent state, especially after 2000, came to be characterized by nativistic labels such as *vana vevhu / abantwana bomhlabathi* (literally, this translates as children of the soil). This depicts a deep-seated ideology for independence – the creation of a homogenous society made up of sons and daughters of the

soil. There was thus a deliberate and calculated maneuver to present history in a partisan and pro-Shona fashion (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011: 2). This had serious implications for nation-building efforts. Fortunately this has significantly changed with the rise of multi-party politics. Yet the sellout and witch motifs are very common.

As argued by Machingura the idea of sellout still has currency. This 'sell out' label is commonly used by political parties against opponents within or without the party to silence people or to bully them into submission (2012: 39). The label 'sell out' can be likened to someone who has been labeled a witch or wizard and the label usually sticks for the worst. Politicians who use these labels may be oblivious to their practical ramifications.

CONCLUSION

The culture of violence during the liberation war seems to continue to be promoted in contemporary politics. Yet, the violence in question was responsible for dissipating society and driving the citizens into antagonistic sectors. One wonders if we are posting progress in our political institutions? It appears that the violence that characterized the liberation struggle has an ugly side. Innocent people, including women and children have borne the brunt of this violence. Some have been tortured, maimed, displaced or even killed. Above all, the violence in question appears to have diminished the prospects for the very freedom the people of this country were struggling to achieve. Perhaps, it is time we revisit our cherished practices and subject them to moral scrutiny in a bid to carve out a better social space for future generations. Perhaps it is time for us to include moral considerations in our daily affairs. Moral considerations matter. Just as we were using the idea of 'freedom' to fight injustice and oppression, we ought to base our actions on what is right. The right thing to do is to treat all others as persons and to respect the worth of their individuality.

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CHAPTER VIII

**WOMEN IN ZIMBABWE'S WAR OF
'LIBERATION':
AN ETHICAL APPRAISAL OF THE SEXUAL
CONDUCT OF MALE GUERRILLAS**

MOLLY MANYONGANISE

INTRODUCTION

This paper takes a closer look at the sexual conduct of the freedom fighters during Zimbabwe's protracted war of independence. It seeks to argue that the liberation struggle meant a lot more to men than it did to women. While some people, mostly men, celebrated independence in 1980, women and girls who participated in the struggle remain traumatized until today by the sexual abuses they suffered during the war. The writer takes note of the fact that not all relationships that happened during the war were a result of rape or sexual assault, for some were truly consensual. The paper also takes cognizance of the fact that during the struggle even some men were raped by their colleagues. However, in this chapter I make the claim that quite a number of women fighters as well as collaborators were forced into having sex with the male fighters, most of whom did not care to find out even after the war what had happened to their victims.

The sexual conduct of the male freedom fighters needs to be judged against the liberation war's code of conduct as well as the consequences of their sexual abuse on the female victims. A critical analysis of some post-independence Zimbabwean literary texts is going to be made in order to bring out the experiences of women in the war. I make use of Shona novels such as Hamutyinei's *Ndikandei Mugehena* (1988) and Choto's *Vavariro*, (1990) and English texts such as Kanengoni's *Echoing Silences* (1997) and Nyamubaya's *On the Road Again* (1986). I am making the choice of both Shona and English novels fully aware that Shona and English narratives have adopted dissimilar development and conceptual trajectories that are also useful as philosophical narratives.

The justification for the use of these literary texts is that soon after the war, what had transpired was shrouded in secrecy and silence, such that only bits and pieces could be found in novels. It is only now that participants in the struggle as well as scholars are beginning to talk about it. Bhebe and Ranger (1995:3) argue that "guerrilla experience has

come to us through fiction rather than through history and autobiography.” In this case, literary texts are critical as we try to reconstruct the history of Zimbabwe’s liberation war with a special focus on women’s sexual experiences. This chapter adopts the feminist perspective on rape as a way of judging the sexual conduct of the male guerrillas during the war.

THE CODE OF ETHICS IN ZIMBABWE’S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Guerrillas in the liberation war of Zimbabwe adopted Mao Tse-tung’s code of ethics. Mao wrote on Guerilla Warfare in 1937 while fighting the Japanese Imperial Army as it occupied China. In it he laid out a clear, succinct and comprehensive strategy for victory in a revolutionary struggle (Russell, 2012:60). He spelt out the following three rules and eight remarks:

Rules

All actions are subject to command
Do not steal from the people
Be neither selfish nor unjust

Remarks

Replace the door when you leave the house
Roll up the bedding on which you have slept
Be courteous
Be honest in your transactions
Return what you borrow
Replace what you break
Do not bath in the presence of women
Do not, without authority, search those you arrest

The famous liberation war song *Kune nzira dzemasoja* was taken from the above rules and remarks. The song was meant to remind the liberation war fighters of how they were expected to behave during the war. Basically, the code was meant to ensure that cordial relations were maintained between the fighters and the people. Mao had argued that undisciplined troops make people their enemies. In guerilla warfare, Mao had suggested that the people act as the sea while the fighters were the fish. As such, angering the people was tantamount to exposing the fighters to the enemy. Musiyiwa (2008:21) supports this claim when he avers that:

Discipline is an integral element of any effective and loyal army and for that matter a guerilla army fighting to topple a well-fortified regime such as the Rhodesian government....The ZANLA choir song, **Kune nzira dzemasoja** spelt out the kind of discipline expected of a ZANLA guerilla.

The song goes thus:

*Kune nzira dzemasoja
Dzekuzvibata nadzo;
Teererayi midzimu yose
Nezira dzakanaka*

*Tisave tinotoraka
Zvinhu zvemassi yedu
Kuti massi ivimbisike
Zvakananga musangano*

*Bhadharayi zvamunotenga
Muhondo yeChimurenga;
Dzoreraayi zvinhu zvose
Zvamunenge matora;*

*Musaite cheupombwe
Muhondo yeChimurenga;
Musanetse vasungwa
Vamunenge mabata*

*Taurayi zvine simba
Kuruzhinji rwevanhu
Kuti massi inzwisise
Zvakananga musangano;*

*Aya ndiwo mashoko
Akataurwa navo
Naivo vaMao;
Vachitidzisisa.*

Soldiers have a code of ethics
By which to live;
Obey rules and regulations

We must not exploit

Or rob the masses
We must return all contraband to the enemy

Pay fair prices for everything that you buy
Return anything that you have
Confiscated for military reasons
Do not commit adultery
In the Chimurenga war
Do not trouble the prisoners
That you capture

You must communicate your stand,
Clearly to the masses
They must know the party line.

These are the words
That were said
By Mao
Teaching us

When one goes through the song that was composed out of Mao's code of ethics by the Zimbabwean fighters, one notices that the Shona song was strong in discouraging sexual immorality during the liberation struggle. While Mao had only told his cadres not to bath in the presence of women, the Shona song went further to take the seventh of the biblical ten commandments that states, 'do not commit adultery' (Exodus 20:2-17). While this was meant to regulate the sexual activities of the fighters, it needs to be noted that the rules were not always followed.

As in any other war, women in Zimbabwe's war of liberation became victims of sexual violence. Their experiences can be equated to those of women in the Congo, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia to mention but a few. In all these instances women were taken into forced concubinage. Thus, the oppression of women in war situations is not peculiar to Zimbabwe. In situations of war, it is the women and children who suffer most. This universalistic outlook serves to show societies in the world in general and Africa in particular that they need to critically interrogate and challenge the sexual violence that is perpetrated against women during and after periods of conflict.

WOMEN AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE'S WAR OF LIBERATION

The history of the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe is not complete without highlighting the significant role played by women and the challenges they encountered during the war (Nhongo-Simbanegavi, (2000), Chung, (2007), Lyons, (2004)). I am here looking at both women soldiers and collaborators. At the initial stages of the war, women were significant in as far as they could perform the usual domestic chores for the male fighters. For example, they could cook and wash for the fighters. However, as the war progressed, women were inspired to join the war as fighters. Some of them then crossed into Mozambique for training.

Hungwe is of the view that the women soldiers had thought that they would gain some respect from their male counterparts by joining the war as fighters (http://agi.ac.za/sites/agi.ac.za/files/fa_6_feature_article_3.pdf). For them the struggle had unlocked female power and had gone beyond the usual gendered approach to war. However, the sexual violence that occurred during the war shows that women failed to get the expected respect. The male fighters continued to view them with stereotypes, hence the perpetuation of their subjugation.

There is no price guessing that the topic on sexual abuse of women during the war is a highly sensitive one. This probably explains why there was silence on it soon after the war and when it was talked about, the narration was skewed as it largely heaped the odium on Rhodesian forces. Sexual abuse was just but one of the abuses of the war. When the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe extended a hand of reconciliation to his erstwhile enemies at independence it could have been mistakenly assumed by the victims, perpetrators as well as the general populace that a lid would be put on issues relating to sexual abuses during the liberation struggle. But the silence of the victims was, and still is, particularly surprising.

The glorification of the liberation struggle at independence evidenced by the celebratory narratives might have served to obscure and silence the voices of thousands of young girls and women involved in the struggle. The fighters were received as heroes. The nationalist historiography became exclusive (talked much about the heroism of the boys of the bush at the expense of the experiences of women fighters and collaborators). Nobody wanted to tell a different story of what had exactly transpired during the war. If anything the nation had to salute the sacrifices and heroism of the fighters. In this case, even rapists were celebrated as heroes of the struggle. For example, in her book *Re-Living The Second Chimurenga: Memoirs of Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle*, Fay Chung seems to be presenting Josiah Tongogara as a commander

who often sexually abused young female guerrillas, which led many of them to dislike him (<http://www.theindependent.co.zw/2012/08/10/>). Despite all this he was celebrated posthumously as one of the greatest heroes of the struggle.

Shona novel writers wrote passionately about the struggle. The majority of the writers chose to let sleeping dogs lie as they put a lid on the violent nature of the freedom fighters in their writings. Their war narratives “attempt to camouflage and dwarf the violence and vanish the violent pasts, especially violence committed by guerillas against civilians or against fellow guerillas” (Muhwati, Gambahaya and Mangena, 2006:1). The Shona novel writers present the liberation fighters as human, people who could not escape from the intricacies of love, but who did not force themselves on the women. For example, Hamutyinei in *Ndikandei Mugehena* (1988) and Raymond Choto in *Vavariro* (1990) present scenarios where female war collaborators got into consensual relationships with male freedom fighters. In *Ndikandei Mugehena*, Jaspa Ndanga, a liberation war fighter impregnates Marukwanisa, a war collaborator. The pregnancy is presented as a product of mutual love. The following conversation between the characters in the book brings out this fact:

Iwe Jaspa-ka. Ini ndava napamuviri. Unozviziva (You Jaspa. I am pregnant. You know it)

...Iwe nyarara chete. Nyaya dzose dzichagadziriswa kana hondo yaperera (You should just keep quiet. Everything will be sorted after the war) (p.6)

As fate would have it, Jaspa Ndanga leaves Marukwanisa to face the wrath of the Rhodesian soldiers. Marukwanisa gives birth to a baby boy while running away from the Rhodesian soldiers. She leaves the baby at a bus stop. The author leaves everything to fate. For example, the child, John Ziki is picked up by a woman who is well known to Marukwanisa; after the war, Jaspa Ndanga is reconciled with Marukwanisa and eventually with his son, John Ziki. In this case, what Jaspa had said during the war was sorted when the war ended. Raymond Choto in *Vavariro* also presents the same scenario in which a female war collaborator falls in love with a liberation war fighter.

It is reasonable to postulate that the above war narratives by the two authors are not what exactly transpired after the war in most cases. It could have been the ideal situation or what the authors would have wanted to happen when the war ended, but in most cases this did not happen. The major reason why what is portrayed in Shona novels did not happen is probably because most pregnancies that resulted in the war

were not a result of mutual love but of rape. Most of the Shona writers who wrote soon after independence seem to have ignored this fact. As such, Muhwati, Gambahaya and Mangena (2006:2) argue that "literature published in Shona and Ndebele soon after independence is more easily swayed in favour of the nationalist ideology." As evidence, after the war, there were many children who were purported to have no fathers (*vana vasina baba*). Some were referred to as *vana vakabuda muhondo* (children who came from the war). In an interview with one elderly woman in Harare, she says:

Vana vedu vakawanda mumaruwa umu vakasara nevana vasina madzibaba. Chinhu chinonyadzisa chose kuita mwana asina mutupo, asi taizvidii? Yaiva hondo (A lot of our children in the rural areas were left with kids without fathers. It's a shame to have children without a totem, but what could we do? It was war.) (Interview held in Harare on 27 January 2013)

In Shona society, it is deplorable for a child to have no father; for it is the father's name that gives the child his or her identity. It is possible that a father may deny having fathered the child, but the woman would know who the father is. However, due to the forced sexual encounters that occurred during the war, a number of women were left with children whose identities they did not know. One would then wonder how the rapes occurred. Did they happen without society knowing or society turned a blind eye to this sexual abuse? In the initial stages of the war, parents actually encouraged their daughters to be war collaborators because they thought the male fighters could be entrusted not to sexually abuse their daughters.

The guerrillas themselves would reiterate during the *pungwes* (night vigils) that they would not sexually abuse the girls because their code of ethics did not allow them to engage in sexual activities. Thus, girls were usually sent to spend time with the fighters. This concept of *kuvaraidza vanamukoma* (entertaining the big brothers) led to many being sexually abused. A report by the Research and Advocacy Unit (2011:8) alludes to the fact that young girls were conscripted to offer sex to soldiers and militiamen during the Second Chimurenga.

The concept of 'entertaining' alone should be condemned for reducing the girls to objects of entertainment. What form of entertainment were the girls supposed to offer the guerrillas if it was not sex? Were they just going to tell stories? Were the parents so naïve that they failed to see through the gimmicks of the guerrillas? Maureen Moyo (a war collaborator) quoted in Mguni-Gambahaya and Magosvongwe (2005:6) says:

Different men, touching your breasts...licking your breasts – licking all over...different men every week, every month...It is something that normal women cannot do. We were not allowed to say ‘no’.

When some parents later realized that their daughters were being sexually abused by the male combatants, they openly showed their displeasure. However, they were punished as sell-outs by the combatants. Such war narratives need to be told in order to counter those that were told in the early years of independence that portray all the people that were killed by the freedom fighters as *vatenges* (sell-outs). Some were killed as a way of silencing them from revealing the rampant sexual abuses that were taking place. Tekere cited in Machingura (2012:224) notes that:

If you were an opponent or perceived rival, you were simply labeled a ‘sell-out’. There could be no worse accusation in a struggle because of the ruthless manner in which the so-called sell-outs were treated. There could have indeed been sell-outs, as happens in war situations, but it is fair to say the label was also misused and abused to settle personal scores or simply endear themselves to the leaders.

When parents in the rural areas realized that their daughters were vulnerable to the sexual abuses of the combatants, they chose to send them to towns and cities around the country. As one woman recalls:

I was eighteen years old, when it was reported that the guerrillas were moving to our area that night and that all girls were to attend the night vigil. Having heard what had befallen girls in other areas, my parents made me catch the next bus to Harare. I came here (Harare) without even having a bath (Interview with Chiedza Mhengo in Harare, 30 January 2013).

On questioning her further, she revealed that a number of girls who remained in her rural area had children with some of the guerrillas. Thus, the war introduced certain tragic behavior patterns when its execution was supposed to take cognizance of traditional African values that were part of the cultural environment of the masses who hosted the war (Mguni-Gambahaya and Magosvongwe, 2005: 6). The war caused a moral dilemma among rural people. In the minds of the abused *chimbwidos*, the liberation war robbed them of their personal dignity, yet

one of the major objectives of the struggle was to extricate the indigenous inhabitants from all forms of oppression.

Hence, for some Shona novel writers, to have left out such an important part of the history of the liberation struggle is from my perspective not deliberate especially considering that they were writing in a language that was/is accessible to the majority of the people who had witnessed the war. There should be an explanation for the omission. Vambe (2010:103) bemoans the fact that after the war, "ZANU PF stockpiled memories of war, monopolized the discourse of the armed struggle, retaining selective aspects of history that favoured it, distributing speech, and manipulating information."

The omission by the Shona novel writers could then be understood from the perspective that the state through the Zimbabwe Literature Bureau made efforts to domesticate literature and channel it in the service of its interests. In this case, if the correct history of the liberation struggle from the perspective of women is to be preserved, there is need to retell the true sexual experiences of women during the struggle.

FEMALE FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE WAR OF LIBERATION

Female freedom fighters were also victims of sexual abuse at the hands of their male counter parts. *Echoing Silences* (1997), presents Kudzai as a representative of the majority of the female fighters who had to endure sexual abuse at the hands of their commanders. The writer of the novel needs to be commended for breaking away from the normative nationalist narratives of the Shona novel writers. He chose to break the silence on the sexual abuses that were experienced by female soldiers. From the point of view of Muhwati, Gambahaya and Mangena (2006:3), in *Echoing Silences*:

The history of the violent past is comprehensively represented in order to generate a strong case for the need for restorative justice, and in confronting what appears to be reluctance by the political elite to accept historical responsibility for the violent past and fulfill their obligations.

Muhwati, Gambahaya and Mangena argue that the novel is a revelation of the horrifying experiences during the liberation war (2006:6). When Kudzai was killed, the Rhodesian soldiers first of all raped her. The projection of the pain that Kudzai went through is

horrifying. One would have expected the commander to protect the female fighter because they were fighting a common enemy.

Kudzai had gone to Mozambique to fight against colonialism, only to meet a commander who pretends to be fighting to liberate Zimbabwe while at the same time enslaving his female counterparts by subjugating them through rape. Chung 2007 highlights how thousands of young women guerrillas were used as sex slaves by commanders. In the same vein, Manyame-Tazarurwa (2011:145) reveals that “fellow comrades as well as senior commanders who were supposed to protect female combatants raped them. People that the women trusted abused them and betrayed them.” Agger Mimica quoted in Manyame-Tazarurwa (2011:148) points out that “betrayals such as these threaten one’s core beliefs and lead to an existential crisis and loss of trust in humanity.”

In a poem called *Osibisa*, Freedom Nyamubaya (1986) recounts the sexual experiences of the female fighters. Nyamubaya writes from the point of view of a woman freedom fighter as she deconstructs the patriarchal images of war and combatants. Womanhood is in this case denied agency and self-definition in a world of male power. In this poem she says:

...They were all Zimbabwean
Yet they hated their womanhood

Unknown to the world at large
Forgotten by their male comrades
Who made them pregnant

.....

Fighters to defend their children
Mothers to provide childcare
Mistresses to entertain the men:
Their minds sink in despair.

This clearly shows that the women’s bodies were employed as tools of war despite the fact that the sexual code forbade rape (Manyame-Tazarurwa, 2011:145). Those that had children by rapes were ridiculed by their fellow fighters. Hungwe points out that women fighters who had children by their male counterparts were viewed as “unrespectable” (http://agi.ac.za/sites/agi.ac.za/files/fa_6_feature_article_3.pdf). Nyamubaya reveals that once they had children, the male combatants forgot about those they had made pregnant.

It is also apparently clear that no structures to report sexual abuse were put in place by the liberation war leaders. The reason for this could

be the traditional belief that views women as objects of pleasure for men. The following conversation between Munashe and Kudzai puts the above point into perspective:

"What are you talking about?"

"I was raped by the bastard for over a year! I couldn't run away. I had no option but to abort. I hate men. I hate the war."

"Why didn't you refuse him?"

"Rape? Refuse? That was why you saw me in prison at Tembwe."

"Was there no one to help you?"

"...Can you report a superior?" (*Echoing Silences*, 1997:56)

Instead of the rapist being jailed, *Echoing Silences* (1997:56) reveals that it was the victim who was jailed. Such injustice goes against Mao's ethical code of conduct that discouraged the fighters from being selfish and unjust. After enduring the rapes for a year, the woman did not get justice. Thus, Christiansen (2010:52) is not wrong when she says that the "gendered dimension of the legacy of violence and the subsequent ideological valorization of violence, has the liberation war as its point of departure." The Zimbabwean political leadership failed to deal with sexual violence during the war, and when it manifested again in 2008, none of the rapists though well known to the victims have been arrested. Thus, Manyame-Tazarurwa (2011:146) argues that rape has continued to affect women in Zimbabwe because men have not accepted that women were raped during the liberation struggle.

THE SEXUAL CONDUCT OF THE LIBERATION FIGHTERS: FEMINIST ECHOES

The sexual conduct of the freedom fighters during the war is going to be judged from a feminist perspective. As alluded to earlier, I am going to adopt the radical feminist stance on rape. I make the choice of using this approach fully aware of the position that has been adopted by most African scholars to do away with it and embrace Africana womanism. The argument put forward is that feminism is an approach for white women as it does not articulate the challenges of African women in Africa as well as those in the Diaspora. This may be true to a certain extent. However, from my perspective, feminism needs to be commended for its contribution to debates about the causes of women oppression and disempowerment. It is also my argument that the fact that there emerged a new approach (in the form of Africana womanism) that has widely been accepted in Africa does not mean that we have to

throw away old approaches such as feminism. As such radical feminism still remains useful when dealing with issues such as sexual abuse in general and rape in particular.

Radical feminists contend that rape must be recognized and understood as an important pillar of patriarchy (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-rape/>). They also argue that it arises from patriarchal constructions of gender and sexuality within the context of broader systems of male power. In this case, the rape cases that occurred during the war should be understood as resulting from a selfish desire to dominate. Many men after the war wanted society to think that as men they could not live without sex.

The phrase, *maiti tirarambe sei?* (how did you expect us to survive?) was and still is common among men who went to war. This view is premised on Louis Pineau's notion that natural male aggression is difficult to contain... (Pineau, quoted in Mangena, 2010:49). Although from their perspective, they think that they were justified to rape for sexual gratification, their actions need to be judged by the consequences that resulted. According to Manyame-Tazarurwa (2011:145), "women survived...the brutality of rape, torture, sexual exploitation and unwanted pregnancies and became more vulnerable to health and mental health concerns." This is revealed by Kudzai in *Echoing Silences* (p56) when she says:

"What can you call someone who has had three abortions in one year?"

"Now something strange is happening to me. I no longer menstruate and I am not pregnant. Menopause at twenty?"

Kudzai herself fails to explain what she is going through. What is clear is that she understands that the problem emanated from the rape cases and subsequent abortions she had had. As a result she feels like she is worthless. Frye and Shaffer (1977:341-42) posit that "being raped conveys for the woman the message that she is a being without respect, that she is not a person" Mappes (2010:67) also argues that "the employment of occurrent coercion for the purpose of rape "objectifies" the victim in the strongest sense of the term." This is what Kudzai meant when she said to Munashe:

"...I am nobody. I am nothing." (p.56)

Manyame-Tazarurwa's research (2011:146) reveals that the majority of women who were sexually abused during the war have fertility problems. Thus, Mguni-Gambahaya and Magosvongwe (2005:8) posit that:

The licentious behaviour of the male superiors undermined the personal freedom of women and threatened to render the struggle against social injustice meaningless. The confusion of licence with freedom in a war environment outside normal society enhanced anarchy. The wayward tendencies in the war degraded sexuality to crime, thus violating an important aspect of African social life. The suspension of basic values of respect for one another and for life in general pitted the practices in the war against cardinal African values. That way the struggle for liberation lost its human face.

Hampton (1999:135) argues that "rape does an objective 'moral injury' to its victim's value." In most cases, women who went to war tend to blame themselves for the rapes that occurred. Many of them regret having gone to war. Kudzai summarises the general feeling of the female victims of sexual abuse at the hands of the freedom fighters when she said:

"I hate men. I hate the war." (p.56)

When conducting her research Manyame-Tazarurwa (2011) says that most women who went to war did not want to be identified with it. Some of those that had gotten married had not revealed that they went to war to their husbands. Thirty-two years after the war, some women still break down when asked to narrate their sexual experiences in the struggle. The victims of sexual abuse that occurred during the war have suffered in silence. It is surprising that not many have dared document what they went through during the war. This silence is characteristic of all rape victims. They choose silence for fear of being ostracized and rejected.

According to Cahill (2001:132), "rape, in its total is the denial of the victim's agency, will, and personhood, can be understood as a denial of inter-subjectivity itself....The self is at once denied and...stilled, silenced, overcome." The continuity of the self is disturbed. In order to reconstitute the self in a new form, the victim/survivor must construct a meaningful narrative that incorporates the abuse that was experienced. The general argument here is that the post-war narrative in Zimbabwe should have included the stories of female fighters and collaborators and other women who were victims of sexual abuse.

THE AFTERMATH: DEALING WITH THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL ABUSE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ZIMBABWE

Among the post war reconstruction strategies that were adopted after independence in Zimbabwe, it is my contention that the policy of reconciliation was rushed. It is unfortunate that citizens were not afforded the opportunity to scrutinize the policy before it was affected. It may not be necessary to go through the speech of the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe (Mazuruse, 2010:72) when he announced this policy but it will suffice to say in the context of the topic under discussion the policy silenced a lot of women who were victims of rape and other forms of sexual abuse that occurred during the war. In other words Mugabe's policy of reconciliation probably served to protect men and trivialized the pain of rape that women had endured. The absence of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission made things worse for these women who had to suffer in silence for so long. Mazuruse (2010:83) observes that the masses that suffered several atrocities expected some form of justice and compensation before any form of reconciliation could be put in place. While the leaders of the new government got carried away in the euphoria of independence they ignored the tensions, pains and struggles that the people brought out of the liberation war. According to Mazuruse (2010:77), "the failure of the reconciliation project in Zimbabwe can be explained by the absence of truth and participation."

In dealing with the scars of sexual abuse that occurred during the liberation struggle, the government needs to create a platform where female combatants, collaborators and other female victims of sexual abuse can tell their story. Story telling is a learning methodology that has been adopted by peace building advocates, especially in an Appreciative Inquiry model. It is a model that believes that stories should be told. When people tell their experiences, it makes it easy for people to identify with that situation. It humanizes the story and we can place the face on the body, and the experience lasts longer (www.globalpeacebuilders.org). In this way, these women will be helped in reconstructing the self that died with the rape.

There is also need for both punitive and restorative justice. If the perpetrators of this sexual abuse during the war are alive and can be identified, the government needs to be proactive by ensuring that they meet with the victims and ask for forgiveness. Those that are in a position to compensate their victims should do so. The issue of punitive justice is a controversial one. This is why silence over the issue has often been preferred. However, the recurrence of sexual abuse against women since independence shows that some of the perpetrators gained this

experience during the war and are continuing the practice because they were never made to account for their actions after the war.

Now, they have not only become a danger to our women and girls, but to our men and boys as well since they now train them on how to rape girls and women whenever there are political differences. Research that was done by Aids Free World after the 2008 violence showed that those in command of groups of boys and men which went about raping women and girls were former freedom fighters (<http://aidsfreeworld.org>). The reconstruction of Zimbabwe as a nation cannot go forward if perpetrators of sexual violence against women are left to roam the streets. For the national healing and reconciliation project to be successful in Zimbabwe, structures of accountability have to be put in place.

CONCLUSION

The paper has looked at the sexual conduct of the freedom fighters during the war of liberation in Zimbabwe. It has highlighted the fact that despite having a code of conduct that discouraged them from immoral sexual conduct, the male fighters often raped their fellow female fighters and collaborators. The paper, however, alluded to the fact that not all women in the struggle were victims of sexual abuse; there were some consensual relationships. It was also argued that the presentation of the struggle by some Shona novel writers was very romantic to the extent that, at times, it failed to capture the sexual abuses that women experienced. On the other hand, some Zimbabwean writers who wrote in English (like Kanengoni and Nyamubaya) were commended for breaking the silence on the sexual abuse of women during the struggle. While some men feel that the sexual abuses were a means of survival on their part, the paper has argued for a critical analysis of the consequences of their sexual actions on the female victims. Kant argues that, "we must always act in way that respects the humanity of others and of ourselves" (Shaw, 2002:26). The paper went further to criticize the policy of reconciliation that was adopted at independence, and it was argued that, to some extent, the policy worked against the best interests of the women who were victims of sexual abuse, as it silenced them and encouraged them to forget. The paper has recommended that a platform for the true stories about women's sexual experiences during the struggle be created. It was also recommended that both punitive and restorative justice be effected on the perpetrators of sexual violence against women during the war. Only then can we talk of national healing and reconciliation.

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Interview with Chiedza Mhengo in Harare, 30 January 2013

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CHAPTER IX

**RE-THINKING THE ‘RIGHT TO
DEVELOPMENT’ IN
CONTEMPORARY SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

FRANCIS MABIRI AND ISAIAH MUNYISWA

INTRODUCTION

Rights talk is premised on the relationship between the right holder and the duty bearer. The right holder makes claims; positive or negative which the duty bearer has a duty to ensure are enjoyed. In line with this reasoning, this paper critically analyses what ‘right to development’ means with reference to Africa. The phrase ‘right to development’ itself is a powerful collective demand for action, a strong claim suggesting that development in Africa is threatened or has been denied. The suggestion is that either Africa is demanding some positive steps, that is, provision of developmental aid to be taken by someone so that it enjoys development; or Africa is demanding space, some form of non-intervention, so that it freely develops on its own. Thus, the paper grapples with questions such as: What does ‘right to development’ entail? Is Right to Development a reasonable claim in the post-independence phase of Africa? To whom is Africa claiming the development right? To what extent is this claim justifiable? Are there reasonable grounds to have this right granted by the assumed duty bearer?

As we write this paper we are very mindful of (i) the fluidity of the ‘rights language’ and (ii) the slippery nature of the concept of development. We are also mindful of the need for academia to make a statement regarding the discourse of development on the African continent. Development, like peace, security and good governance among others, is at the core of African affairs. Whether or not Africa should be talking about and demanding its right to develop and to whom it should be making these representations remains a subject of debate considering that most of Africa now claims to be independent. We would like to proceed by examining the origins of the idea of right to development. We then move over to discuss what right to development is and whether or not it is appropriate at this juncture for Africa to talk about its right to develop.

The claims we are making in this chapter are that (i) Africa has not developed as it should have; (ii) foreign aid has not sustained

development on the continent; and (iii) Africa must be accorded a chance to develop on its own. These claims are not only anchored on the total African experience but also on specific regional or even country experiences. All African countries experienced colonialism of one form or another, direct or indirect. All African countries attained their independence and it has been quite some time since the granting or attainment of that independence. It is, therefore, imperative to say 'whither Africa' in terms of development and we believe the time for that 'introspection' is now.

WHAT IS THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT?

In general terms, 'right to development' is a strong collective demand for action, a strong claim that development in Africa is either denied or threatened. Right to development is, therefore, understood in the sense of a score to be settled. As Bauer (1981:87) would put it, 'the third world is a creation of foreign aid: without foreign aid there is no third world.' The statement is obviously a distorted truth but it however incites debate on the idea of 'right to development' with reference to Africa. The right to development is itself one of the aspects discussed under globalization and the issue has received renewed vigor with current discussions on the Millennium Development Goals. It is a right that is neither classified under the first generation of civil and political rights nor the second generation of economic, social and cultural rights. It closely resembles and therefore fits into third generation rights, which, as we mentioned earlier, are collective rights like the right to peace or the right to a clean environment.

The general uneasiness about collective rights stems from their departure from traditionally recognized universal human rights of the individual person where in most instances the duty bearer has always been the state. Right to development forwards the idea that a state is or a group of states are entitled to certain interventions not only from nation states but also from the international community as a whole and as a consequence, the rich countries from the north who quickly come to mind as possible duty bearers, have always been suspicious of the idea.

Article 1 of the Declaration on the Right to Development defines 'right to development' as an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. According to Sengupta (2002:847), this Article spells out three principles, namely: (a) That there is an inalienable human right that is called the right to development; (b) That there is a particular process of economic, social, cultural and political development, in which

all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized; and (c) that the right to development is a human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy that particular process of development.

The first principle affirms the right to development as an inalienable human right and, as such, the right cannot be taken or bargained away. The second principle defines a process of development in terms of the realization of "human rights," which are enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights instruments adopted by the United Nations and its regional bodies. The third principle defines the right to that process of development in terms of claims or entitlements of rights holders, which duty bearers must protect and promote. Development on the other hand is defined in the preamble of the Declaration of the Right to Development as a "comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting there from" (Sengupta, 2002: 847-848). To Sengupta, the process of development that is recognized as a human right is the one, "in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully realized," consequent to the constant improvement of well-being that is the objective of development (2002: 848).

As Sengupta (2002: 848) would argue, Article 2, paragraph 3, states that such a development process would be the aim of national development policies that the states have the right and duty to formulate. Article 8 states more specifically that in taking steps to realize the right to development, states shall ensure "equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income," and take effective measures to ensure "that women have an active role in the development process," as well as carrying out "appropriate economic and social reforms...with a view to eradicating all social injustices" (Sengupta, 2002:848).

Having said that, it is important to caution that the 'right to development' discourse is not foreign to Africa. According to Felix Kirchmeier (2006:4) it was introduced in the 1950s and 1960s as more and more third world countries gained independence. It should be noted that during that time the designation; 'Third World' was a western reference to the underdeveloped countries of the global south. The 'right to development' was adopted as a declaration in 1993 at the World Conference on Human Rights where 171 member states unanimously adopted it. To Peter Uvin (2007:598), this effort was led by well-known Third World nationalists, emboldened by the success of the OPEC oil

embargo, which many believed was the beginning of a fundamental reshuffling of the world's economic power cards. The notion of a right to development provided legal and ethical authority to the Third World's request for the international redistribution of resources. The preamble of the Banjul African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981:2) illuminates the idea behind the 'right to development' stating that:

...Considering that the enjoyment of rights and freedoms also implies the performance of duties on the part of everyone; Convinced that it is henceforth essential to pay particular attention to the right to development, and that civil and political rights cannot be dissociated from economic, social and cultural rights in their conception as well as universality, and that the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural rights is a guarantee for the enjoyment of civil and political rights.

The above passage first and foremost, is a counter-argument against rich countries' exclusive insistence on political and civil human rights. Secondly, it acknowledges that development is a right of which everyone is a duty bearer, hence the skepticism by some rich countries. So far the right to development has not passed the state of soft law – it is generally accepted but not necessarily legally binding. In its current state, the 'right to development' may actually not see the light of day.

HOW IS THE 'RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT' A HUMAN RIGHT?

There has always been a debate on whether the 'right to development' is a human right. While this is so and while the question remains difficult to answer, what cannot be disputed is the fact that a strong relationship between development and human rights exists. Thus, one of the attractive prospects of the 'right to development' as given by Sengupta (2002: 847) is that 'right to development' refers to a process of development which leads to the realization of each human right and of all of them together and which has to be carried out in a manner known as rights-based, in accordance with the international human rights standards, as a participatory, non-discriminatory, accountable and transparent process with equity in decision-making and sharing of the fruits of the process. To this end, the 'right to development' is not a human right per se but a process that is critical to the realization of human rights such that we can talk of the 'right to development' as the 'right to the process of development.' This conception of the 'right to development' is critically important with regards to development in

Africa, but there is an imperative need be clear on whether this collective right is a negative or positive right.

In other words, when African nationalists and statesmen are demanding the right to development, what are they asking for? What are they claiming? Right claims are expressed in terms of claims or entitlements of right-holders, which duty-bearers must protect and promote. As Sengupta (2002: 846) argues, the identification of duty bearers at the national and the international level is essential to a rights-based approach. To him, the Declaration on the 'right to development' itself points out that, the primary responsibility for implementing the right to development belongs to states while the beneficiaries are individuals (2002: 846). Thus, the international community has a duty to cooperate to enable the states to fulfill their obligations (2002: 846).

Our worry in this chapter does not stem from the general idea of the 'right to development' but from a particular understanding or conception of it. From our perspective, for Africa to directly or indirectly take aid from the rich countries as the key to its process of development is problematic as this has not worked well for it since the fall of colonialism and apartheid. To this end we are arguing for 'right to development' to be understood as a negative human right. Each country needs space and non-existence of obstacles for its own development process. Though not explicit, we strongly suspect that at the core of right to development in Africa is the idea of international aid – where the 'right to development' is understood as a positive right. But it is becoming more and more evident that aid is not contributing positively to the development of Africa as evidenced in the debt predicaments of many African countries. As a consequence of foreign official aid, many African countries have external debts that exceed their GNP. In addition, the political and economic demands by donor countries before giving aid might be sure trajectories to re-colonization. It will be a vicious circle for Africa to demand independence and self-determination while at the same time demanding special international assistance.

To this end we contend that (i) The idea of 'right to development' should cautiously be examined in post independent Africa and (ii); Africa has what it takes to develop just as did the economies of Malaysia, China, Brazil, India, Japan and Germany after World War II. As some regions develop, Africa still fantasizes about what Robert Jackson (1990:133ff) called 'international affirmative action.' According to Jackson, African countries that experienced colonialism are the international equivalent of racial minorities whose ancestors suffered under slavery or other legal or economic disabilities. Both represent victims of past-institutionalized discrimination or disadvantage and therefore merit special consideration and assistance. To this end, Third

World states have a legitimate claim to international socio-economic assistance, compensation, and relief.

International affirmative action therefore presupposes that the global playing field is not level for all states and to level it, certain rules and actions of positive discrimination in favor of the currently disadvantaged is required until such time as they are in a position to develop the capabilities of positive sovereignty. Is this supposed to be the central argument of the 'right to development' paradigm? It will be good if interventions of any kind take place; Africa can seek recompense from her erstwhile colonizers such as France, Belgium, Portugal, Britain and others for they seem to be guilty of under-developing their colonies while they were still in charge of them and that they looted natural resources and shipped them back to develop their home countries. However, compensation prospects currently appear a dead end, hence the argument that Africa has to move on.

Moreover, fears of neocolonialism, which is believed to be a new form of control over former colonies, come in when Africa pleads for such interventions as compensation and aid, hence the argument that what the region requires at this juncture are negative rights to development. Multinationals and international corporations, which are predominantly based in the West, are continuing to siphon and control raw materials from Africa. There is negligible development in the host countries and local communities because these international players have been allowed to do so. Where Africa lacks its own science and technology control and manipulation come into play especially in the pricing of raw materials and in the process of value-addition. We therefore reject the 'right to development' as a retrogressive idea. It has provided a scapegoat for Africa to insist on aid instead of being genuinely innovative and working its way out of poverty.

DOES AFRICA HAVE A UNIQUE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT?

What does development mean to Africa? When discussing issues of development, do Africans have a concept different from that found in western literature? Statements such as 'Africa is not poor,' have not been uncommon despite evidence of social strife among many people on the continent. In addition, the concept of development itself has been evolving in western literature, hence the shift from development to the now fashionable 'human development.' The concept of "human development" introduced in the 1990s, had its conceptual foundations in the works of Mahbub ul Haq, Amartya Sen, and Martha Nussbaum.

As observed by Gasper (2002:10), the adjective 'human' in 'human development' conveys the suggestion that the earlier

understanding of development was economic (defined by economic growth) and not in actual fact human-centered. According to Mahbub ul Haq (1995:23), the defining difference between the economic growth and the human development approaches is that the former focuses exclusively on the expansion of only one choice – income – while the latter embraces the enlargement of all human choices – whether economic, social, cultural, or political. Thus, in line with the new approach, in *Development as Freedom* (DaF), Sen defines human development as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy (DaF 1999:3). Freedoms in this case mean actually existing opportunities for people to do the things they value. As Sen states; Human development, as an approach, is concerned with the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it.

Life can only be good if people are not bothered or weighed down by unfreedoms like poverty, illiteracy, high infant and maternal mortality rates, as well as famines, and lack of clean drinking water among others. We do not envisage another meaningful understanding of development unique to Africa that does not include removal of such unfreedoms as relevant to its process of development. This however does not discount the clear fact that Africa has its own distinct values and aspirations embedded in its history that must add to its core benchmarks of development. We identify these values as closely related freedoms to; (i) possess a certain degree of self-sufficiency politically, socially and economically, (ii) exploit its resources with its own expertise, (iii), feed its own people even in the face of growing populations. If right to development is a human right which we believe it is, we identify the problem with this human right as with the idea of taking the international community as the duty bearer. In the case of Africa relying on the north has not worked thus far.

WAY FORWARD

It is our contention that Africa has the requisite natural resources for meaningful development to take place but it seems to lack the requisite technical know-how and well-crafted developmental framework that favours progress. The West has continuously accused Africa of corruption and bad politicking through what it deems to be lack or absence of rule of law, good governance and, abuse of human rights. This scenario has, perhaps, contributed to Africa's inward looking or retreating into its own shell or, over-dependence on Western handouts in the form of development aid. This, in our view, retards

progress and development. This development must be understood in the same vein as the common good – the total well-being of a people.

There is need for Africa to define and outline a development framework that is owned and subscribed to by African governments collectively in solidarity with a fair degree of awareness of the same by the generality of its people (Simon, 1980: 23). In some sense, we are persuaded to agree with the contention that political leadership and authority in Africa seems to be in conflict with the values of justice, truthfulness, order and life itself (Simon, 1980: 14-19), considering that there have been well-documented and uncalled for coups de tat and civil wars in countries such as Mali, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as border conflicts in the Sudan and countries in the horn of Africa. There is, therefore, need for a credible political leadership to set the stage for a developmental agenda with set goals and timelines that are achievable and sustainable. Africa cannot afford to continue to wallow in its past experiences of the horrors of colonialism and even slavery and the slave trade.

With such abundant resources as oil, gold, diamonds, platinum and uranium among other resources and with land at its disposal, all that Africa seems to need is (i) a deliberate and genuine policy of engagement and empowerment of communities (ii) meaningful capital investment and (iii) tapping and transfer of technical know-how from friendly developed and developing partners, coupled with (iv) sound economic policies. Africa must rise above petty politics, self-demeaning and destruction; it must prove itself to itself and to others that it is serious about taking its place on the world stage in the global village. It cannot afford to just acquiesce to the dictates of foreign forces and their goals and targets.

The language of rights, perhaps ‘construed’ in the Western forms can only address real issues about real people if it is universally understood and accepted. In this regard, Africa needs to sincerely carry out that introspection which yields self-affirmation and determination and then take its place on the world stage in partnership with others. A win-win partnership is only beneficial if the parties bring themselves to it by contributing ‘something’ of substance. Africa cannot continue to do politics and business as usual or it will continue to be led down the garden path of underdevelopment by multinationals and others. There must, therefore, be a paradigm shift in order to engender new avenues of development and enhance budding ways of progress. To allow a divide – and – rule model and hegemony can only perpetuate the status quo as far as development is concerned.

South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana and others like them on the African continent cannot be models of democracy and development if singled out for development aid and praise especially by the West. All members

of the region must be accorded fair and just participation by would-be partners in matters of development. The right that Africa must demand from the West, the East, the North and the South must be that she be accorded her rightful place in matters of development for she cannot afford to continue to be a basket case, a charity case, a pity case. Africa is no longer a dark continent nor is she a sleeping giant: she is simply putting out her feelers and tentacles in order to find her way to progress and development.

Africa must be allowed to exercise her sovereignty over her resources and to partner with those of good will who believe in her capacity and potential. Her resources have, of necessity, to be managed and utilized in a sustainable way in order to improve the lot of her people ravaged by poverty, war, ignorance and disease. A history of slavery and slave trade, colonialism and the underhand dealings of neo-colonialism must not hold Africa back. She should embrace the 'right' to development as an obligation. Misrule and mismanagement of the abundant resources cannot be allowed to derail and retard Africa's development. It is time Africa believed in itself, in its strength and poise for growth and development politically and economically. The rest will follow.

Africa must usher in a new socio-politico-economic dispensation founded on its past experience. This new dispensation must of necessity embrace the values of solidarity and freedom, individual rights and the common good that are requisite for growth and advancement. These aspects tend not to be prevalent in a good number of African communities as there are documented instances of strife and war within and among these communities, especially those in the same neighborhoods, sharing borders or amenities such as bridges, electric generation, airspace, rivers and lakes, oil wells, etc.

Carlos E. Maldonado contends that, "World constitution accompanies and presupposes the constitution of a community of subjects which in turn must be constructed solidly in terms of justice, harmony and agreement" (1997: 41). He characterizes solidarity and a coming-together of knowing and willing subjects in terms of just and harmonious living and he deems this solidarity possible. Africa, in our view, needs to embrace this kind of solidarity and put it into practice, as it seems ontologically possible as a leitmotif of social life. Emphasis must be placed on what is called 'inter-subjectivity' whereby subjects in a community who are in solidarity must be guided by the freedom of acting persons to *be*. As persons interact, they must accord and respect each other's space to *be* well and to *do* well. Freedom, in this regard, must be understood as, according to Simon, 'genuine exercise of choice' among goods and means at one's disposal (1980: 43). This genuine exercise of choice requires knowledge and intelligibility. An acting

person is a subject who willingly chooses to own what he or she knows that is good in itself. This, in our view, is a prerequisite to any meaningful development, be it personal or social.

There is always a healthy tension between a conscientious individual and the society in which he or she lives, between individual interests and goods and the common good. Simon is very mindful of this tension but contends that the common good engenders an appreciation of that common good and a deliberate undertaking of a common action to achieve that common good while, at the same time, taking care of the individual goods. Africa needs to embrace a common vision and summon a common effort in order to achieve the envisaged enhancement of that total well-being of the African people that is the hallmark of development. This in itself is tantamount to a new proposition that must foster the crafting of new tools for development as opposed to the spent tools used to dislodge the yoke of colonialism. As Simon contends, “An ordinary student, to attain proficiency in mathematics, needs all the complex system worked out by academic societies – teachers, textbooks, treatises, discussions, tutorials – but in the case of genius alternative means make it possible to dispense with much of the academic apparatus” (1980: 44). The new common vision for Africa, which must be crafted with renewed vigour, must dispense with the politics-and-business-as-usual attitude as has been pointed out earlier on. Africa must see and seize the need for a paradigm shift for its common action to yield positive and beneficial results.

In regard to the proposed new dispensation and vision, Africa must realize the need and search for not only a credible leadership, but also a consolidated effort by that leadership so as to have a common action aimed at a common vision and goal – the enhancement of the total well-being of its people. This may take time but it is worth it in the end. It is this effort for a common vision that forms the foundation for a true African solidarity and *union*. The deliberate policy framework hinted at earlier on can only give guidance for development if it is crafted knowingly and willingly. A deep and genuine love for Africa, commonly understood as patriotism, can only bear fruit where there is knowledge of achievable goals and willingness to work for them. ‘If you want peace, work for justice’ contends Tony Byrne (1988: 8f). The togetherness of solidarity entails accepting and tolerating difference as diversity and embracing such higher goals as justice, peace, love and harmony. Solidarity also entails enhancing that sameness found in human dignity and equality founded on a common understanding that humanity is one and, therefore, unique, and hence sacred.

There is also need for Africa to embrace a legitimate process that nurtures and fosters warranted authority. It is this authority, this right exercise of power, which knows and embraces the good, which will

carry forth the new vision. Cases of flawed electoral processes tend to be rife on the African continent, alongside military take-overs and civil wars. Sometimes there seems not to be a balance between the sovereignty of the people and that of the leadership especially in politics, hence the charge by the West that most of Africa's leaders are illegitimate and dictatorial. There is need, therefore, for a responsive and responsible leadership in Africa.

This leadership should take cognizance of its place as that of taking the lead and honour the common people's space, to genuinely contribute to the common good while partaking of their individual benefits. As Rawlsians advise us, a good system and a good leadership must facilitate and achieve both equal opportunities to such engagements as education and employment while acknowledging differences between and among people. Africa needs to understand that there is unity and strength in diversity and that diversity is not contradiction. Africa as an entity must understand itself and be understood and regarded as a whole, a unity.

CONCLUSION

We would like to conclude that the current application of 'right to development' is, perhaps, inappropriate to the African scenario in that the West may no longer be the provider and guarantor of that right. Also, Africa seems to have what it takes to assume the duty and obligation to develop herself through her abundant resources by tapping the technical know-how from partners of good will. The appropriate language of rights and development for Africa must emphasize duty more than right to development. From Kantian and Marxian perspectives, Africa must make a 'fundamental choice' to simply 'own and control the means' of development in partnership with global participants and political and economic players of good will if she is to develop. As Merera Gudina, quoted in Bujra (2011: 119), Africa must avoid becoming the 'odd one out' plagued by inequalities, lack of democratic governance and ever lagging behind in terms of meaningful development.

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¹ Please note that references marked by an asterisk are not journal articles, but reports or conference presentations.

CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM IN THREE ZIMBABWEAN LITERARY TEXTS: A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

JOSEPHINE MUGANIWA AND FAINOS MANGENA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a philosophical critique of the development paradigm as depicted in Zimbabwe's three contemporary prose texts, namely; Petina Gappah's *In the Heart of the Golden Triangle* which exposes class notions of development in Zimbabwe, the story of *The Donor's Visit* by Sekai Nzenza which is about the role of Non-Governmental Organizations and how they influence notions of development in Zimbabwe and Reason Kufonya's *Gweja Nyumwawo* which critiques the Chiyadzwa experience by highlighting the need for economic development in Zimbabwe.

What justifies our philosophical critique of these stories is that they all reflect on the conflict between the Afro-centric notion of development or progress and the European one as instituted by colonialism and globalization. The chapter is divided into two sections with the first section outlining and defining the development paradigm. In this section, the development paradigm is approached from both a Euro-centric and an Afro-centric perspective where emphasis is on the need to appreciate the importance of African culture and values when defining the word *development*.

The second section gives an outline of notions of development as found in the three literary texts cited above and this is followed by a critique of the Western development paradigm that these texts seem to be imposing on Africans particularly Zimbabweans. As we reflect on these notions of development, we strive to answer the abiding question: Are these notions of development beneficial or destructive to the Africans?

Before we reflect on the notions of development in the three literary texts cited above, it is important that we define development. This is important in order for us to situate our study within a sound philosophical and literary framework. As we define development we are not limiting our understanding to the Afro-centric discourse as we are cognizant of the fact the meaning of development depends on context, culture, era and the philosophical orientation of the definer.

THE DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM: SETTING THE PARAMETERS

As noted above, the meaning of the term *development* is contested, resulting in numerous definitions. From the perspective of modernity, development refers to economic reforms and this perspective divides the world into ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries. Ironically, industrialization, which is the epitome of modernity, presupposes the existence of an owner of the means of the production who creates employment and those who are employed. It precludes the inclusion of communally based societies where the means of production are held in trust by the community leaders for the benefit of the people and future generations. An individual has no fixed roles because ‘Man has a bundle of duties which are expected from him by society, as well as a bundle of rights and privileges that society owes him’ (Okot p’Bitek, 1986:19).

Relationships are not linear as they are dependent on context and therefore to define development strictly on the basis of an employer/employee relationship will be to miss the point. A better definition is by the United Nations which notes that development means “leading long and healthy lives, being knowledgeable and having access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and also being able to participate in the life of the community” (www.volunteeringoptions accessed 12/11/2012).

Closely related to the above definition is the one by Amartya Sen (1999) who defines development as an integrated process of expansion of substantive human freedoms. Among the most important of these freedoms are freedom from famine and malnutrition, freedom from poverty, access to healthcare, and freedom from premature mortality in addition to political freedom. Economic growth, technological advancement and political change are all to be judged in the light of their contributions to the expansion of these basic freedoms (Cited in Mangena and Chitando, 2011: 236).

The first definition assumes that one needs money to acquire basic needs and alleviate poverty. It also assumes that the best way to acquire money is through employment. In that sense the definition is locked up in a certain type of culture, in a particular society. But is this model relevant to Africa and to Zimbabwe in particular? African scholars such as Chiwome and Gambahaya 1998; Munck & O’Hearn 1999; Chivaura & Mararike 1998; Kanyenze et al 2006 have shown through their discussions of the development paradigm that the European model is inadequate, if not destructive, to the dignity of Africa and its inhabitants.

What is the point of having a country that is technologically advanced when the majority of its people are living in dire poverty?

What is the meaning of economic growth if people have no values and basic freedoms? Sen is right to say that, “economic growth, technological advancement and political change are all to be judged in the light of their contributions to the expansion of basic freedoms.” From an African perspective, basic freedoms mean the ability to define oneself without having to be defined by another person. It also means the ability to survive from one’s own resources without the interference of outsiders. Chivaura puts it succinctly when he notes that:

Land, culture, identity and development are linked as one. The natural endowments of the land are the people’s material culture. The economy of the land and its religion, history, languages, arts, sciences and institutions that people create in order for them to survive, are their intellectual or ideational culture (The Patriot, 2-8 March 2012).

Having said that we believe only the second and third definitions of development provide models that are relevant to Africa. Against this background, Chiwome notes that culture is important in defining development. For Chiwome, Culture, as the context of all social activities, has often been sidelined in the pursuit of economic growth based on non-indigenous cultural models (1998: v). Okot p’Bitek (1986) defines culture as “a lived and celebrated philosophy” which regards development as change that is good. For BJ Van der Walt (1997:141), there is no recorded case in history where development succeeded without the support of the community, without its being rooted in the cultural heritage of the people. A nation should remain true to its culture in order to develop. It is against this background that we bemoan the attitude of some Africans who think that everything European is good for Africa. Vincent Tucker clearly articulates this problem in his essay entitled: *The Myth of Development: A Critique of Eurocentric Discourse* when he argues that:

Discourses on progress, development and modernization are constructed on the basis of the false polarities of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern.’ These temporal metaphors used to conceptualize otherness and distance in historical time are transposed onto spatial realities and used to designate a normative development trajectory. Societies that deviate from the European techno-economic standards are designated as ‘traditional’ or ‘primitive’ despite the fact that they are contemporaneous with those who label them as such. These false and mutually exclusive polarities are

united by an evolutionary discourse that postulates them as sequential stages of development. History is reduced to a scale of progress onto which societies are mapped. Development is thus postulated as a natural process (Cited in Munck & O'Hearn, 1999:8).

We do not agree with the false dichotomies of development as described in the above paragraph and we also do not agree with the claim that all development is a natural process. We believe that there is human effort also involved and the actions of particular humans are informed by a particular philosophy or worldview. This is the same point that Chiwome and others are affirming.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is steeped within the post colonial discourse that challenges Western hegemony particularly the racist Philosophies of GWF Hegel and others in dictating the norm and the 'other' in the discourse of development. Hegel has no kind words for Africa when it comes to the issue of development or progress. In his *The Philosophy of History* Hegel divides African into three parts:

One is that which lies south of the desert of Sahara...Africa proper...the Upland almost entirely unknown to us, with narrow coast-tracks along the sea; the second is that to the north of the desert...European Africa (if we may so call it)...a coastland; the third is the river region of the Nile, the only valley-land of Africa, and which is in connection with Asia. Africa proper, as far back as history goes, has remained – for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world – shut up; it is the gold land compressed within itself – the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of the night...(Hegel cited in Onyewuenyi, 1994: 94-95)

From the above paragraph, it can be seen that 'Africa proper,' as in the words of Hegel, has "lagged behind" in terms of development and that its people cannot philosophize as they are still to develop from 'childhood.' Rev WN Bentley put it aptly when he retorts that:

An African, whether Negro or Bantu, does not think, reflect or reason, if he can help it. He has a wonderful memory, has great powers of observation and initiation, much freedom of speech and very many good qualities; he can be

kind, generous, affectionate, unselfish, devoted, faithful, brave, patient and perceiving; but his reasoning and inventive faculties remain dormant (Bentley cited in Onyewuenyi, 1994: 94).

Africa has had to live with the residual effect of slavery and colonialism that categorized Africans as the savages to be 'civilized' by the West. The linear conception of development continues this Hegelian discourse. Ngugi wa Thiongo (1993) calls for a moving of the center in accordance with the claim to independence as we return to the principles that created many great empires. As Chinua Achebe (1988) notes, Africa did not hear of civilization from the whites but had her own systems that were destroyed by the intrusion of the white man. Literature thus plays a critical role in rethinking what development is and forging the way forward for Africa. In Said's words:

For in the decades-long struggle to achieve decolonization and independence from European control, literature has played a crucial role in the re-establishment of a national cultural heritage, in the re-instatement of native idioms, in the re-imagining and re-figuring of local histories, geographies, communities. As such then, literature not only mobilized active resistance to incursions from the outside but also contributed massively as the shaper, creator, and agent of illumination within the realm of the colonized (Cited in Rutherford, 1992: 3).

Literature helps us in illuminating certain areas of our lives so that we can make informed decisions in coming up with developmental plans. It is against this background that we review and analyze these literary texts by Gappah, Nzenza and Kufonya. Gappah's *In the Heart of the Golden Triangle* explores an individual woman's conception of development through material gain. Gappah reflects on the question: Is it enough to define development this way and is the cost to attain it worth it? Nzenza's *The Donor's Visit* enables her to reflect on the donors' attitude towards Africa. She reflects on the question: What is the African conception of development? Kufonya's *Gweja Nyumwawo* highlights the Chiadzwa saga which is an important part of Zimbabwean history. He reflects on the questions: What made people invade Chiadzwa? What are the implications of these invasions to the country's economic development? Below we look at these literary texts in detail.

IN THE HEART OF THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

The story *In the Heart of the Golden Triangle* by Gappah depicts a woman who has graduated from being a ‘small house’ (an informal designation for a woman in an extra marital affair) to a ‘big house’ (an informal designation given to a properly married woman) by displacing the original wife. In her search for wealth she agrees with the man that ‘no man could be expected to be faithful.’ Ironically, the original wife is now hurt that there is a new woman and she lives in constant fear of being demoted like Norma *akadhingurwa* (Norma who was demoted/replaced). She cannot take kindly to the fact that a ‘small house’ can become a ‘big house’ as she tries to comfort herself by going to the gym and by hosting fancy parties. Despite the material luxury the family is broken as evidenced by the children enquiring about a father they hardly see.

Both the husband and the ‘small house’ are more interested in gratifying their desires regardless of how it affects people around them, which is contrary to the spirit of *hunhu/ubuntu*. From the perspective of *hunhu/ubuntu* while pre-colonial Africa condoned polygamy, there were laid down procedures to be followed that included obtaining the first wife’s consent. The wives knew each other and the children interacted. The characters in this story act on their whims following the rights discourse that is Western and antithetical to the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* as stated above. KG Mkanganwi (1998), while discussing the link between culture and development, makes the following observation:

There is one thing my father used to not say – what he would never say, “You have rights, my son.” Cultures of the world are vociferous about myriads of rights, of all shapes and sizes, for example, human rights, men rights, women rights, individual rights, animal rights, your rights – you name it, everything has rights, criminals and all. ‘Rights’ is one of the many words or concepts or notions I am not sure I understand. None of the many things my father used to say can, by any stretch of the imagination, be taken to refer to ‘rights.’ In short, as my father used to say that I have no rights. Instead, as my father used to say, “You have responsibility, my son – responsibility to vanhu vaMwari,” to father and mother, to brother and sister, to grandfather and grandmother, to relatives, to children and grandchildren, and to ‘thy neighbour’ - that is, responsibility to all people and all things in everything you do or say (Cited in Chiwome & Gambahaya, 1998:14).

On the basis of Mkanganwi's understating of culture, the individual rights of the characters in Gappah's story, as consenting adults, impinge on others. We agree with Mkanganwi that as Africans, we have a responsibility to contribute towards the betterment of our communities more than we have rights to be self-seeking. This is what *hunhu/ubuntu* tells us to do. Coming back to Gappah's husband-'small house' story, the husband is a banker in the context of Zimbabwe's economic meltdown. In the highly inflationary environment he 'burned' foreign currency for the poor people who needed the local currency. Please note that the word 'burning' had assumed multiple meanings during this period as it also referred to the exchange of foreign currency for a lot of Zimbabwean dollars using a high rate that was not official. The husband therefore fails to be a custodian of people's wealth as a banker but preys on people's poverty and desperation. They in turn could afford the lavish lifestyles and buying groceries from South Africa when the majority of the poor could not afford such a luxury.

The husband validates his womanizing because he can afford to spoil the women materially. He lacks sexual discipline and exhibits greed by amassing wealth for himself at the expense of the community. The consumerist attitude is evidence that the husband cannot initiate real change or development in his community. This is against the spirit and letter of the concept of development as understood by Africans. John S Mbiti (1969) sums it up when he says, "I am therefore we are, since we are therefore I am." Put simply, this phrase means that the individual is important only as far as he or she contributes to the betterment of his or her community. This *hunhu/ubuntu* philosophy is against self-seeking attitudes that are premised on rugged individualism as found in the Hegelian world. In a foreword to the book *The Human Factor Approach to Development in Africa*, Mhembe notes that:

No society has ever developed without first having developed the relevant human factor values in its people as a labour force. In that regard, no amount of international assistance can solve Africa's development problems. Africa's greatest resource is its own developed, well-disciplined human factor (Chivaura & Mararike, 1998: x).

The unnamed woman feels that she has 'developed' as she now lives in an affluent suburb where she is a neighbor of the Governor of the Reserve Bank, French Ambassador and the British High Commissioner from whom she inherits a maid who can make the best pastry. The aping of white people's lifestyle tells her she has arrived and her worst fear is being demoted and contracting HIV and AIDS. She is at risk precisely due to her complicity with an irresponsible man. She is

equally irresponsible as she sleeps with him even though they are not married thereby violating the *hunhu/ubuntu* ethic of *kuzvibata kusvikira muwanano* (To abstain from sexual intercourse until one is married).

We are bound to ask the questions: Is this what *development* entails when human dignity is sacrificed for material gain? What kind of a future are we likely to have with children that have not been 'fathered' in the proper sense of the word and therefore have no sense of responsibility? Is having money the same as being developed? Is poverty only defined in monetary terms? The nameless character is far removed from the typical African woman who is in control and is accorded the respect she deserves. Both the nameless narrator and her 'man' transgress the sanctity of marriage according to African culture. Their relationship is dismissed as *kubika mapoto* (co-habitation). If this is what Hegel, Bentley and others meant by thinking or reflection or reason then as Africans we would do well without these.

In the rights discourse, a consenting adult is free to cohabit with anyone. However, this infringes on the rights of the children to a decent family. Marriage is therefore valuable in that it ensures family cohesion by joining two families who form the support system for the new couple and the children born out of it. The narrator and her children are isolated because they are outside this cultural frame. They are at high risk of delinquency, drug abuse and may become street kids should the father die from HIV and AIDs as the mother is not economically empowered. She glories in the privilege to spend her man's money on luxuries but has no ability to create her own. She is, therefore, both economically and morally bankrupt. The story is a satire based on a warped conception of development.

THE DONOR'S VISIT

Nzenza's *The Donor's Visit*, in *Writing Free* is an attempt to answer two critical questions: What constitutes poverty? Is it lack of food, which is a temporary phenomenon depending on rainfall patterns, or lack of concrete moral values? The story is set in rural Zimbabwe and told from the point of view of Enifa Bako, an old woman, who goes to collect her food relief rations in the company of her granddaughter, Chiyevo. Chiyevo failed her O-levels save for Shona and Religious Studies because she together with other pupils were not taught as teachers were barely paid due to hyper inflation and the economic hardships of the teachers.

Chiyevo also missed school because the river was in flood and she could not cross. This points to lack of infrastructural development as well. Chiyevo's mother is frustrated because she had hoped that her daughter would become a teacher or nurse but now she is only destined

to be a maid or 'a second or third wife to a sugar daddy' (old man who lures young women with his wealth) (*Writing Free*, p.110). Her mother's anger is fueled by a sense of loss as she invested chickens and goats to pay school fees. Her conclusion is that Chiyevo's head is full of water rather than brains. Mbuya's testimony is different as she asserts that unlike her older sisters and some of her cousins, Chiyevo is a decent girl as she listens to her and is willing to accept advice.

She thinks that one day Chiyevo will be a good woman to someone as she goes to church and works in the garden. Mbuya thinks that if these were the old days when men were still strong, she would have gone to look for a husband for her. But these days, it was difficult as they are skinny men everywhere. Even those who call themselves bachelors do not look healthy at all. Some of the widowed men are just looking for a younger woman to care for them until AIDS snatches them away, as it does. Mbuya maintains that:

The only healthy men I have seen are those that work for donors, ZANU-PF, MDC, the churches and the Chinese clothing merchants. Businessmen are also healthy. They drive big cars and have big stomachs. These men will take Chiyevo as a second wife. But I will not let Chiyevo go with these men. They will treat her well at first until they find another beautiful girl to replace her. I tell Chiyevo that money can buy beautiful women. She should be patient and avoid situations with men that will lead to sex. One day a healthy-looking, single, good man will come along. Chiyevo does not say anything. All she does is listen to me, nod her head and do as I tell her. (p. 112)

The difference between the mother and the grandmother's assessment of Chiyevo lies in their perception of being cultured. Chiyevo's mother converts her wealth (chickens and goats) into cash to pay school fees hoping that she will recover her investment when her daughter secures a high paying job. The irony of the situation is that her daughter fails precisely because the cash economy is crumbling and the people she admires (teachers and nurses) have been reduced to poverty. De-motivated, the teachers go on strike and refuse to develop their community if they are not remunerated accordingly.

The mother is not aware of these dynamics and simply concludes that her daughter is stupid. The grandmother dismisses her daughter-in-law's conclusion because she sees Chiyevo as a hard worker and as being morally upright. Chiyevo is decent, works hard and listens to elders. She will therefore make a good wife and raise her children well.

The problem however is that eligible young men are scarce due to the AIDS scourge. Mbuya advises her to be patient and wait.

Trouble stems from the contesting voice of the donor who offers Chiyevo condoms and asks her to be part of a research project. The donor explains how the female condom works. Mbuya commands her to return the condoms, instead she returns with them encouraged by Ndodye, the village crier, who says:

Mbuya, the donors come to give food and they also give us condoms. We need both to stay alive. You cannot stop change. Let her keep the condoms. It is dangerous without protection out there. Then Chiyevo nods her head and giggles (p.119).

Ndodye makes an appeal to modernity to justify keeping the condoms. The fallacy of his argument is in equating the need for sex to the need for food. People can die from lack of food but no one has died from abstinence from sex. In Africa, sex is sacred as reflected by the taboos and sanctions around it. Sexual education is given to the appropriate age group and at relevant times so that it is not misused. The donors give condoms and show Chiyevo how to use them. She is also to log in at the clinic the number of times she uses them. This is as good as telling the young girl to indulge while giving her the false security of the condom in the name of exercising sexual rights.

It is only then that Mbuya concurs with her daughter-in-law's assessment that Chiyevo is brainless as she murmurs that:

Chiyevo's mother is right: this girl does not have any brains. She listens to donors doing a project on her and accepts what they give her. Now she is listening to Ndodye who wants some of those things for himself. Today the donor's visit has given me food. But it has also taken Chiyevo away from me. I cannot tell Chiyevo what to do anymore (p.119).

Chiyevo represents the present day youths who trust donors and advice from outsiders at the expense of their elders' words of wisdom. They trust condoms (Western technological devices) as opposed to *rairo yekuzvibata inobva kuvakuru* abstinence (Words of abstinence coming from the elders). The rights gospel has been preached in schools, and children make demands on their parents forgetting the give-and-take concept of African culture which is premised on privileges and responsibilities. Consequently, their role models are western idols and the youths are oblivious to the dangers in their adopted lifestyles.

However, the blame does not fall only on the youths. Even adults are allowing themselves to be guinea pigs for the West. There are so many Africans who think consumption is more important than moral values. There are so many Africans who have listened to the pseudo-scientific voice of the West particularly the voice of Hegel, Bentley and others at the expense of African wisdom enshrined in proverbs. This is the tragedy facing most Africans today. We have been made to believe that our values are inferior compared to those of the West and that modern rationalization provides answers to all our needs.

Thus, Chiveyo sees the introduction of condoms to her community as an opportunity to alleviate hunger and poverty as she can now get food from the donor after selling her body. She sees this as a positive development. We see this as retrogressive to development as it violates our values as defined by *hunhu/ubuntu*. For instance, she does not want to wake up to the reality that sexual freedom increases HIV infections and broken families which impacts negatively on national development as more funds are channeled towards social welfare rather than developing industries that generate more wealth.

GWEJA NYUMWAWO

In *Gweja Nyumwawo*, Kufonya analyzes the consumerist ideology at a national scale. Everyone participates in the grabbing of diamonds at Chiadzwa diamond fields in Marange as many factories have shut down resulting in high levels of unemployment. Civil servants are paid peanuts that cannot sustain them and hence they also participate in the search for diamonds. The time setting is still the height of economic meltdown in Zimbabwe. Those of the Golden Triangle are the buyers, the Chiyevo and other villagers and even those from the capital city run away from the drought and poverty hoping to make it big. It is as if the capital, Harare has relocated to Chiadzwa:

Ndipo pandakadzidza kuti mazita emaguta emuHarare ava
kwaChiadzwa. Zvinongoitwa paMbare kuHarare ndizvo
zvaingunoitwa paMbare yokwaChiadzwa. Mufakose
ndizvozvo, mbiri youmhondi nekuba. KuBorrowdale
yekwaChiadzwa ndiko kwaigara maBhaya uye ndiko
kwaisvikira dzimwe mhimhina neshangwiti dzevanhu
dzisingadomwi nemazita. Kwakanga kusingasvikwi
navanakapuracha nokuti ndiko kwaiva kupfimbi yemari.
KuArcadiawo ndiko kwaiitwa zvebvutu, kurovana
nokutambirwa makasi. Chitungwiza musha mukuru ndiwo
waiva musha wemafaro nemadhiri, upfambi nezvimwe
zvinofadza nyama kana munhu abata mari (p.27). (That is

when I learnt that the names of suburbs in Harare were now in Chiadzwa. What happens in Mbare in Harare was also happening in Mbare, Chiadzwa. Mufakose had the same fame in murder and stealing. The buyers stayed in Borrowdale of Chiadzwa and that is where other rich people who cannot be named transacted. You could not just go there if you were a nobody because all the money was kept there. In Arcadia people grabbed things from each other, played blackjack. Chitungwiza, a big suburb, where people enjoyed themselves and struck deals, engaged in prostitution and all that pleases the body when one has money.)

Chiadzwa society and lifestyle is hinged on money. Everyone in Chiadzwa is looking for money whether through digging for diamonds, selling food, buying diamonds for resale, stealing or prostitution. There are no rules as long as you get the money and this results in chaos and disease. What has also led to this chaos is lack of basic necessities for the common man hence it is a development issue. Politicians, as insinuated by reference to well-known people, are also buyers. The critical questions to ask are: Who will put a stop to the illegal mining? Who benefits from the chaos? Who are the foreigners? What is the way forward? There is no accountability at Chiadzwa; it is a free for all scenario.

Mistaken Chipikiri one of the illegal miners also known as *gwejas* runs away from Mashoko Mission hoping to come back from Chiadzwa filthy rich and earn the envy of both teachers and pupils. After leading a lavish lifestyle for a while, poverty returns and he reminisces:

Ndakapindwa nepfungwa yakati, “Kunzi timbira mugadheni rechikoro ndotoona sekuti rakasiyana negadheni rokumba kwedu. Kunzi nhonga mapepa chaiwo asingatauri zvawo ndotoatya. Kunzi gadzira zumbu rehuku rechikoro kana kumutsa waya yakawa pachikoro ndototi maricho. Inga kwose kudzidza wani, chikoro hachidzidzirwi mabhuku oga, nemibato yemaoko pamwe nokugarisana nevamwe zvakanaka zvinodzidzirwawo muzvikoro” (p. 69). (Then I thought back, ‘When asked to till the school garden, I thought it was different from my home garden. When instructed to pick up inanimate [pieces] paper, I was afraid of them. When asked to fix the chicken coop or school fence, I thought I should be paid. But that is part of learning; books are just as important as practical skills and

good interpersonal relations and these are also taught in schools.)

Kufonya seems to point to a holistic education as a solution. Formal education has to be applied to day-to-day lifestyle and people must not be afraid to labour while developing good relationships in their communities. The chaos at Chiadzwa is precisely because the people refuse to take instructions from anyone as long as they get the diamonds, resulting in the battles with the police. Syndicates fight against each other, leading to multiple deaths. They let their passions run free and act like animals (copulating, eating and defecating everywhere). Clearly, no development is taking place but rather degeneracy dominates life at Chiadzwa. In 'Borrowdale' there is a semblance of order as some form of luxury is experienced. The amount of money Chipikiri sees in the buyer's boot makes him believe the World Bank has moved headquarters to Chiadzwa. The buyer brags thus:

Inzwa gweja dzemabhinya ndidzo dzinovhara asi bhaya haavhari gweja. Ziva kuti bhaya nagweja mukombe nechirongo. Mari iri ti, mota dziri ti, ini ndini ndinobhadhara simbi muno muChiadzwa mose kudarika mamwe mabhaya amungaziva. Ndini bhaya rembiri yekupfuma zvakanyanya muno munyika. Ndine magonyeti, zvikepe zvangu zviri kushandira kuKariba Dam. Chikopokopo changu hachisati chauya asi ndatopedza kuchibhadhara. Sare musoro wechitima. Wozodei? In gwejing we trust, but in diamonds we pay. Ko uri kuda kubuda nepahwindo sei iwo musuwo uripo? Yusa rinotenga, shamwari (p.41). (Listen illegal miner, dagga gets you drunk but a buyer will not take advantage of the miner. Know that the buyer and the miner are inseparable. There is plenty of money, lots of cars, and I pay more than all the buyers in Chiadzwa. I am the famous rich buyer in this country. I have haulage trucks, my boats are operating in Kariba. I have finished paying for my helicopter though it is not yet here. Next I will buy a train engine. What else can one want? In gwejing (illegal mining) we trust but in diamonds we pay. Why would you choose to go out through the window when the door is open? The United States dollar buys a lot, my friend.)

Later in the text, it turns out the buyers are armed robbers who steal money and the cars they use to trade in diamonds. The whole structure benefits individuals at the expense of the nation and hence the

need for the police and the army to move in and effect order in the chaos. In Chiadzwa the people discard religious and cultural values expressed in the phrase *zvekumunda hazvibvunzwi* (You have no right to question what you are seeing or hearing in these diamond fields). A new language is created that carries the experiences of Chiadzwa which validates Ngugi's (1986) claim that if any language can be developed to carry the experiences of its people then any language can be a language of development.

Within Chiadzwa the most common word is *kufudhubhaiwa* meaning excellent quality and therefore the best on the market. The term is used on all products on sale; food, clothes, *dzemabhinya* (cannabis or marijuana) and even prostitutes. The title of this novel (*Gweja Nyumwawo*) is part of the common language urging illegal diamond miners to beware of trouble either in the form of security officers or a rival syndicate. The miners are not afraid of diseases because a traditional healer by the name *Mudhiponzi* is available with his traditional herbs to treat sexually transmitted diseases. The new world thus has a comprehensive culture that sustains itself albeit at the expense of the development of the nation. Individuals spend the money raised from the diamonds while the national coffers remain dry and hence the government continues to fail to deliver basic amenities and services to its people or increase wages and salaries to motivate its workers.

Teachers and students abandon the classroom for Chiadzwa to make quick money which has an impact on the future manpower of the nation. Mistaken Chipikiri realizes this while in the hospital. One needs basic education in order to get a well-paying job. Against this background, Kanyenze et al note that:

Skilled labour that allows for specialization and efficiency is often in short supply among countries in Southern Africa, which is a major problem facing firms. In this context of a globalised economic environment, which is knowledge-based, the conventional comparative advantage of raw materials and unskilled labour is becoming increasingly insignificant. High quality services such as accounting, management, production engineering, design, packaging, processing and quality control are crucial for export survival. Many of the member countries have invested a lot in human capital only to lose this precious factor through the "brain drain". This is, among others, due to poor working conditions and extreme deterioration in real wages and salaries (Kanyenze et al, 2006: 258).

This was the situation in Zimbabwe from 2000 to the beginning of 2009. Wages and salaries deteriorated especially for workers who largely relied on salaries. The brain drain is necessitated by the fact that manpower is developed along Eurocentric models and therefore fit snugly in the 'developed' world. Since entry into these countries is monitored, only the best are allowed in. In Walter Rodney's (1972) terminology, the underdevelopment of Africa continues in the global era. That is why it is important to create models of development that are suitable for Africa and caters for its specific cultural needs.

Chiadzwa provides an alternative source of livelihood. However, the disregard for skill and knowledge threatens the future of the nation. Communicable diseases also eat into the future by killing the young and the economically active people. Mistaken, noting the hordes of people from Chiadzwa in the hospital, remarks that they are as good as dead (*kafiramberi*). That is why it was necessary to restore order at Chiadzwa so that mining processes benefit the nation and people return to the values of honest, hard work in order to earn a living.

Kufonya's novel highlights the mineral wealth in Zimbabwe as *gwejas* outline the various areas they have worked in such as Shurugwi and Chimanimani which have gold deposits. His emphasis however lies on the importance of education in sustainable development. Human capital must be developed so that it responsibly manages the national resources for everyone's benefit. The revenue mentioned above was only realized after illegal mining had been stopped.

Currently residents of Chiadzwa affected by the mine have been resettled properly and are beneficiaries of corporate responsibility initiatives by Mbada Diamonds monitored by the state. Rumours of high-level corruption abound, another scourge that should be dealt with if real development and accountability are to be realized. However that does not take away the need to organize the resources at a national level for the benefit of the whole nation. In order to retain maximum benefit, there is need to develop the whole chain of the diamond industry so that the country can trade the finished product as opposed to providing raw materials for the West.

There are many dimensions to development. Cultural grounding becomes the basis to facilitate the other elements. For Chivaura (1998), development means the production of goods to satisfy human needs. The goods produced include tools. Our people need technology to make their production effective. But they must first develop the capacity to produce that technology themselves and the appropriate skills and personnel to man it responsibly.

Thus, the HF development agenda has two sides to it. Both complement each other. They can, therefore, be collapsed

together and expressed as one, thus: to develop the creative potential of our people so that they can rely on their own effort and initiative to develop themselves and their own economy. In this way, they become their own masters and their own prime movers. Most importantly, they become independent and fully responsible and accountable for the successes and failures of the development programmes and agendas they initiate or choose to follow (Chivaura & Mararike, 1998:1).

The illegal miners acquire technology (cars) but soon wreck them because they have no knowledge of maintaining them. Mistaken's 'wife,' Rose, realizes her need for training and that she does not live for herself. She therefore returns to build better shelter for her mother and siblings, buys cattle (which are real wealth as compared to cash) and asks elders to plead for her to be readmitted into school. Her success is, therefore, a result of the worldview that informs her actions. Her participation in the Chiadzwa saga is a means to an end unlike Mistaken and Tazi who are swallowed by the adventure because they lack vision and purpose. She remains responsible for and accountable to her community. The author then seems to plead with his readers to hold on to the vision of economic recovery despite the crisis. There is, therefore, the need to continue training in schools and develop professional skills.

CONCLUSION

The texts analyzed above explore the implications of evaluating development on the basis of the amount of money one possesses, without the moral and spiritual attributes. Immoral behavior is justified and given politically correct labels to make it acceptable (big house, small house, *kufudhubhaiwa*, sexual reproductive rights, et cetera). This proves that European modernity has failed as a model for development in Africa, with its emphasis on acquisition of material wealth as a measure of success. It is high time *hunhu/ubuntu* is acknowledged as the holistic philosophy that has sustained Africa over the centuries regardless of the calamities faced.

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THE COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN VALUES AND PHILOSOPHY

PURPOSE

Today there is urgent need to attend to the nature and dignity of the person, to the quality of human life, to the purpose and goal of the physical transformation of our environment, and to the relation of all this to the development of social and political life. This, in turn, requires philosophic clarification of the base upon which freedom is exercised, that is, of the values which provide stability and guidance to one's decisions.

Such studies must be able to reach deeply into one's culture and that of other parts of the world as mutually reinforcing and enriching in order to uncover the roots of the dignity of persons and of their societies. They must be able to identify the conceptual forms in terms of which modern industrial and technological developments are structured and how these impact upon human self-understanding. Above all, they must be able to bring these elements together in the creative understanding essential for setting our goals and determining our modes of interaction. In the present complex global circumstances this is a condition for growing together with trust and justice, honest dedication and mutual concern.

The Council for Studies in Values and Philosophy (RVP) unites scholars who share these concerns and are interested in the application thereto of existing capabilities in the field of philosophy and other disciplines. Its work is to identify areas in which study is needed, the intellectual resources which can be brought to bear thereupon, and the means for publication and interchange of the work from the various regions of the world. In bringing these together its goal is scientific discovery and publication which contributes to the present promotion of humankind.

In sum, our times present both the need and the opportunity for deeper and ever more progressive understanding of the person and of the foundations of social life. The development of such understanding is the goal of the RVP.

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A set of related research efforts is currently in process:

1. *Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change: Philosophical Foundations for Social Life*. Focused, mutually coordinated research teams in university centers prepare volumes as part of an integrated philosophic search for self-understanding differentiated by culture and civilization. These evolve more adequate understandings of the person in society and look to the cultural heritage of each for the resources to respond to the challenges of its own specific contemporary transformation.

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