



**Catholic Social Teaching and the critique of  
Zambia as a Christian State: from 1991 to 2001**

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**THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CRITIQUE OF  
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## **DECLARATION**

As required by the University regulations, I hereby state unambiguously that this work has not been presented at any other University or any other institution of higher learning other than the University of KwaZulu-Natal, (Pietermaritzburg Campus), and that unless specifically indicated to the contrary within the text it is my original work.

Some aspects of the work represent some assignments that I completed during study at Honours and Masters Level at the UKZN. Whenever this occurred, it was acknowledged in the text.



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As candidate Supervisor and Co-supervisor, we hereby approve this thesis for submission



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(July 2024)

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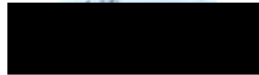
## **CERTIFICATION**

We the undersigned declare that we have abided by the School of Religion, Philosophy, and Classics in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal's policy on language editing. We also declare that earlier forms of this dissertation have been retained should they be required.

GABRIEL SIMUNGALA

Name of Editor

Date: November 2023



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DOMINIC MULENGA MUKUKA

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(July 2024)

## **DEDICATIONS**

I dedicate this thesis to:

My late mother, Nsimbisai Catherine "Mabhunu" Mpofu Mkwaturi. You would have been proud of your son, but I know that you have guided me in spirit.

My sons, Sombe Mukuka and Bethern Mukuka. You were both taken away at tender ages. You could have witnessed your father attaining the highest qualification. You are greatly missed.

I also dedicate this dissertation to all members of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia.

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*Naine nafikapo!!*

## ABSTRACT

This study delves into the complex relationship between Catholic social teaching and Zambia's declaration as a Christian state. It underscores the importance of maintaining the separation of church and state relations while advocating for constructive dialogue, respect for religious freedom, human dignity, the common good, human rights, participation in economic, political, social and cultural life of society, promotion of peace, solidarity and subsidiarity. The research draws on key encyclicals, such as *Mater et Magistra*, *Pacem in Terris*, *Dignitatis Humanae* (a conciliar document), *Populorum Progressio*, *Octogesima Adveniens*, and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, as essential references for critiquing and engaging with the Christian state declaration. These encyclicals address a wide range of religious, social, political, and ethical issues and offer valuable guidance for the Catholic Church.

The research methodology employed is characterized by a case study approach, which is well-suited for exploring the 'how' and 'why' questions and is ideal for interpretive paradigm of investigations. This approach allows for a deep examination of the intricate dynamics at play in the interaction between the Catholic social teaching and Christian state declaration.

The study's findings emphasize the necessity of fostering a robust dialogue and debate regarding the Christian state declaration. It stresses the significance of maintaining a clear division between the church and the state relations, while encouraging the church to provide constructive criticism and engage with governance processes. This dialogue is crucial for safeguarding religious freedom, human rights, social justice, and the right to participate in governance.

Furthermore, the study highlights the profound influence of the Catholic social teaching on various aspects, including the Christian state declaration, church-state relations, governance, and democratic practices in Zambia. To analyze these findings, a conceptual framework was utilized, incorporating philosophical hermeneutical concepts such as the "Fusion of Horizons" and *Wirkungsgeschichte* (Effect of History) by Gadamer, as well as the hermeneutical foundation of the "Normativity of the Future" by Bieringer and the "Emphatic Dialogue of Church-State models." These conceptual tools are essential components of the interpretive paradigm, which employs specific criteria, like theme categorization, to evaluate research findings.

The interpretive assessment method was employed to thoroughly analyze the literature and data collected. This interpretative paradigm aims to understand phenomena from the participants' perspective rather than that of an objective observer, giving precedence to a subjective viewpoint in comprehending the data. On an axiological level, the interpretive paradigm prioritizes relevance over strict rigor.

In conclusion, this study offers valuable insights into the dynamic interplay between religion, governance, and societal harmony within the context of Zambia. It underscores the potential for the Catholic social teaching to serve as a guiding influence in the country's democratic practices and emphasizes the importance of respectful and constructive interactions between the church and the state to address contemporary challenges. These findings provide a foundational understanding for scholars and advocates interested in the ongoing discourse regarding the Catholic social

teaching and its implications for Christian state declaration, church-state relations and democratic governance in Zambia.

**Key Terms:** *Catholic social teaching; Encyclicals, Catholic theology; Church and State relations; Christian State; human dignity, religious freedom; political rights; Magisterium; Ordinary magisterium.*

## GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	African Initiated/Independent Church
ANC	African National Congress
ATR	African Traditional Religion
DH	<i>Dignitatis Humanae</i>
BNB	Basket Need Basket
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CCJPZ	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zambia
CCZ	Council of Churches in Zambia
CRC	Constitutional Review Commission
CST	Catholic social teaching
ECZ	Episcopal Conference of Zambia
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia
FH	Fusion of Horizons
Fr.	Father
GS	<i>Gaudium et spes</i>
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JCTR	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
MM	<i>Mater et Magistra</i>
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
Mgr.	Monsignor
NOF	Normativity of the Future
OA	<i>Octogesima Adveniens</i>
PT	<i>Pacem in Terris</i>
PAG	Pentecostal Assemblies of God
PBO	Public Benefit Organization
PPC	Priestly Pastoral Care

QA	<i>Quadragesimo Anno</i>
RCZ	Reformed Church of Zambia
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programm
SOE	State Owned Enterprises
SRS	<i>Solicitud Rei Socialis</i>
SS	Scientific Socialism
TV	Television
UCZ	United Church of Zambia
UNIP	United National Independence Party
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USCCB	United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZCCB	Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops
ZIMCO	Zambia Industrial and Minning Corporation
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Service

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1. Introduction

The current study examines how the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia strategically employed insights from specific encyclicals to address the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. For clarity, encyclicals are described as "circular letters" distributed among communities and are derived from the Greek word '*egkyklios*,' where '*kyklos*' signifies a circle.

The Christian state declaration, initiated on December 29, 1991, was championed by the then President, Mr. Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba. The encyclicals, being integral to the ordinary magisterium doctrine of the Catholic Church, constitute a vital component of the authoritative teachings of the Vicar of Christ. These documents are intrinsic to the Catholic social teaching, which places significant emphasis on religious freedom: human dignity:<sup>1</sup> the common good:<sup>2</sup> human rights and responsibilities:<sup>3</sup> participation:<sup>4</sup> solidarity<sup>5</sup> and subsidiarity.<sup>6</sup> In introducing this theological facet of Catholic social teaching, the study consciously broadens the scope of theology beyond being merely an "intellectual discipline" to one that integrates theory and praxis (Catta, 2015: 8).

This chapter serves as an introduction to the study, providing a backdrop to the research, presenting the research hypothesis, outlining the study's significance and relevance, explaining the choice of

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<sup>1</sup> This principle stands as the cornerstone of Catholic social teaching, particularly in a world increasingly marred by materialism and a diminishing regard for human life. The Catholic Church emphatically declares the sanctity of human life and underscores that the bedrock of any ethical framework for society is the inherent dignity of each individual (Muma, 2018: 19).

<sup>2</sup> The Catholic doctrine emphasizes that the foremost duty of government and other institutions, particularly public entities, is to safeguard both human life and human dignity while actively fostering the welfare of the entire community (Muma, 2018: 20).

<sup>3</sup> Muma (2018: 20) emphasizes that each individual possesses an inherent entitlement to a dignified life, encompassing the necessary components for human decency. This right is initially directed towards our interactions with one another, starting within our families, and subsequently expanding to include our neighbors in our communities, and ultimately, to the broader society.

<sup>4</sup> Every individual possesses the right to participate in the economic, political, social, and cultural aspects of society (Muma, 2018: 22).

<sup>5</sup> This principle asserts that we are responsible for the well-being of our fellow human beings, regardless of their geographical location. Solidarity embodies the notion of "loving our neighbors" (Muma, 2018: 24).

<sup>6</sup> The principle of subsidiarity serves as a tool for advancing human dignity, safeguarding human rights, and fostering the common good (Muma, 2018: 25).

this topic, articulating the rationale and motivation behind this investigation, offering an overview of Zambia, addressing the statement of the problem, elucidating the aim of the study, conducting a literature review and highlighting research gaps, formulating research questions and objectives, discussing principal theoretical assumptions, and lastly, considering methodological aspects.

### **1.1. The Social Encyclicals as expression of the Christian Faith**

The social encyclicals serve as extensive discussions that reflect the enduring and universal truths of the Christian faith. Nonetheless, they achieve this by analyzing historical contexts and providing practical guidance. While they indeed involve a speculative dimension in the contemplation of human experiences, they offer a brand of theology that is not purely theoretical, as they are closely tied to practical applications (Catta, 2015: 7-8).

The study's primary objective is to address the following question:

To what extent has the Catholic Church in Zambia harnessed its ordinary magisterium to engage with Zambia's declaration as a Christian state through theology and social action, as manifested in the social teaching?

The core focus of this study revolves around the principles of religious freedom, rooted in the teachings of the Catholic Church concerning human dignity, conscience, and the inherent right of individuals to seek and respond to God based on their personal beliefs (DH 10). Additionally, it delves into the rights of minority religions, a doctrine founded on Dignity and Equality, which upholds the intrinsic dignity and equal worth of all human beings, irrespective of their religious affiliations. This doctrine emphasizes that every person, especially adherents of minority religions, has the fundamental right to be treated with dignity and to freely practice their religion (DH 10).

The declaration of Zambia as a Christian state posed a significant threat to religious freedom. Therefore, this study endeavors to explore how the Catholic Church responded to the Christian state paradigm. In doing so, it seeks to unveil the Catholic Church's ordinary magisterium underpinning the utilization of the social teaching to critique President Chiluba's unilateral

declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, which lacked the referendum to legitimize this policy of mono-religion.

### 1.1.2. The Ordinary Magisterium

To grasp the meaning of the ordinary magisterium within the Catholic Church, it is imperative to examine *Dei Verbum* 10, which articulates that: "Tradition and scripture together form a single sacred deposit of the word of God, entrusted to the Catholic Church. Holding fast to this, the entire holy people, united with its pastors, persevere always faithful to the apostles' teaching and shared life, to the breaking of bread and prayer. It is clear, therefore, that, in the supremely wise arrangement of God, Sacred Tradition, Sacred Scripture, and the Magisterium of the Catholic Church are so connected and associated that one of them cannot stand without the other. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the church has a particular duty to guard faithfully and conscientiously the *depositum fidei*."<sup>7</sup>

According to Canon 749 §1 of the 1983 Code of Canon Law, specific conditions must be met for the Supreme Pontiff to exercise his infallible teaching authority. As the supreme pastor and educator of all Christian believers, charged with strengthening the faith of his fellow believers, the Supreme Pontiff proclaims a definitive statement that establishes a doctrine of faith and morals as binding (Code of Canon Law, 1983: 113).

Similarly, the college of bishops also possesses the capacity to teach with confidence, subject to the conditions delineated in Canon 749 §2. When convened in an ecumenical council, the bishops exercise their magisterial role as instructors and adjudicators in matters of faith and morals. Through this solemn gathering, they declare with universal authority that a particular doctrine of faith and morals is to be held definitively. The Roman Pontiff subsequently gives his approval. Alternatively, when bishops are dispersed across the globe, they maintain the unifying link among

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<sup>7</sup> Dogmatic Constitution On Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* Solemnly Promulgated By His Holiness Pope Paul VI On November 18, 1965 [[https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19651118\\_dei-verbum\\_en.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html)]. Accessed on December 22, 2020.

themselves and with the Roman Pontiff<sup>8</sup> acknowledging a specific doctrine as binding (Code of Canon Law, 1983: 113).

Canon 750 provides a clear distinction between the solemn magisterium and the ordinary and universal magisterium of the Catholic Church. The solemn magisterium pertains to specific teaching moments when the Supreme Pontiff speaks *ex-cathedra* or when the College of Bishops convenes in an ecumenical council. On the other hand, the ordinary and universal magisterium always combines these two aspects and involves the constant teachings of the Catholic Church, typically through documents issued by the Holy Father regarding our faith and beliefs (Code of Canon Law, 1983: 113).

In response to infallible teaching that are divinely revealed, the Christian faithful are called to embrace them with unwavering faith, adhering to the doctrines proposed by the Catholic Church as divinely revealed, which is known as "*credenda*" (according to Canon 750 §1). This entails a commitment to avoiding anything contrary to fundamental beliefs such as the Creed, Marian dogmas, the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and the doctrine affirming the grave immorality of direct and voluntary killing of innocent human beings, as exemplified in *Evangelium Vitae* (Code of Canon Law, 1983: 113).

For the teaching that have been definitively proposed, the appropriate response of a Christian faithful is to hold firmly to, embrace, and retain these teachings. In accordance with Canon 752, when it comes to teachings that are authoritative but not definitively proposed, the appropriate response of the Christian faithful is termed *Obsequium*. This involves a submission of one's intellect, will, and due respect to matters that are not laid out in absolute terms. Included in this category are a multitude of papal encyclicals and documents from the Roman Curia (Code of Canon Law, 1983: 113).

Within the Catholic tradition, documents like those addressing Catholic social teaching, as well as ones like *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* (Apostolic Constitution on Higher Education - issued on 15th August

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<sup>8</sup> See LEF 58 §2; LG22 – on the other hand never without its head (they are to teach officially (authentically and authoritatively) matters of faith and morals.

1990) and Pastor Bonus (Apostolic Constitution - issued on 28th June 1988 - regarding various reforms in the Roman Curia) are considered part of the ordinary magisterium. This ordinary magisterium can be seen as the overarching framework or perspective that guided the Catholic Church's response to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, as we will explore in the following sections.<sup>9</sup>

### **1.1.3 . The Catholic Social Teaching**

When the pope issues an encyclical regarding the Catholic social teaching, the topics typically addressed encompass themes such as oppression, the role of the state, the principle of subsidiarity, wealth distribution, social structure, and the pursuit of social justice. The Catholic social teaching holds a pivotal position within the Catholic faith, a fact highlighted in *Dei Verbum* 10. Its origins can be traced back to the Hebrew prophets who consistently emphasized God's profound love for the less fortunate, leading them to call upon the chosen people to establish a covenant founded on principles of justice and love.<sup>10</sup>

These teachings are firmly rooted in the life, actions, and words of Jesus Christ, who proclaimed in Luke 4:18: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed." The Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC) further elucidates this principle, stating that "To truly receive the Body and Blood of Christ, which Jesus gave for us, we must acknowledge the presence of Christ in the most impoverished among us, His brethren."<sup>11</sup>

Catholic social teaching emerges from the fundamental truths that God has disclosed to humanity about God's nature. It has deep connections to influential Catholic Church figures, including Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Augustine, both regarded as great Catholic Church Fathers. Notably, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bishop Ketteler of Mainz addressed the challenges faced by workers in 1864,

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<sup>9</sup> See "Social Teaching of the Catholic Church" (USCB, 2015: 5).

<sup>10</sup> See "Social Teaching of the Catholic Church" [<https://www.usccb.org/offices/justice-peace-human-development/catholic-social-teaching>]. Accessed 12 December 2020.

<sup>11</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC)*, §1397.

while Cardinal Manning extended support to London's dock workers in 1889. A pivotal moment in the history of the Catholic social teaching came with the publication of *Rerum Novarum*. This groundbreaking encyclical marked the first instance where a pope and the Catholic Church as a whole took a resolute stance on social issues.<sup>12</sup> As a result, eighteen encyclicals have been subsequently issued on the subject of Catholic social teaching.<sup>13</sup>

In this investigation, we will closely analyze five pivotal encyclicals and a conciliar document: *Mater et Magistra* (Mother and Teacher, 1961), *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth, 1963), *Dignitatis Humanae* (Declaration on Religious Liberty, 1965, a conciliar document), *Populorum Progressio* (On the Development of the People, 1967), *Octogesima Adveniens* (A Call to Action on the Eightieth Anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, 1971), and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (On Social Concern, 1987). The reason for delving into these five encyclicals and a conciliar document lies in their direct relevance to the situation in Zambia.

Zambia transitioned into a full-fledged democratic state on October 31, 1991, with the popular election of Mr. Chiluba as its second President. Just two months after his election, on December 29, he declared Zambia as a Christian state. Our study primarily centers on the period spanning from 1991 to 2001, coinciding with Chiluba's presidency. The central argument of this research is that during Chiluba's tenure, the intersecting realms of the state (one horizon) and religion (another horizon) resulted in an amalgamation of horizons, akin to a "fusion of horizons." This fusion, in turn, significantly influenced the state of affairs within the country and ultimately gave rise to a new horizon, as we will establish in subsequent sections (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

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<sup>12</sup> Philippe Denis, "How the social teaching of the Catholic Church is shaped by its Context. Some reflections on *Rerum Novarum*, *Centesimus Annus* and recent South African Church Declaration," in *Grace and Truth*, 11/3, 1992: 149.

<sup>13</sup> Of the 18 encyclicals that were published, the following circular letters and conciliar document will be discussed, *Mater et Magistra* – "Mother and Teacher" (1961); *Pacem in Terris* – "Peace on Earth" (1963); *Dignitatis Humanae* – "Human Dignity" (conciliar document) (1965); *Gaudium et Spes* – "The Joys and Hopes" (1965); *Populorum Progressio* – "The Progress of Peoples" (1967); *Humanae Vitae* (1968); *Octogesima Adveniens* – "On the Eightieth Year" (1971); *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* – "The Social Concern of the Church" (1987); *Deus Caritas Est* (2005); *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (2005); *Caritas in Veritate* – "Charity in Truth" (2009); *Evangelii Gaudium* – "The Joy of the Gospel" (2013); and *Laudato Si'* – "On Care for Our Common Home" (2015).

## 1.2. Background: The Journey Towards Declaring Zambia as a Christian State

The concept of declaring Zambia as a Christian state received its initial subtle mention from the inaugural President of the Republic, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, he refrained from making an explicit declaration of Zambia as a Christian state due to the intricate religious diversity among the Zambian populace. He exercised caution in avoiding direct references to Zambia as a "Christian state." Instead, Kaunda consistently emphasized the coexistence of various religious beliefs within Zambia, refraining from favoring any one as the state religion (Cheyeka, 2016: 160). His perceived "silent" and "implicit" endorsement of a Christian ethos was demonstrated through his actions and approach, notably when he governed the nation (Gifford, 1999: 189).<sup>15</sup>

To provide context for his *nuanced* position, it's essential to briefly consider the historical backdrop prior to Kaunda's rise to leadership. When he assumed the role of the first President of the nation, Kaunda hailed from a steadfast Presbyterian Christian upbringing. This was largely attributable to his upbringing by missionary parents who were devout Christians. A notable illustration of his upbringing and the inclination to designate Zambia as a Christian state is evident in his unequivocal reference to Zambia as a Christian state in 1965 during the establishment of the United Church of Zambia (UCZ).<sup>16</sup>

In this context, he expressed a desire for other churches to follow the lead of the UCZ and unite to establish a singular United Church of Zambia, akin to the United Church of Scotland (Gifford, 1999: 189). Kaunda's aspiration was rooted in the hope of creating a unified Zambian church, free from the influence of denominational doctrines and practices. Furthermore, during a rally in 1970,

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<sup>14</sup> Dr. Kaunda served as the inaugural Republican President of Zambia, leading the country from its independence in 1964 until his defeat by Chiluba in 1991.

<sup>15</sup> In 1970, at a public rally, Kaunda made a bold declaration that Zambia was a Christian nation committed to upholding a strong Christian ethos (Gifford, 1999: 190).

<sup>16</sup> The United Church of Zambia (UCZ) emerged through the amalgamation of five Protestant Churches. These included the Free Church of Scotland and the London Missionary Society, which had their origins in the Northern and Luapula Provinces, ultimately giving rise to the Church of Central Africa. Furthermore, the Methodist Church in the South and the Paris Mission to Barosteland in the West united in 1965, leading to the establishment and adoption of the new name, the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) (Gifford 1998:189).

Kaunda alluded openly to Zambia being a Christian state that upheld robust Christian principles (Gifford, 1999: 189).

While not officially enshrined in the constitution by Kaunda's government, the statements made above provided a glimpse into the potential future declaration, serving as a new horizon, of Zambia as a Christian state. It is important to note that the country had recently emerged from colonialism, with Christianity playing a significant role in its struggle for independence and was crucial in the struggle against apartheid as a host to the African National Congress and other liberation forces. (Gifford, 1999: 189).

However, Kaunda's efforts to formally declare Zambia as a Christian state faced significant challenges. His introduction of ideologies, horizons or worldviews such as humanism and scientific socialism contradicted the core tenets of Christianity. These ideologies were deeply influenced by Marxist principles, including strong atheistic tendencies akin to those practiced in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (M'fundisi, 2014: 128). Consequently, despite his *nuanced* approach to have Zambia operate under Christian principles, the ideological clashes between Christianity and socialism ultimately undermined this endeavor (M'fundisi, 2014: 128).

President Chiluba, much like his predecessor,<sup>17</sup> possessed a strong foundation in Pentecostalism. Upon winning the elections, he signaled his intention to transform the country into a Christian state. In a swift and resolute move, just two weeks after his presidential inauguration, he officially declared Zambia as a "Christian state." This proclamation was underpinned by his belief that, as a Christian state, Zambia would be governed by the righteous principles articulated in the word of God, with a commitment to upholding righteousness and justice across all levels of authority (Sakala, 2001: 145). Furthermore, this declaration was intended to establish a covenant between

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<sup>17</sup> Kaunda's parents, who were missionaries from Malawi, established themselves at Lubwa Missions in Chinsali, located in the Northern Province. Lubwa Missions were affiliated with a Protestant Missionary Church with a Presbyterian influence (Kaunda, 1966: 133). Initially, Chiluba, a prominent Trade Unions leader, was a member of the United Church of Zambia. However, in 1981, he underwent a conversion to Pentecostalism while serving time in detention after being arrested by Kenneth Kaunda's security system for his role in calling for a widespread strike that disrupted industries (Olson, 2002: 38).

God and the Zambian people, thereby bestowing blessings upon the nation's inhabitants (Sakala, 2001: 145).

However, this vision ultimately proved to be an elusive ideal, as President Chiluba's leadership took a divergent path. Throughout his tenure, he exhibited a vengeful disposition towards his political adversaries, thereby undermining the very essence of a Christian state (Njovu, 2002: 58). His presidency was marred by widespread mismanagement of public funds, pervasive corruption, and instances of bribery within his administration, all of which starkly contradicted the Christian principles and values promised in the declaration (Njovu, 2002: 58).

As a new horizon, this declaration was formally integrated into the 1991 Zambian Constitution through amendments (Sakala, 2001: 145). Therefore, in May 1996, the Zambian Constitution incorporated the phrase in its Preamble, stating, "we DECLARE the Republic a Christian nation while upholding the right of every person to enjoy that person's freedom of conscience or religion" (The Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, 1996: 2).

Nonetheless, the Catholic Church viewed this declaration with skepticism and significant reservations. They pointed out that the government had not sufficiently consulted the nation in this matter. Thus, mainline churches such as the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), and the Reformed Church of Zambia (RCZ) approached the declaration with caution. Furthermore, the Catholic Church raised its prophetic voice against the apparent inconsistencies and contradictions in the actions and policies of the ruling party and its government. This was in line with the Catholic Church's horizon, which was informed by the ordinary magisterium of the Catholic Church through encyclicals and conciliar documents on social teaching.

In this investigation, Dulles Avery (1974:38) elucidates the concept of the Catholic Church, portraying it as akin to a nurturing mother who tenderly cares for her infants or as the vessel of Peter guiding the faithful to the distant shores of heaven. Shekhar (2017:1227) contributes to the understanding of the Catholic Church in Christianity, defining it as a community united by their

belief in Jesus Christ as their savior and Lord. This community gathers in a designated space for worship and to heed the teachings of God.

The differentiation between the overarching concept of the "Church," which includes all Christians and denominations, and a particular denomination like the Roman Catholic Church, underscores the intricate layers inherent in the broader religious landscape. Hence, the term Catholic Church' finds its etymological roots in the Greek language, as explained by MacGregor Geddes, who notes, "The Greek word *ekklesia* (Latin *ecclesia*) was commonly used in secular discourse to refer to any assembly, particularly that of self-governing citizens. In the Septuagint, it signifies the assembly of Israel, distinguishing the people of the covenant from foreigners. Its first Christian connotation appears in Acts 5:11" (Geddes, 1995: 20).<sup>18</sup>

Playing a significant role in the opposition to this declaration was the Roman Catholic Church, with its national episcopal council known as the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (hereafter ZCCB), formerly referred to as the Episcopal Conference of Zambia (ECZ). The ZCCB began to articulate key concerns regarding this newly imposed horizon. According to the 1983 Code of Canon, Canon 447, an Episcopal Conference or Conference of Bishops is defined as "a permanent institution, a group of bishops of a particular nation or region who jointly exercise specific pastoral functions for the Christian faithful of their area to advance the greater good offered by the Catholic Church to humanity. This includes forms and programs of apostolate appropriately adapted to the circumstances of the time and place, in accordance with the law's norms" (Code of Canon, 1983: 69). Thus, the ZCCB consisted of all the Catholic bishops in Zambia working in unison as a unified body, deeply influenced by the ordinary magisterium as their fundamental guiding principle (Komakoma, 2003: 25).

Within the ZCCB, a pivotal department is the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), which aligns closely with the ordinary magisterium, particularly in the domain of Catholic social teaching. Subsequently, CCJP, under the guidance of the ZCCB, voiced strong opposition to the

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<sup>18</sup> In this investigation, from this point onward, the term 'church' will specifically refer to 'the Catholic Church.' Other denominations will be categorized as either Pentecostal Churches, Charismatic or Evangelical Churches, and examples include the United Church of Zambia, Anglican Church, and so forth.

declaration. Given that CCJP represented the ZCCB, it was evident that the primary opposition predominantly emanated from the Catholic Church. The Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), an umbrella organization representing Protestant Christian Churches in Zambia, also extended its support to CCJP. However, it is worth noting that despite the strong stance taken by the Roman Catholic Church against the declaration, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), which includes the Baptist Church, unequivocally embraced the declaration.<sup>19</sup> The position taken by the EFZ in opposition to the ZCCB's stance created a division in the way religious institutions interacted with the state. However, several African Independent Churches (AICs) responded positively to Zambia's claim that it was a Christian nation. The Mutima Church, the Church of Nazarene (The Lumpa church of Alice Lenshina), and the Mount Zion Christian Center are a few prominent AICs that offered support or acknowledgment. These churches welcomed Zambia's formal acceptance of a Christian state and frequently have important positions in the country's religious landscape (Mildnerova, 2014: 10). Therefore, despite the Christian state declaration's intention to foster national unity, it inadvertently resulted in a split within the country.

### **1.3. Research Hypothesis**

This thesis is founded on the following hypothesis:

The theological and social practice aspects of Catholic social teaching strongly inclined the Catholic Church in Zambia to respond negatively to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. In other words, the ordinary magisterium, serving as a guiding framework or worldview, facilitated the alignment of the Catholic Church in Zambia with the newly imposed Christian state declaration, leading to noteworthy outcomes, as we will explore in subsequent sections. The study operates under the generally held assumption that the Catholic Church's positions on matters of faith and morality played a pivotal role in addressing prevalent social issues. The thesis argues that there are underlying theological justifications, as derived from the ordinary magisterium, which motivated and compelled the Catholic Church in Zambia to engage with and critique Chiluba's Christian state declaration, constituting a new horizon. This research will draw from a multidisciplinary approach, incorporating the fields of humanities, including theology, philosophy, and alongside insights from the social sciences.

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<sup>19</sup> The 'declaration' phrase is a shorter way of referring to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state' in this study.

#### **1.4. Significance and Relevance of the Research**

This study is situated within the overarching field of Practical Theology, specifically examining the intersection of religion and governance. In doing so, it draws upon the foundational ideas of Hans-Georg Gadamer, the German philosopher known for developing a philosophical hermeneutics system influenced by thinkers such as Wilhelm Dilthey, Edmund Husserl, and Martin Heidegger. Gadamer's concepts have wielded substantial influence in the 20th century across disciplines like philosophy, aesthetics, theology, and criticism. Therefore, the primary theoretical framework employed in this research is Gadamer's "fusion of horizons," serving as the cornerstone for critically analyzing how Catholic social teaching, as a guiding worldview, interacted with the Christian state declaration, which represented a new imposed horizon.

As Browning (1983: 61) points out, "practical theology acquires its political dimension by articulating criteria for social-human transformation within the framework of a theological critique." In this context, the study delves into the dynamics of church-state relations within the Zambian context, providing an additional perspective or horizon. It endeavors to contribute fresh insights to the intricate relationship between religion and politics within the democratic model practiced in Zambia, as informed by the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model.

Hence, the significance of this research extends to both theoretical and practical realms. On a theoretical level, it aims to achieve what Mouton (2001: 175) terms "conceptual clarity," a pivotal element in academic endeavors. This is accomplished through the application of specific conceptual paradigms such as "Fusions of Horizons," "Normative of the Future," and the "Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model." It is anticipated that these theoretical tools will enhance the examination process, transcending conventional discourses concerning Catholic social teaching contestation of the Christian state declaration and its impact on the democratic governance of Zambia. The study anticipates that this focus will invigorate discussions regarding the role of the Catholic ordinary magisterium, particularly concerning the social teaching, and its

enduring contestation of the Christian state declaration, which fundamentally transformed the nation's secular status.

### **1.5. The Rationale for Topic Selection**

The selection of this topic is driven by several compelling factors. Firstly, there is a paucity of research that delves into the theological impetus underpinning the responses of the Catholic Church to and critique of Zambia's Christian state, particularly when applying the theoretical frameworks mentioned earlier. In addition, limited studies have explored the utilization of the ordinary magisterium of the Catholic Church to challenge the imposed horizon of this declaration. Furthermore, there is a scarcity of recorded oral history on this subject. The insufficient comprehension of the role of the ordinary magisterium, specifically its application in critically engaging with the declaration, creates significant opportunities for this study. It aims to uncover the Catholic theological foundations concerning the Christian state declaration and the effective use of encyclicals in responding to it.

Secondly, this topic is selected to shed light on the intricate context in which church-state relations became intertwined. The study contends that Chiluba's Presidency may have politicized one segment of the church, particularly the Pentecostals, potentially leading to irrevocable fusions that had adverse implications for non-Christian religions. Consequently, the study will scrutinize church-state relations within the framework of church-state models presented in the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model. This exploration aims to provide a deeper understanding of the complexities and implications of these interwoven relationships.

Lastly, this topic will assess the influence of Catholic social teaching on the tenets of democratic governance in Zambia, recognizing that the state bears specific responsibilities to promote religious freedom, human rights, peace, and social-economic justice for all citizens, regardless of their religious affiliations.

## 1.6. Rationale and Personal Motivation for Undertaking the Study

The impetus behind this study is deeply rooted in personal experiences related to the abrupt Christian state declaration. The researcher was personally acquainted with individuals of different religious backgrounds, including Mr. Salemani Banda (Muslim) and Mr. Deepat Nayee (Hindu), at that time. These friends expressed concerns that the declaration seemed to favor Christianity while marginalizing Islam and Hinduism as minority religions. Witnessing this situation prompted the researcher's interest in comprehending how the Catholic Church contested the newly imposed horizon of the declaration (Christian state), arguing that the President should have engaged in consultation with the church and the populace to gauge the necessity of making Zambia a Christian state. In essence, it raised questions about the harmonious fusion of horizons.

In a democratic state, the consultation of civil society typically takes the form of a referendum, defined by the Cambridge English Dictionary as a vote in which all citizens of a country are asked to express their opinions on or decide an important political or social policy. Hence, it is considered a democratic best practice to conduct a referendum rather than allowing the government to make such decisions unilaterally.<sup>20</sup>

The declaration (Christian state) by President Chiluba's government was made without prior consultation. It is in light of this context that the researcher has long harbored the aspiration to conduct a comprehensive study on the influence of Catholic social teaching on Zambia's proclamation as a Christian state.

To gain a deeper understanding of the declaration's repercussions, the researcher felt compelled to undertake a survey using the snowball method as a research approach.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the research involved conducting interviews with members of the clergy. The respondents featured a diverse group, including Father Gabriel Phiri (representing the Anglican Church), Pastors Steven Nyirenda and John Chimena (from Pentecostal Church), and Father Dick

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<sup>20</sup> <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/English/referendum>.

<sup>21</sup> See section 1.15.6. Case selection Rationale, and research methods where we discussed snowball sampling.

Thenga and Father Cosmas Moonga (from the Catholic Church). Notably, there were varying stances among these respondents regarding the declaration, with some offering staunch support for this new horizon, particularly those from non-mainline church backgrounds like Pastors Nyirenda and Chimena. In contrast, others, especially the Catholic priests, expressed strong opposition.

The responses from the Roman Catholic Church, in particular, provided valuable insights that facilitated an in-depth investigation into how the social teaching of the Catholic Church was employed to critique the newly imposed horizon represented by the declaration. Despite the critical voices raised against the declaration, Zambia has effectively maintained its constitutional status as a Christian state for the past twenty-five years (Cheyeka, 2016: 159).

While the declaration offered reassurance to most Christian believers that it would lead to divine blessings resulting in economic and social prosperity for the nation, it inadvertently brought about unintended consequences for minority religious groups, including Islam, Hindus, and African Traditional Religion (ATR). These groups found themselves vulnerable and subject to conversion attempts into what Pentecostal Christians regarded as the true faith. African theologians have argued that such beliefs and negative attitudes towards individuals of different religious affiliations are unacceptable (Mbillah, 2004: 192). Therefore, through this study, the researcher had the opportunity to illustrate how the Catholic Church's ordinary magisterium, as conveyed through the social teaching, played a pivotal role in engaging with specific political decisions.

### **1.6.1. The Declaration's Impact on Human Rights and Freedom of Worship**

Typically, when a nation transforms into a mono-religious state, the religious freedom of other faiths, justice, human rights, and the state's obligation to safeguard the rights and equality of all citizens come under threat due to the state's endorsement of a particular religion (as observed in DH 8). Thus, the relationship between the church and the state becomes intertwined, often resulting in the politicization of the church to an extent where it may struggle to fulfill its prophetic role and

responsibilities.<sup>22</sup> This arises from the fact that the fundamental role of the church is to engage with the state in a constructive manner, wherein it critiques the state's approach to human rights, religious freedom, and injustices affecting citizens who adhere to non-Christian religions.

### **1.6.2. Rejection and Opposition to the Declaration among Zambian Citizens**

The declaration faced significant opposition and criticism from a diverse spectrum of individuals and groups, including representatives from the Protestant Church and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Notably, this opposition extended to members of opposition parties, such as Mr. Akashambatwa Lewanika, Mr. Dean Mungomba, and Mr. Christon Tembo, among others. Furthermore, the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ)<sup>23</sup> affiliated denominations and specific dissenting figures within the Protestant Church contributed to the chorus of criticism. These included individuals like Mrs. Violet Sampa Bredt from the Council of Churches in Zambia, Archbishop John Mambo from the Church of God in Southern Africa, which boasts around 1.5 million members, and a prominent priest who served as the executive secretary of the CCJP.

Among the questions that this study seeks to address is why there was such vehement criticism of an act that, from the President's perspective, appeared to be commendable. This examination aims to elucidate why this newly imposed horizon was met with resistance among the people of Zambia. The subsequent section provides an overview of Zambia's history and profile.

### **1.7. Zambia's Historical Background and Profile**

Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, was a British colony until the 24th of October 1964, marking the culmination of seventy-four years of colonial rule.<sup>24</sup> Prior to achieving

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<sup>22</sup> In this study, the Catholic Church, and the Protestant Churches' prophetic voice and role is varied, because the they must act as a watchdog on behalf of the public, to either criticize, dialogue, or recommend on most aspects that may include: policy decision-making, issues of human rights, and duties, justice and peace, religious freedom, observation of the *Bill of Rights*, political rights, and access to economic opportunities of all citizens irrespective of their religious affiliations.

<sup>23</sup> The Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) represent the Protestant Church, which include: the United Church of Zambia, the Anglican Church, and the Reformed Church etc.

<sup>24</sup> The British South Africa Company first purchased mining rights in Zambia in 1888, marking the beginning of the country's colonization. It had become a British Protectorate by 1899, run under the auspices of Barotziland-North-Western Rhodesia. Zambia's path toward self-governance came to a conclusion in 1964 when it attained independence (Gifford, 1998: 100)

independence, Zambia was a constituent part of the Federation of Rhodesia, encompassing both Northern and Southern Rhodesia, along with Nyasaland, during the period from 1953 to 1963.

Following independence, the country has traversed through three distinctive political phases of governance. Initially, from 1963 to 1971, Zambia embraced multiparty politics. Subsequently, from 1971 to 1991, the government transitioned into a socialist one-party state. This second phase of governance concluded when the Zambian populace decided to revert to multiparty politics in October 1991, marking the advent of the third phase.

Zambia is divided into ten provinces, namely Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Northern, Muchinga, North-Western, Southern, and Western. The country is characterized by its rich cultural diversity, boasting seventy-three officially recognized local dialects. Lusaka serves as the capital city and the seat of government.

The governmental structure in Zambia comprises both central and local governments. The administration of local government affairs is executed through the current seventy-two district councils, which are categorized as townships, municipal councils, and city councils (Chifwembe, 2006: 3).

### **1.7.1. Religion**

The religious composition of Zambia is as follows: Protestants make up 75.3%.<sup>25</sup> Roman Catholics constitute 20.2%, while other religions account for 2.7% and 1.8%.<sup>26</sup> These statistics clearly indicate the dominant position of Christianity in Zambia, with other religious traditions significantly trailing behind. The decision to declare Zambia a Christian state did not face substantial opposition from minority religious groups, largely due to their limited numbers and the historical dominance of Christianity among the population. Additionally, indigenous beliefs and local religions have experienced a substantial decline over the past decades, primarily due to the significant growth of Christianity during this period. It is worth noting that in the 1940s and early

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<sup>25</sup> The word Protestants encompasses the Evangelicals, Anglicans, Reformed Church, Lutheran Church, Pentecostals, and Charismatic Churches, Baptist Churches, and to a large extent the AICs.

<sup>26</sup> *The World Factbook*, 2017. Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency.

1950s, African Independent Churches (AICs) held a prominent role in the religious landscape (Paul, 1998:184).

### **1.8. Statement of the Problem**

The central issue at the heart of this investigation is the Catholic Church's reaction to the Christian state declaration. This response has not been comprehensively addressed from a theological perspective; existing documentation primarily focuses on the Catholic Church's criticism of the declaration, which is approached from a social and political standpoint. Published literature stemming from the Catholic Church, particularly through pastoral letters and statements, is deeply informed by the Catholic social teaching. Moreover, the Catholic Church's internal theological debates related to the declaration are not widely accessible to the public. Therefore, there exists a significant gap in understanding the theological rationale of the Catholic Church and its implications concerning the Christian state declaration.

Therefore, the primary objective of this study is to investigate the influence of Catholic social teaching on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. Additionally, this research endeavors to identify key themes derived from Catholic social doctrine. Furthermore, it is essential to explore how the idea of the separation of church and state, as articulated in Vatican II documents, provided a critique of the President's intentions to amalgamate these realms, potentially prolonging his political tenure. Lastly, this study will assess the impact of Catholic social teaching on democratic principles in Zambia.

It is noteworthy that the most prominent criticism of the declaration from the Catholic Church was voiced by white priests, who conveyed their objections through a local newspaper known as the Mirror Newspaper. This raises the intriguing question of how the Catholic Church's perspective might have evolved if Chiluba were a member of their congregation.

### **1.9. The Primary Aim of the Study**

The primary objective of this study is to investigate how the Catholic Church employed its ordinary magisterium, particularly expressed through the social teaching, to address and provide a critical

perspective on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. President Chiluba's unilateral decision to declare Zambia as a Christian state without the validation of a referendum for the establishment of a single religion serves as a central point of inquiry. This examination will concentrate on key aspects, including human rights and responsibilities, political rights, \*C5\* religious freedom, the rights of minorities, and individual rights, in the aftermath of Zambia's designation as a Christian state. The study aims to elucidate the role of the Catholic ordinary magisterium and its application of social teaching in engaging with the democratic principles of governance.

Furthermore, this research aims to analyze the practical implementation of the Catholic social teaching concerning the socio-economic issues faced by the majority of Zambians in their daily lives. The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) employs various measures, including the Survey on Basic Need Basket (BNB), to evaluate the impact of government policies on development. The JCTR's approach is rooted in a faith that seeks justice, drawing from scriptural principles, papal encyclicals, theological insights, and the guidance of Episcopal Conferences like the Zambian Conference of Catholic Bishops. The JCTR holds a shared responsibility to promote the development of all people, especially the poor and vulnerable, regardless of their specific identities (JCTR, 2016: 1).

The study will adopt a conceptual framework that includes Gadamer's hermeneutical theory of the fusion of horizons and the history of effects (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), as well as Bieringer's concept of the normative of the future. These frameworks, combined with emphatic dialogical methods for understanding church-state relations, will shed light on the Catholic social teaching horizon of critical understanding. This means looking beyond immediate perspectives to see the broader context and genuine significance of the encyclicals (Gadamer, 1985: 305). To grasp the social teaching emphasis on human rights and duties, especially in the context of the declaration that posed a threat to these rights, the study will consider them as historical facts shaped by specific historical forces. The history of effects, *Wirkungsgeschichte*, requires us to investigate how tradition, such as social teaching, is viewed outside the boundary between history and tradition. It involves understanding the methodological consciousness that emerges from repeatedly rationalizing historical consciousness (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

In summary, this research will critically examine the Catholic Church's response to the Christian state declaration in Zambia, analyze the practical application of Catholic social teaching, and explore the historical and theological dimensions that underpin this complex relationship between church and state.

A representative scenario in this study can be mirrored in the period from the Christian state declaration on December 29, 1991, until President Chiluba's departure from office in 2001. During this period, a Catholic Church perspective was notably influenced by the longstanding tradition of the Catholic social teaching, encapsulated in the five encyclicals and conciliar documents. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of such a situation is intricate, as we acknowledge our inherent subjectivity when dealing with it. We are inextricably intertwined with the situation at hand, much like our involvement with the social teaching tradition while attempting to fathom it. This entwinement arises from our status as historical beings. The study contends that our knowledge of the social teaching and its impact on the declaration's horizon is never fully exhaustive because our historical context is an integral part of it (Gadamer, 1985: 312-313).

Equally important is navigating the hermeneutical situation, which involves adopting the appropriate vantage point for examining the questions elicited by the encounter with the social teaching tradition (Gadamer, 1985: 313). In our case, it entails acquiring the appropriate social teaching horizon with which to engage the Christian state declaration, which constitutes another distinct horizon. Therefore, critically evaluating the "horizon" of the encyclicals is crucial, particularly in the realm of historical understanding, where horizons are discussed concerning the notion that historical consciousness should view the past in its own illumination, not through contemporary biases and criteria, but rather within its original context and perspective (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

Through a forward-looking hermeneutic approach, the social teaching texts from the past are endowed with meaning in both the present and the future, as they are intricately involved in shaping the world they propose. Therefore, the inherent future elements of the social teaching text

serve as a dynamic link between the past and the present, a bridge that is in a continual state of formation, deconstruction, and reconstruction (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

From a theological standpoint, the future world is an eschatological reality, encompassing both text-immanent and text-transcending dimensions within the social teaching texts. This world is bestowed as a divine gift and a new creation, empowering the action of the Holy Spirit, thereby ensuring an enduring connection between the potential for the revelation within the ancient encyclical and conciliar texts and the future (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

The study seeks to address the following question:

How effectively has the Catholic Church in Zambia utilized its ordinary magisterium, grounded in its theology and social principles as articulated in the social teaching, to address present-day socio-political issues?

In the context of this eschatological hermeneutic, the responsibility of the interpretative community becomes apparent. It must be approached from a paradigmatic perspective, rather than an intrinsic one, signifying that the ancient encyclical texts cannot be merely repeated or recreated, as they belong to the past and cannot be rekindled (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

## **1.10. Literature Review**

The literature review presented in this section aims to establish the research's relevance and validity within the theological academic community (Haines, Goddard, van den Berg, 2009: 7). It further serves as a means to explore the most recent and pertinent literature concerning the research topic. This section also draws upon secondary sources to elucidate the fundamental assumptions integral to the thesis.

Among the secondary sources on Catholic social teaching, key authors consulted include Edward P. DeBerri, James E. Hug, and Peter Henriot (1998, 2003); John Coleman and Gregory Baum (1991); Michael Hornsby-Smith (2008); John Coleman (1991); John Coleman and William Ryan (2005); David O'Brien and Thomas Shannon (2004); Joe Komakoma (2003); Phillippe Denis (1991-1992), Karl Rahner (1966, 1980, 1981), Hans Kung (1987, 2001, 2011), and Dullies Avery (1991). In relation to the Christian state declaration, this study's scope has been limited to the

works of Austin Cheyeka (2002); Isabel Phiri (2003); Simon Muwowo and Johan Buitendag (2010); Kwasi Prempeh (2008); Derick Moyo (2010); Richard Sakala (2000); Mtembu-Salter (2003), and Frederick Chiluba (1991). The following section will delve into the factors that contributed to the development of Catholic social teaching.

### 1.10.1. Analyzing the Catholic Doctrine on Church-State Relations

Before delving into the Catholic doctrine on the relationship between the church and the state, it is essential to grasp the ecclesiology of Vatican II in regard to the concept of the 'church.' The 'church,' or the assembly (*ekklesia*), encompasses all those who place their trust in Jesus Christ and forms a fellowship (*koinonia*) united by their shared love for the Savior. It represents the realization of the earliest prophecies about the reign of the Messiah as the Kingdom (*basileia*). As the Mystical Body, it is the communion of all individuals sanctified by the Grace of Christ. God serves as the invisible head, with Christ and the Holy Spirit as visible members, which include the faithful on earth, those in purgatory who are yet to be fully purified, and the saints in heaven (Massaro, 2012: 16).

In his article titled "Half Century of Ecclesiology," Avery Dulles (1989: 429) observes that, in general, Vatican II followed the directives of the *nouvelle théologie* rather than those of Neo-Scholasticism. However, it did not completely break away from the official teaching of the recent past.<sup>27</sup>

This shift primarily involved a change in emphasis rather than a substantial alteration, focusing on rhetoric rather than doctrine. Subsequently, within the council documents, the church's identity as an organized society or institution is clearly secondary to its portrayal as a mystery, sacrament, and communion of grace, as noted by Dulles (1989: 429). However, the depiction of the People of God, a central theme in the constitution on the Roman Catholic Church, subtly implies institutional

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<sup>27</sup> The primary issue had been stated in terms of the relationship between the two powers, spiritual and temporal—pope and emperor, pope and king or prince—from early Christian times through the medieval era, the later era of the French classical monarchy, and the post-Reformation epoch of confessional absolutism. For Leo XIII, this issue retained a mode of validity. He did not advocate for "union of church and state" on the model of the ancient regime, in which the Union of Throne and Altar entailed an enclosure of the national church within the national kingdom and some form of church-state subordination (Murray, 1966: 581).

and hierarchical structures. The hierarchy, while maintaining its authority, is seen as a means of serving the entire People of God (Dulles, 1989: 429).

In Vatican II's dogmatic constitution, the concept of the Roman Catholic Church is presented as the initial manifestation of the eschatological Kingdom. Its universality is eloquently conveyed using language reminiscent of Congar.<sup>28</sup> Regional and local parishes are recognized for their unique characteristics, tailored to their cultural surroundings. Episcopal conferences have been granted an updated canonical and theological standing, as noted by Dulles (1989: 429). In Zambia, this entity is referred to as the Zambia Conference of the Catholic Bishops (ZCCB).

This status empowers the Episcopal Conference in Zambia to engage in discussions with the government. Moreover, for the sake of ecumenical considerations, Vatican Council II distanced itself from the more contentious statements found in *Mystici corporis*. While Pius XII had asserted that the Mystical Body and the Roman Catholic Church were synonymous, Vatican II opted for the phrase that the Church of Christ "subsists in" the Roman Catholic Church. This choice of wording was deliberate and designed to acknowledge the ecclesial existence of other Christian communities and their relationship with the state (Dulles, 1989: 429).

Additional perspectives on this matter emerged, particularly from Karl Rahner. While he never wrote a comprehensive treatise on the church, his fundamental understanding of the Catholic Church (*ekklesia*) was intricately linked to his vision of salvation history, with Jesus Christ as its ultimate culmination. Rahner contended that the Catholic Church in the passage of time, continues to manifest God's definitive self-revelation in Christ (Rahner, 1972: 108). He also argued that individual Christians, as both physical and social beings, exercise their political freedoms by participating in the state while also being subject to ecclesiastical laws and regulations. This duality exists because the human spirit has a direct connection to God as its transcendent goal, allowing God to have an immediate impact, awakening charismatic impulses that are beyond the control of the institutional church and the established authority sanctioned by God. Therefore, church

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<sup>28</sup> Yves Congar was influential ecclesiologist, who through the description of "Catholic Unity" in his writings, allowed for the creative contributions of diverse cultures, was a prophetic anticipation of the teaching of Vatican Council II (Dulles, 1989: 424).

authorities must respect the sphere of personal freedom and the freedoms within the state (Rahner, 1972: 108).

Nevertheless, Karl Rahner (1972: 108) proposed that the future Catholic Church should be open, democratized, and less clerical in its nature. These views have implications for the relationship between the church and the state, as the Catholic Church can no longer avoid engaging in dialogue with the state. However, Rahner appeared to have mixed feelings about involvement in sociopolitical matters, and his stance appeared to contradict the historical context of church-state relations, in which the church interacted with various secular authorities.<sup>29</sup>

In some of his essays, Rahner asserted that specific social-policy issues were outside the purview of the Catholic Church's expertise, while in other instances, Rahner encouraged the Catholic Church to provide concrete, prophetic guidance for secular society (Rahner, 1972: 108). This reflects the envisioned church-state relationship where the Catholic Church offers spiritual direction to the state. Rahner's argument appears to circumscribe the Catholic Church's competence in social policy matters, suggesting that these could be addressed through cooperation between the Catholic Church and secular society, with the state exercising its authority (Rahner, 1972: 108).

In his significant work, "The Church" (1968), Hans Küng presented a well-informed and easily accessible treatise that approached traditional questions in a fresh manner. Küng did not portray the church as a continuous incarnation or a primordial sacrament, but rather as a community called to both obey and proclaim the gospel (Küng, 1968: 25). The concept of the Catholic Church as a transformative force in the world, so prominent in secular theologies of the 1960s, is notably absent. In this context, it can be argued that Küng's perspective situates the church as an institution that obeys and proclaims the gospel while coexisting within the community where the state exercises its jurisdiction (Küng, 1968: 27).

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<sup>29</sup> From early Christian times, through the medieval era, through the later era of the French classical monarchy, and through the post-Reformation epoch of confessional absolutism, the primary issue had been stated in terms of the relationship between the two powers, spiritual and temporal—pope and emperor, pope and king or prince (Murray, 1966 :581).

The pivotal point in the discussion of the Catholic Church lies in its relationship with the state. This is articulated through secular theology, which aimed to counter the church's isolation and introversion and make it more responsive to contemporary trends. Richard P. McBrien, in his work titled "Do We Need the Church?" answers the question posed in his title as follows: "If the church cannot or will not actively work to bring people together, if it cannot fully commit itself to healing the divisions within the community [state], if it cannot champion principles of justice, charity, and peace, if it refuses to make itself available to others to achieve these goals, then it lacks reason and justification for its existence" (McBrien, 1973: 163).

Hence, it is imperative for the Catholic Church to find a purpose by engaging with the state through dialogue and constructive criticism. The following section will explore post-conciliar developments in the church-state relationship.

### **1.10.2. Post-Conciliar Developments in the Relationship Between Church and State**

The fervor surrounding the church-state debate before Vatican II has not been replicated since the council's conclusion. The absence of specific attention to the issue of church and state should not be mistaken for its disappearance; rather, it has evolved both in theory and practice, existing within a broader framework. The question has not been supplanted but rather transformed.

The disputes between Fenton and Murray, followed by the Connell-Murray and Ottaviani-Murray debates, found resolution in favor of Murray, particularly in the document "*Dignitatis Humanae*" of Vatican II. Murray highlighted that the significance of the council's achievement went beyond merely dismissing the concept of a "Catholic state" and instead aimed to position the church-state question within a comprehensive theological statement on the Catholic Church's role in the world (Murray, 1966: 585).

The way in which the Vatican II redefined the Catholic Church's relationship with the world has had profound theoretical and practical implications. While the Catholic Church did not specifically address the church and state, it did address many of the themes stemming directly from the Vatican II's redefinition of the Catholic Church's role in the socio-political order (Murray, 1966: 585).

Although this study primarily focuses on how the conciliar text reshaped the church-state question and how it has impacted both church and state, as observed in various countries like Zambia, it is crucial to place the church-state discourse within the broader context of overarching themes within the Catholic Church. Accordingly, the study's argument will progress in one step: providing an overview of the post-conciliar reconfiguration of church-state relations.

### **1.10.3. Reforming the Post-Conciliar Agenda for Church-State Relations**

To evaluate the post-conciliar shifts in church-state relations, it's important to begin with the current state of affairs. When one examines the Catholic Church's role worldwide today, the transformations in church-state relations from the pre-conciliar era are quite remarkable (Nichols, 1981: 39 and Stehle, 1981: 15). In the Western world, a certain duality between the church and the state has been prominent. Jesus' words about "rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" have been interpreted as endorsing two distinct authorities, one temporal and the other spiritual (Dulles, 2007: 241).

This study posits that the post-conciliar shift in Catholicism regarding church and state can be traced back to two ecclesiological developments at Vatican II. These two developments initiated a process that is still ongoing, and to analyze it today is to evaluate a transformation in which we are actively participating. Accordingly, this transformation stems from the ecclesiological endorsement of social ministry by Vatican II and the council's subsequent validation of the local church as a social actor (Nichols, 1981: 39 and Stehle, 1981: 15). While both of these affirmations had historical precedents in Catholicism, their formulation at Vatican II and their convergence in post-conciliar Catholicism have significantly altered the church's public stance in the world, extending from the papacy to the local parish (Murray, 1966: 606).

To provide a comprehensive account of Vatican II's ecclesiological contribution to the church's social ministry, followed by the developments in papal social teaching throughout the twentieth century, Murray (1966: 585) highlights a significant feature. Namely, from *Rerum novarum* (1891) through *Pacem in terris* (1963), there was a conspicuous absence of an explicitly ecclesiological foundation on issues concerning the church and state in the realm of social teaching.

This theological gap has had substantial practical implications. In practice, if not by intent, it contributed to keeping social ministry at the periphery of the Catholic Church's life rather than at its core. Social ministry was understood (or tolerated) as an extension of the Catholic Church's activities but not always recognized as an integral part of the church's essence (Nichols, 1981: 39).

Vatican II made a pivotal contribution by providing a theological and ecclesial description of the church's role in the world. As Karl Rahner aptly notes, in *Gaudium et Spes* and *Dignitatis Humanae*, the Catholic Church aimed to define its relationship with the world. This description arises from the very essence (Wesen) of the Catholic Church, not merely in response to external pressures or circumstances (Rahner, 1980: 222).

#### **1.10.4. Reconceptualizing Post-Conciliar Church-State Relations**

Rahner aligns with John Courtney Murray in advocating that *Gaudium et Spes* and *Dignitatis Humanae* should be considered together. According to Murray, these two conciliar documents jointly contributed to the renewal of traditional doctrine concerning the longstanding issue of church and state. They articulated relevant principles with renewed clarity, enabled by the fresh perspectives through which the entire matter was viewed (Murray, 1966: 581-85).

This new perspective involved a reinterpretation of church-state doctrine, positioning it as a subordinate element within a broader church-world relationship. This subordination does not diminish the significance of the church-state question but views it as an instrumental issue within the broader context of the church's role in secular society (Hehir, 1986: 56). Therefore, the primary thrust of the conciliar teaching aimed to deeply engage the Catholic community in the dynamics of the modern world. A secondary aspect of this shift was the redefinition of the church's relationship with the modern state. This dual development has made the church more politically involved in broader social contexts while less politically entangled in its legal relationship with the state (Hehir, 1986: 56). Hehir emphasizes that the term "political" is employed deliberately, despite Pope John Paul II's ongoing caution regarding the church's political involvement (Hehir, 1986: 56). There is a sense in which this assertion is accurate, but it becomes challenging to sustain the characterization of the church as non-political, given the pope's significant political influence

in global affairs and Catholicism's demonstrated political vitality from Manila to Managua (Hehir, 1986: 56).

The conciliar declaration on religious freedom depoliticized the Catholic Church's relationship with the state by displacing the concept of the Catholic state, a notion deeply entrenched in Catholic theology since the seventeenth century (Murray, 1964: 53). Essentially, this concept argued that Catholicism, as a religion, should receive special status and be supported by the coercive power of the state, especially in nations where a Catholic majority prevailed. After Vatican I, the normative status of the Catholic state was solidified in the theological "thesis-hypothesis" formula (Murray, 1964: 53).

Hehir (1986: 57) contends that *Dignitatis Humanae* replaced this "thesis-hypothesis" division with three principles designed to structure church-state relations:

- The first principle embraced religious pluralism as the expected condition in which the church would pursue its ministry. Pluralism was not to be resisted or suppressed. Within the context of religious pluralism, the conciliar declaration asserted the Catholic conviction that religious freedom was a human right to be safeguarded by civil law.
- The second principle acknowledged the secular nature of the state, repositioning the state from "the Catholic state" to the "Constitutional state," whose powers and functions were constrained by the law.
- The third principle emphasized the freedom of the Catholic Church, which is the central theme of the conciliar declaration. It underlines that what the Catholic Church seeks from the secular state is not preferential treatment but the freedom to carry out its mission. Vatican II confidently assumed that with the freedom to pursue its ministry, the Catholic Church would utilize its own resources to make the gospel credible and effective in society (Hehir, 1986: 57).

In essence, it can be argued that the post-conciliar Catholic approach to church-state relations is grounded in these concepts of pluralism,<sup>30</sup> secularity,<sup>31</sup> and freedom<sup>32</sup> (Hehir, 1986: 57). Even as

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<sup>30</sup> Pluralism is a sociopolitical ideology or system that respects and accepts diversity, particularly when it comes to differing cultural, religious, or ideological beliefs within a society. It promotes the coexistence of different groups and ideas by emphasizing tolerance, respect, and the protection of individual rights. Multiple opinions and traditions are acknowledged in a pluralistic society, and procedures are in place to accommodate and manage differences peacefully (Stack, 2002).

<sup>31</sup> Secularity, sometimes known as secularism, is the notion of separating religion organizations and activities from state or public affairs. It is the view that the government and societal structures should be religiously neutral, guaranteeing that religious beliefs do not unduly affect political, legal, or educational decisions. A secular culture encourages the coexistence of many religious beliefs and non-religious viewpoints, with a focus on individual freedom of thought and expression (Casanova, 1994).

<sup>32</sup> In a general sense, freedom refers to the state of being free from coercion, restraint, or oppression, allowing individuals to act, think, and express themselves freely. It includes the concept of autonomy, or the ability to make

John Courtney Murray worked to have the council accept this shift in the Catholic tradition, he repeatedly emphasized that the narrow issue of church and state was not the primary challenge for the church (Murray, 1966: 581). The essential issue was the nineteenth-century question of the church's role in the world, extending beyond the legal relationship between church and state. As Murray put it, "The council consistently emphasized that the inherent message of the Gospel calls the church to the task of elevating human beings to their true dignity and forging the bonds of human community" (Murray, 1966: 581).

This Gospel summons to the church involved what Yves Congar described as a shift from a juridical to an anthropological conception of the Catholic Church's relationship with the world (Congar, 1969: 208). The anthropological perspective centers the human person at the intersection of church and state. To illustrate this pivotal shift, consider the passage from *Gaudium et Spes*: "The role and competence of the church being what it is, she must in no way be confused with the political community, nor bound to any political system. For she is at once a sign and safeguard of the transcendence of the person" (GS 76).

This paragraph encapsulates *Gaudium et Spes*' view of the Catholic Church's role in the world. The reason for the church's involvement in public or social ministry is to protect and promote the transcendent dignity of the human person (Hehir, 1986: 57).

For the church, social, political, and economic issues are viewed through the lens of human dignity, which is embedded in this understanding of social ministry. This is the foundation of Catholic social teaching—a concern for human dignity expressed through a philosophy of human rights. This, in turn, necessitates a theological conception of ministry within the social system, all in the name of the person (Hehir, 1986: 58).

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choices and judgments without being constrained by external factors. Political freedom, economic freedom, and personal freedom are all examples of freedom (Berlin, 1969).

### 1.10.5. Reimagining the Impact of *Gaudium et Spes* and *Dignitatis Humanae* on the Catholic Church's Social Ministry

The significant achievement of *Gaudium et Spes* was its incorporation of the teachings from *Dignitatis Humanae* and the subsequent articulation of a theological understanding of social ministry. This was accomplished by drawing from the rich resources of eschatology, Christology, and ecclesiology (Hehir, 1986: 58). It can be argued that the crucial contribution of the Vatican II to the Catholic Church social and public ministry was to position the defense of the human person at the very core of Catholic ecclesiology, thus elevating social ministry from the margins to the heart of the Catholic Church mission and work. This novel approach through the conciliar documents made the church an integral part of the individual's world, encompassing both the roles of the church and the state in enhancing their freedoms (Herhir, 1986: 59).

This study contends that the impact of *Dignitatis Humanae* was to depoliticize the church's relationship with the state. On the other hand, the effect of *Gaudium et Spes*, with its endorsement of social ministry, was to immerse the Catholic Church more deeply in the political arena. This was precisely because the protection of human dignity and the promotion of human rights inevitably unfold within a political context (Hehir, 1986: 58).

The tension between the religious and the political spheres was foreshadowed in the key passages of *Gaudium et Spes*' chapter on the 'Church and the State.' In paragraphs 40-42, the conciliar text affirms several principles:

- The Catholic Church ministry has its origins and purpose in the religious sphere, and the church does not possess a specifically political charism.
- The primary objective of this religious ministry is to serve the Kingdom of God. The church functions uniquely as the "instrument" of the Kingdom in human history (Murray, 1966: 601).

As the Catholic Church carries out its religious ministry, it should contribute to four goals with direct social and political implications. These goals involve safeguarding human dignity, advancing human rights, fostering the unity of the human family, and infusing meaning into all aspects of human activities (Murray, 1966: 601).

Hehir argues that these four principles have defined the role of the Catholic Church in the world as inherently religious but politically significant in its outcomes (Hehir, 1986: 58). Thus, the church's engagement in the political arena is considered "indirect" since the Catholic Church does not possess a specifically political mandate. Its proper function is to address the moral and religious dimensions of political issues. This indirect approach to political matters also establishes boundaries for the means the church should employ in pursuing its four designated objectives (Hehir, 1986: 58).

For this study, the conditions set earlier reinforce the expectation and justification for appropriately political entities, which are not necessarily applicable to the church. Navigating the complexities of maintaining the Catholic Church engagement in the political realm as "indirect" necessitates a continuous series of choices and distinctions. This effort is essential because the alternatives—an overly politicized church or a church that withdraws from worldly affairs—are equally undesirable. The former undermines the gospel's transcendence, while the latter betrays the incarnational dimension of Christian faith (Hehir, 1986: 58).

Therefore, the Catholic Church is called to maintain the harmony of a profoundly spiritual yet politically significant style of ministry. This can be seen as the first ecclesiological outcome of the Vatican II. The emergence of theological positions such as political theology and liberation theology, as well as pastoral strategies focused on human rights ministry and fundamental ecclesial communities, are all responses to the Vatican II's call (Hehir, 1986: 58).

While this study does not delve into a detailed history of these developments, any comprehensive account of the era would encompass Vatican II's second ecclesiological contribution to Catholic social ministry, which validated the local church as a social actor. The following section will discuss how Zambia was declared a Christian state by President Chiluba.

#### **1.10.6. The Declaration of Zambia as a Christian State**

President Chiluba's proclamation of Zambia as a Christian nation was a covert event, as noted by Johnstone. Chiluba was well aware that this decision would stir controversy, prompting the organizers to maintain secrecy surrounding the ceremony (Johnstone, 2001: 60). Chiluba initiated

this declaration after assuming the presidency, enlisting the assistance of Mbita Kabalika and Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda for its organization (Phiri, 2003). Phiri (2003: 407) discloses that a select group of associates from the Charismatic Churches were invited for an evening of prayer before the official declaration. Phiri also describes President Chiluba's participation in and out of the prayer gathering, with invitations extended via phone and word of mouth to specific church leaders for a private gathering at the statehouse.

This account by Phiri implies that most church leaders from the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church were not included in the invitation list. The declaration ceremony was primarily attended by church leaders representing Charismatic and Pentecostal Churches, of which Chiluba was a member. Astonishingly, Cabinet Ministers first learned about the event through television broadcasts as they were not formally invited, with President Chiluba asserting that this was not a political gathering (Phiri, 2003: 407).

Isabel Phiri's 2003 article, "President Frederick J.T Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy," challenges a key aspect that also holds significance in this study – the declaration and its impact on democracy. Regarding the declaration, Phiri argues that Chiluba kept the arrangements for the Christian state ceremony secret due to its anticipated controversy (2003: 406). The current study views this as one of the hidden agendas that Chiluba sought to shield from public scrutiny. Furthermore, Chiluba's motivation for the declaration stemmed from his experiences before assuming the presidency (Phiri, 2003: 406). Chiluba and his cabinet sidestepped established state procedures and guidelines during the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, suggesting that there may have been ulterior motives from the outset.

Crucially, none of the attendees at the ceremony were aware of what was about to transpire, except for the President and a small team that had participated in the previous night of prayers (Phiri, 2003: 407). In the presence of a select group of church leaders and their congregants, Chiluba positioned himself between two pillars at the State House and recited the following passage from the Bible: "The Bible, which is the word of God, abounds with proof that a nation is blessed whenever it enters into a Covenant with God and obeys the word of God. 2 Chronicles 7: 14, says 'If my people who are called by my name will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and

turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and forgive their sin and will heal their land' (Gifford, 1998: 197 -198)."

Following this Scripture reading, Chiluba humbly repented to God on behalf of the nation:

On behalf of the people of Zambia, I repent of our wicked ways of idolatry, witchcraft, the occult, immorality, injustice, and corruption. I pray for the healing, restoration, revival, blessing, and prosperity for Zambia" (Gifford, 1998: 198).

Chiluba concluded his address with the following declarations: "On behalf of the nation, I have now entered a Covenant with the living God. I submit the government and the entire nation of Zambia to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. I further declare that Zambia is a Christian state that will seek to be governed by the righteous principles of the Word of God. Righteousness and justice must prevail in all levels of authority, and then we shall see the righteousness of God exalting Zambia" (Seal of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation, 1991: 2).<sup>33</sup>

Subsequently, Zambia underwent a transformation into a Christian state. President Chiluba articulated a vision that marked the end of corrupt practices and the commencement of an era defined by righteousness in the nation. However, Chiluba's commitment to this promise would eventually come back to haunt him, as his presidential tenure witnessed the emergence of widespread avarice and corruption within his administration.

Several years later, during the constitutional revision process, significant disputes arose between two consecutive Commissions: the Mwanakatwe Constitutional Review Commission established by President Chiluba in 1993, and the Mungomba Constitutional Review Commission formed by President Mwanawasa in 2004. The primary point of contention revolved around whether Zambia should maintain its status as a Christian state or revert to being a secular state due to concerns about the alleged discrimination against other religious groups within the nation. Consequently, it became apparent that the declaration's impact had generated contentious dynamics among various religious groups and individuals.

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<sup>33</sup> At the time Zambia was made a Christian state, it had just emerged from economic doldrums, influenced by the prosperity gospel, Chiluba did believe that by dedicating a nation to God, the economic calamities and desperation could be sought through such pronouncement and prosperity of the country that had experienced difficulties would be drastically avoided.

The subsequent section of this study will outline the research gaps.

### **1.11. The Research Gaps in the Study**

There is a noticeable scarcity of comprehensive investigations into the intersection of horizons such as Catholic theology and social teaching in addressing the complex dynamics of church-state relations and the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. This research void necessitates exploration to assess the utility of Catholic theology and the impact of social teaching in the Zambian context. By subjecting the Catholic Church's role in reacting to church-state relations and the declaration to critical scrutiny, this study aims to uncover the prophetic role played by the Catholic Church through the social teaching. It also seeks to analyze how these teachings served as a critique of President Chiluba's endeavor to declare the nation as Christian, without due consideration for the fact that Zambia had previously functioned as a secular state, allowing various religions to practice freely and without domination.

To establish the distinctiveness and originality of this study, it is imperative to review the existing body of work related to Catholic social teaching horizon, and declaration horizon in this context. The study has identified relevant contributions from authors in other African countries who encompass Catholic theologians, legal experts, political figures, religious leaders, and representatives of various organizations. The subsequent section will outline the research questions and objectives of the study.

### **1.12. Research Questions and Objectives**

The primary aim of this research is to conduct a critical analysis of how the theological principles and social practices outlined in the ordinary magisterium of the Catholic Church, as articulated in its social doctrine, influenced the response of the Catholic Church in Zambia to President Chiluba's declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. Consequently, the central issue under investigation pertains to the application of Catholic theology and the social praxis of social teaching in addressing this declaration. Thus, the overarching primary research question is as follows:

To what degree did the Catholic Church employ its theology and social principles, as delineated in the Catholic social doctrine, in response to Zambia's declaration as a Christian state?

The overarching objectives of this study encompass:

- To analyze the theological and social doctrine principles encompassed within the specified encyclicals and a conciliar document, and to understand their relevance to the Catholic Church's response to the Christian state declaration in Zambia.
- To examine the historical and contextual background of President Chiluba's declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, and the ensuing controversies and implications.
- To investigate the strategies and initiatives employed by the Catholic Church in Zambia, informed by Catholic theology and social teaching, in responding to the declaration.
- To assess the impact and effectiveness of the Catholic Church's response on the course of events and public discourse surrounding Zambia's Christian state status.
- To identify any key challenges and constraints encountered by the Catholic Church in Zambia during its response to the declaration, and to explore potential lessons for the future.
- To contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between Catholic theology, social doctrines, and socio-political challenges in the context of a declared Christian state.

These objectives will guide the research in its pursuit of a comprehensive analysis of the role played by Catholic theology and social teaching in shaping the Catholic Church's response to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.

### **1.12.1 Specific Research Questions**

1. What characterizes the relationship between the church and the state in Zambia?
2. How did the local Catholic Church's response to Zambia being declared a Christian state incorporate elements of its theology and Catholic social doctrine?
3. How did the fundamental theological and social teaching outlined in the encyclicals influence the Zambian Catholic Church's response to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state?
4. In what ways did the declaration affect the principles of democratic governance in Zambia during President Chiluba's tenure?

The preceding research questions have yielded valuable insights into the factors surrounding the Christian state declaration and the Catholic Church's position on it. Furthermore, they have enabled an in-depth examination of the impact of the Christian state declaration on democratic governance principles in Zambia and the dynamics of church-state relations.

The study aimed to achieve the following specific objectives:

1. To conduct a comprehensive analysis of church-state relationships in Zambia.

2. To assess the degree to which the local Catholic Church's response to the declaration was rooted in its theology and Catholic social doctrine.
3. To explore the influence of Catholic social teaching on the Catholic Church's role in the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.
4. To investigate how the declaration affected democratic governance principles during President Chiluba's administration.

### **1.13. Significance and Potential Impact of the study**

The significance and potential impact of this study are as follows:

This research is crucial because it aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the church-state relationship and the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. By analyzing the theological and social underpinnings found in Catholic social teaching, including the specified encyclicals and conciliar document, this study offers valuable insights into how the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia engaged with the state.

The potential impact of this research is far-reaching. It has the potential to contribute to the broader discourse on church-state relations, both in Zambia and globally. By examining the role of Catholic theology and social doctrine, this study will inform future approaches to addressing complex societal challenges arising from religious, economic, social, or political contexts. It has the potential to foster a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between religion and politics, guiding policymakers, religious leaders, and scholars in navigating similar issues in diverse contexts. Additionally, the findings and insights from this study will serve as a valuable resource for those interested in the intersection of theology, social doctrine, and state affairs.

### **1.14. Study's Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework underpinning this study is a critical component for understanding the research's theoretical underpinnings and the lens through which data is analyzed and interpreted. It is founded on the Fusion of Horizons, the Normativity of the Future, and the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model. These elements offer a comprehensive structure that informs the exploration of the complex dynamics between the Catholic Church and the Zambian state within the context of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.

**Fusion of Horizons:** Drawing from Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophical perspective, the fusion of horizons accentuates the dynamic interaction between the past, the present, and the future. It emphasizes the continuous evolution of understanding and tradition, especially within the Catholic Church. This concept is fundamental in exploring how the historical perspectives, theological foundations, and evolving societal norms have shaped the Catholic Church's responses to the Christian state declaration (Gadamer, 1985: 315)..

**Normativity of the Future:** The notion of normativity of the future, as articulated by Reimund Bieringer, asserts that religious traditions must engage with contemporary issues and project their teaching into the future. This concept drives the examination of how Catholic social teaching, rooted in the encyclicals, navigates the evolving landscape of societal challenges and political dynamics in Zambia (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

**The Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model** is a revolutionary conceptual framework that aims to reshape the relationship between religious institutions and the state. Based on empathy and open dialogue principles, this model envisions a collaborative and understanding relationship that recognizes the various roles of both entities while encouraging mutual respect and collaboration (Nussbaum, 2012: 20).<sup>34</sup>

Together, these components of the conceptual framework guide the analysis of historical dynamics, theological foundations, and societal practices within the Catholic Church in Zambia, as well as the impact of the declaration on democratic governance principles during President Chiluba's administration. The framework is instrumental in unraveling the multifaceted relationship between the church and the state, as well as in exploring the manifestation of Christian values and the social teaching in Zambia's unique context.

For an in-depth exploration of the study's conceptual framework, refer to Chapter Two.

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<sup>34</sup> Nussbaum's study of empathy leads to the understanding of empathy as a moral force in societal relationship.

## **1.15. The Research Method**

As emerging academic researchers, our approach is typically exploratory and applied in nature (Barnes: Buckland: and Brancheau, 1992). While this emphasis enhances the relevance of research findings for dissertations, it is crucial not to neglect the importance of the research method and design. The relevant research theory is intrinsically linked to its application in the research study described in the following sections. Due to the scope of this study, we cannot engage in an in-depth discussion of findings and implications here, but some examples are provided. Chapters two through eight offer a comprehensive discussion of the research's findings and their implications (Ponelis, 2011: 45).

### **1.15.1. Rationale for Employing Qualitative Case Studies**

Qualitative research, through open-ended conversations with research participants in their natural settings, provides a comprehensive understanding of rich, contextual, non-numeric data (Mason, 2002: 15; Creswell, 2009: 8). Case study research, in particular, is adept at addressing 'how' and 'why' questions (Myers, 2009: 16) and is well-suited for descriptive and exploratory studies (Mouton, 2001: 150). A case study can elucidate processes, individuals' or groups' behavior within their broader context, and the sequence of events that unfold in conjunction with that behavior (Stake, 2005: 30).

Furthermore, the case study method supports both theory construction and theory testing (Yin, 2009: 25; Eisenhardt, 1989: 10). Its capacity for theory development is particularly valuable in areas where existing theoretical and conceptual frameworks are lacking (Chetty, 1996: 20). While case study research does not typically formulate hypotheses, it often relies on "general ideas" or "expectations" to guide empirical inquiry (Mouton, 2001: 150). The insights derived from theory-building research based on case studies can subsequently be employed as hypotheses or propositions in future research, making a significant contribution to advancing the body of knowledge in a field (Merriam, 2009: 60).

The appropriateness of the case method for a specific research scenario can be evaluated by considering four key questions (Benbasat, Goldstein, and Mead, 1987: 372):

- Is it possible to study the phenomenon of interest in a context outside its natural setting?
- Does the study need to focus on contemporary events?
- Does the study require control or manipulation of subjects or events?
- Does the phenomenon of interest have an established theoretical foundation?

In theological and historical studies, exploratory research is often characterized by the following: (1) it cannot be detached from its natural setting, (2) it is inherently concerned with contemporary events, (3) it cannot control or manipulate its subjects, including clergy, pastors, and female church leaders in this study, and (4) theoretical knowledge related to the phenomenon under investigation is limited and not yet fully developed. Therefore, the case study method was a fitting choice for this study.

Additionally, case studies tend to resonate more persuasively with research participants than abstract theoretical discussions (Levy and Powell, 2005: 35). They are capable of offering recommendations and actionable insights to research participants, such as clergy, pastors, and female church leaders, unlike studies lacking a qualitative component (Merriam, 2009: 60; Rozyn, 2007: 20). This aspect aligns with the goals of research into emerging methodologies for theological studies.

The selection of a research method is not merely a choice of data-gathering technique; it is a reflection of an underlying epistemological position (Perren and Ram, 2004: 85). Qualitative research, including case study research, can be conducted within various research paradigms. The subsequent section elaborates on the use of an interpretivist research paradigm.

### **1.15.2. Explanation of the Interpretive Research Paradigm**

It is essential for researchers to situate their research within a paradigmatic framework, as it prompts them to contemplate the broader epistemological and philosophical implications of their perspective (Perren and Ram, 2004: 95). Each research paradigm comes with distinct assumptions, strategies, methods, and limitations, and each has its criteria for assessing research findings.

Therefore, researchers must select their operating paradigm, grasp its nature, and elucidate their choice in their research documentation (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, and Delport, 2011: 41).

In contrast to the positivist paradigm, interpretivism, rooted in the life-world ontology, asserts that the pursuit of objective truth in studying the social world is both unattainable and unsuitable (Leitch, Hill, and Harrison, 2010: 55). From an epistemological perspective, the interpretive paradigm contends that human actors construct our understanding of reality collectively (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 34). It seeks to explain phenomena from the participants' frame of reference rather than that of an objective observer, prioritizing a subjective viewpoint in comprehending the world. On an axiological level, the interpretivist paradigm places a higher value on relevance over rigor.

Compared to the positivist paradigm, the interpretive paradigm employs distinct criteria for assessing research findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). While the former judges the worth of findings based on their applicability to a broader population, interpretive research evaluates the quality of understanding based on its alignment with and enhancement of informants' perspectives (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Positivist research hinges on metrics such as reliability, validity, and generalizability, whereas qualitative research employs different terminology, emphasizing dependability (reliability), credibility (validity), confirmability (objectivity), and transferability (generalizability) (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008: 70).

Credibility assesses the consistency between participants' accounts and the researcher's portrayal of them (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008: 70), while dependability relies on the systematic investigation of what was intended to be explored, contingent on the quality of data collection and analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994: 17). Transferability gauges the extent to which the study's findings can be applied to other similar situations, allowing the reader to verify that the conclusions stem from data and experiences rather than from the researcher's biases and subjectivity, emphasizing the importance of consistently reporting all pertinent information.

The emergent nature of Practical Theology research is ideally suited for an interpretive qualitative approach, reducing the gap between the researcher and participants and fostering a profound understanding of key issues. This approach facilitates the development of practical and theoretical insights, as well as the generation of new and alternative theories and concepts (Bygrave, 1989:

42). The prevalence of a dominant positivist approach has adversely affected the relevance of research outcomes in theological studies (Lee, 1999: 97).

Researchers should not only consider the technical aspects but also the social elements and their ongoing interaction concerning the introduction and use of research results by readers (Lee, 2004: 53). Interpretive research is well-suited for this purpose. When a researcher seeks to understand the immediate response to an innovation, such as emerging theories in theology, subjective data may be needed because objective data collection may not capture precisely the right moments or instances (Smith, Gannon, and Sapienza, 1989: 46).

It's important to note that this is not meant to undermine positivist research, but rather to emphasize that alternative approaches can complement and strengthen theological research, as quantitative methods cannot reveal the complete narrative (Crotty, 1998: 10). The selection of qualitative interpretive case studies for exploratory research is thus justified. The following section outlines the research design and discusses the trustworthiness criteria where relevant.

### **1.15.3. Research Design**

A research design serves as the logical bridge connecting the research purpose and questions to the procedures employed for the collection and analysis of empirical data, facilitating the derivation of conclusions from that data (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008: 71; Rowley, 2002: 16; Yin, 2009: 32). This design is closely tied to the chosen research paradigm (Creswell, 2009: 12). Researchers, when utilizing interpretive case studies for exploratory research, face critical decisions related to the role of existing theories, the unit(s) of analysis, case selection and number, data collection methods, and data analysis techniques (Eisenhardt, 1989: 61). The amalgamation of these choices results in the creation of a case study protocol, which contributes to maintaining consistency in research endeavors involving data collection across multiple locations over an extended period (Maimbo and Pervan, 2005: 19). The upcoming sections elucidate the theoretical underpinnings governing these pivotal determinations and their application in the context of the research project.

#### **1.15.4. Highlighting the Importance of Prior Theory**

The cultivation of theoretical sensitivity among researchers is influenced not only by existing literature but also by professional and personal experiences (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 60). For novice qualitative researchers operating within domains where some foundational understanding already exists, Miles and Huberman (1994: 17, 20) stress the significance of "prestructured research." However, it is imperative for researchers to approach the field without imposing any preconceptions gleaned from the literature review. Specifically, no concrete theories or propositions should be formulated prior to engaging with participants. Acknowledging this, Eisenhardt (1989: 15) concedes that embarking on research without any prior notion of what one seeks is "impossible" (Wolcott, 1994: 157).

The analytical strategy for exploratory case studies centers around the development of a descriptive framework aimed at structuring the case studies (Rowley, 2002: 100). This framework, in turn, guides the trajectory of the exploratory empirical investigation (Hartley, 1994: 75).

To establish the problem statement, purpose, and a descriptive framework contributing to the realm of knowledge, extensive exploration of the emerging literature concerning Catholic social teaching, the Christian state declaration, and the broader body of work on church and state relations was conducted. The formulation of a conceptual framework, including the Empathetic Dialogical Model on church-state relations, Bieringer's Normativity of the Future, and Hans-Georg Gadamer's Fusion of Horizons, was guided by the literature engagement.

Qualitative content analysis was employed to define Catholic social teaching, involving a meticulous examination of definitions offered by academics and Catholic theologians. The outcomes of this analysis informed the construction of an interpretive framework to steer empirical research endeavors. This method was utilized to establish a widely accepted definition of the social teaching as envisioned by Vatican II and Catholic theologians (Ponelis and Britz, 2012: 85). The same approach was applied to other subject areas, encompassing the Christian state declaration horizon, interactions between the church and the state, and governance-related concerns.

#### **1.15.5. Determining the Unit of Analysis**

Each case hinges on its unit of analysis, which can take the form of an individual (e.g., a clergy member, pastor, or female church leader with pertinent experiences for the study), an event (e.g.,

the decision to declare Zambia a Christian state), a social process (for example, the Catholic Church's response to the declaration), an implementation process (for example, the integration of the declaration into the Zambian constitution), or a combination thereof (Myers, 2009: 88; Rowley, 2002: 34). In their roles as clergy, pastors, and female church leaders, the "strategic position acts as a 'focal' point, around which all research activities, including information search and assimilation, are focused" (Lybaert, 1998: 188).

The focus of this research centers on the Catholic Church's decision-making process, particularly concerning the evaluation of the Christian state proclamation issued by the ZCCB and the CCZ, another mother body. The analysis unit in this study encompasses the viewpoints of Catholic clergy, Catholic social teaching, and those from other mainline churches, including the UCZ, the Reformed Church, and the Anglican Church, as well as individuals who were present during Zambia's transition to a Christian state.

#### **1.15.6. Case Selection Rationale**

Eisenhardt (1989: 537) asserts that "random case selection is neither necessary nor preferable; instead, the criterion for case selection should be relevance to the research questions, not representativeness" (Carson, Gilmore, Perry, and Gronhaug, 2001: 201). The fundamental principle guiding the selection of suitable cases is a preference for cases that are abundant in information regarding the subjects under examination, justifying the use of both purposive and snowball sampling (Patton, 2002: 60).

In the context of using clergy, pastors, women church leaders, and individuals as units of analysis, access to at least one research participant was a pivotal consideration in case selection. Following Hartley's (1994) advice, which suggests that connections in religious and academic circles, as well as personal networks, can be instrumental in establishing a list from which cases may be drawn, a strategy also employed by Chibelushi and Costello (2009: 210-239), potential cases were identified using a snowball sampling approach. This strategy involved:

- Utilizing personal networks and word-of-mouth referrals.
- Engaging with church leaders, including clergy, pastors, and women in prominent positions within their respective churches in Lusaka.

### **1.15.7. Determining the Number of Cases**

In interpretive research, the participant pool tends to be small (Holloway, 1997: 23). This is primarily due to the challenges of managing and analyzing extensive data sets. Yin (2009: 162) strongly recommends that novice researchers begin with a "simple and straightforward case study" to avoid undue complexity. On the other hand, having evidence from multiple cases is often considered more persuasive, rendering the overall study more robust (Yin, 2009: 53) and providing a sound foundation for understanding (Levy and Powell, 2005: 15). While there is no universally ideal number of cases, several suggestions exist:

Eisenhardt (1989: 545) suggests that a range of four to ten cases is often effective. Crabtree and Miller (1992) advocate a sample size of six to eight subjects for homogenous samples. Curran and Blackburn (2001) note that case studies in small theological research projects often involve fewer than ten cases.

For this research project, the original intent was to engage between twenty-five and forty participants. However, only thirty-six (36) informants were initially contacted, as not all of those contacted were willing to participate or met the selection criteria. The initial request for participation was transmitted via email to clergy, pastors, and female church leaders from both mainline and Pentecostal churches. It included a brief overview of the research's purpose, the significance of their participation, and the extent of their involvement should they decide to participate. While two participants did not respond, two others did not meet the selection criteria.

### **1.15.8. Determining Data Collection Techniques and Procedures**

One of the case study method's notable strengths lies in its adaptability, enabling the use of single or multiple data collection methods to explore a research issue (Cavaye, 1996: 11). The array of data collection methods available includes direct observation, participant observation, interviews, focus groups, documentary sources, archival records, and physical artifacts (Mouton, 2001: 56; Myers, 2009: 120). The preference for employing multiple data sources and engaging various participants serves to triangulate data (Yin, 2009: 106) and facilitates the emergence of valuable

insights (Myers, 1997: 27). While interpretive research often involves complete immersion in a setting, this is not an absolute requirement.

In both qualitative research and case studies, interviews serve as primary sources of data (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe, 1991; Myers and Newman, 2007; Yin, 2009: 106). Depending on the research topic, secondary data can be gathered from a variety of sources, such as archives, secondary references, public records, newspapers, social media, and church meeting minutes (Maimbo and Pervan, 2005). It is crucial to acknowledge that conducting interviews doesn't guarantee the collection of rich data or the generation of meaningful insights (Schulze and Avital, 2011).

The data collection objectives within this research plan revolved around understanding the participants' responses to the Christian state declaration horizon, subsequent critiques of the declaration horizon, and gaining insight into the declaration's impact on the participants. Semi-structured interviews were selected to maintain focused interviews and facilitate cross-case analysis (Carson et al., 2001). This approach also allowed for the exploration of new and pertinent topics that emerged during the interviews. The interview guide was carefully constructed to capture the context, content, and process by which Catholic social teaching \*A3\* was employed to critique Zambia's declaration as a Christian state (included as an appendix in the dissertation).

Background information for the study was sourced from public repositories, including the UKZN library, the Sabinet archives in Lusaka, and Catholic Church documents like "The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and other Christian leaders in Zambia" and the "Compendium of the Catholic Social Doctrine," among others. Additionally, background information about the research participants was gathered from public profiles on professional networks (e.g., LinkedIn) and other media platforms.

#### **1.15.9. Collecting, Analyzing, and Interpreting Data**

When delving into data analysis, the qualitative researcher seeks to make sense of and interpret phenomena by considering the meanings ascribed to them by the participants (Creswell, 2009: 20). Qualitative data analysis methods encompass techniques like content analysis, constant

comparison, and pattern matching. Regardless of the chosen approach, qualitative researchers should prioritize transparency in both the data collection and analysis processes. Neglecting qualitative methods can hinder theory development and the advancement of existing knowledge and comprehension (Shaw, 1999: 78).

The analysis of the qualitative interview data followed Cope's (2005) four levels of analysis (Levels 1 through 4), augmented with an initial level that focused on the data collection and recording process (Level 0). It's important to note that data collection and analysis constitute an iterative process, with the researcher moving between different levels of analysis throughout the data collection process, as explained further below.

#### **1.15.10. Conducting Interviews at Level 0**

The process of inductive data analysis commences right from the initiation of data collection, often during the interviews (Shaw, 1999: 66). Therefore, whenever feasible, the researcher or researchers themselves should carry out all interviews. Alvesson (2003: 87) also emphasizes the need to consider the impact of various factors within the social setting, such as the interviewer's background, experience, gender, age, and nationality, as well as the physical setting and the influence of language usage during the interviews, particularly terminology unfamiliar to the interviewee.

The face-to-face interviews were conducted over a six-week period, with each interview lasting approximately one hour. This approach was chosen to establish rapport, build trust, and capture any non-verbal cues that might necessitate further exploration. Of the twenty interviews conducted, the majority were held in English and *iciBemba*, one of Zambia's official languages, based on the preferences of the interviewees. Both male and female participants were involved. The interviews were conducted at the participants' workplaces, typically in quiet office settings, except for a few cases where participants requested off-site interviews.

Before commencing the interview, most participants expressed an interest in understanding why they had been selected to take part in the study. Hence, the initial 5 to 10 minutes of each interview were dedicated to discussing the researcher's background, the research's objectives, and the

anticipated outcomes. This phase served to clarify the study's purpose and initiate a conversation about informed consent, which included aspects of confidentiality, anonymity, voluntary participation, the option to withdraw at any point, and information regarding the university's approval of the research. Consent was also sought for recording the conversation for transcription purposes, sharing a transcript for accuracy verification, and taking notes (the researcher also took notes as a backup in case of audio recording equipment failure, where audio recordings were permitted). The cover letter and informed consent form provided to participants are included as appendices in my dissertation.

#### **1.15.11. Level 1: Note-taking and Transcription**

Level 1 analysis involves the meticulous notation of potentially noteworthy issues and experiences, accomplished by repeatedly reviewing each transcript and set of notes (Paton, 2002: 88). This practice heightens the researcher's awareness of patterns, themes, and categories in the data, facilitating greater familiarity with the dataset (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). Additionally, it marks the initial steps toward data organization and structure.

Following each interview, we diligently reviewed my notes, and for interviews lacking audio recordings, we supplemented my notes with further details for the sake of clarity. Upon returning from fieldwork in Zambia to South Africa, we transcribed the interviews in the same sequence as they were conducted (Peräkylä, 1997: 105). This transcription adhered to a denaturalistic style, preserving "idiosyncratic elements of speech (such as stutters, pauses, nonverbal cues, involuntary vocalizations)" (Oliver, Serovich, and Mason, 2005: 1273-1274).

#### **1.15.12. Writing Case Study Narratives and Within-Case Analyses at Level 2**

At Level 2 of the analysis process, the transcripts and notes were transformed into comprehensive, manageable, yet content-rich case narratives for each case, structured in line with the predefined descriptive framework. This transformation served to facilitate subsequent cross-case analysis. Through these case narratives, the reader could evaluate the interpretive transferability of the findings and the dependability of the interpretation.

Case narratives offered detailed descriptions, which enhanced the dependability of the interpretation. These narratives were organized both chronologically and thematically. They provided insight into how data, systems, and information were employed within the context of the research participants' decision-making processes. In our study, case narratives followed a chronological and thematic structure.

The primary headings that guided the case narratives, based on the interview guide, were as follows:

- General Information
- The Christian state declaration
- The Catholic Social Teaching
- Responses of the Catholic Church to the Christian state declaration
- Responses to the Christian state declaration from other churches and religious groups
- The impact of the Christian state declaration on democratic governance in Zambia
- Reactions to church-state relations in Zambia

To enhance the research's credibility, participants were granted access to these final interview summaries. They were encouraged to review the researcher's account of the interview to ensure it accurately represented their statements and to rectify any misunderstandings or inaccuracies on their part. This affirmation process bolstered the research's credibility, as suggested by Creswell (2009). We provided the case studies to the participants and asked them to inform us of any errors, misunderstandings, or content they were dissatisfied with within two weeks. After this period, we assumed their approval of the written account of the interviews.

### **1.15.13. Level 3: Utilizing Cross-Case Analysis to Uncover Findings**

The third level of analysis focuses on cross-case comparisons, aiming to identify commonalities and unique elements within the cases. This stage of analysis can culminate in a comprehensive description across cases, the emergence of categories, themes, or typologies that conceptualize data across all cases, or the development of a substantive theory that provides an integrated framework spanning multiple cases.

One frequently employed method for cross-case analysis is qualitative content analysis. In this process, the researcher seeks "quotations or observations that share commonalities, representing

the same underlying idea, issue, or concept" within the data (Patton, 1987: 149). To build themes and categories, coding is employed, and researchers have the flexibility to adopt various approaches.

The two primary approaches are the emergent approach, aligned with the traditional grounded theory approach, and the a priori directed approach. Emergent coding involves the absence of pre-established themes, with themes emerging organically through repeated scrutiny and comparison of the data. In contrast, the a priori approach entails setting themes in advance based on existing literature and subsequently applying these themes to the collected data. Findings at this level of analysis originate from the data collected.

In this study, an a priori approach was employed to establish themes prior to the analysis, drawing on descriptors found in the descriptive conceptual framework. Notably, the primary findings resulting from cross-case analysis highlighted the significance of information derived from both internal and external data sources, as perceived by the interviewees. A common desire emerged among participants for improved access to existing data sources or the opportunity to explore new ones. At times, they required external entities with whom they already had established relationships and trust to aid in data analysis. However, research participants expressed a preference for autonomous and routine data analysis

#### **1.15.14. Level 4: Interpretation and Integration of Findings with Existing Literature**

To gain a deeper understanding of the data collected during Level 3 analysis, findings were "clustered" together, as recommended by Hycner (1985: 58), without reference to any relevant theoretical literature. At Level 4, these findings were examined within the context of the existing literature, a process Eisenhardt (1989) aptly labels as "enfolding literature." The outcome of this level of analysis is the interpretation of the findings.

By comparing the findings from Level 3 with what has been reported in the existing literature, several issues were validated in alignment with the importance of the conceptual framework in engaging Catholic social teaching and the declaration horizon. For instance, the conceptual frameworks used in this study underscored the relevance of encyclical texts and conciliar

documents, critically assessing their role in engaging the declaration horizon through discussions concerning the future of Catholic social teaching in addressing social, economic, and political issues in Zambia.

Furthermore, the findings underscored the profound influence of Catholic theology and the social praxis traits embedded within the Catholic social teaching. These traits enabled the Catholic Church to respond critically to the declaration horizon and other social, political, and economic aspects in Zambia. Nonetheless, the findings also contradicted certain issues reported in secondary sources. It was suggested in some of these sources that President Chiluba, not being a member of the Catholic Church, could not have embraced the views of social teaching.

The following section will delve into the structure of the thesis.

#### **1.16. Thesis Structure**

This thesis comprises nine chapters, each contributing to a comprehensive exploration of the research topic. The present chapter, Chapter 1, introduces the study's background, summarizing the key elements of Catholic social teaching that are examined. It includes details such as the research hypothesis, the study's significance and relevance, the motivations for selecting the topic, the reasons for undertaking the research, a profile of Zambia, the statement of the problem, and the study's aims. Additionally, Chapter 1 covers the literature review, identifies research gaps, presents research questions and objectives, and discusses methodological considerations. Chapter 2 furnishes the conceptual framework for the study, delving into the concepts of "Fusion of Horizons," "Normativity of the Future," and the "Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model." Chapter 3 engages in a historical and theological analysis of Vatican II, exploring the debates that unfolded during the Council. This chapter further scrutinizes each encyclical and a conciliar document. Chapter 4 closely examines the role of social teaching in influencing the Catholic Church's acceptance and rejection of the declaration. Chapter 5 delves into the responses pertaining to church-state relationships in Zambia. Chapter 6 is dedicated to presenting the research findings, highlighting responses from various sources, including the Catholic Church, the Pentecostal Church, and other research participants. Chapter 7 continues to elucidate the research findings by focusing on the impact of the declaration in shaping and influencing Zambia's democratic

governance principles during Chiluba's presidency. Chapter 8 offers an in-depth analysis of the research findings. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the study, summarizing the key findings, and provides recommendations based on the research's outcomes.

### **1.17. Chapter Summary**

This chapter serves as an essential foundation for the entire study. It has provided a comprehensive background to the research, introduced the research hypothesis, emphasized the study's significance and relevance, elucidated the factors influencing the topic selection, and expounded on the rationale and motivation underpinning the study. Furthermore, the chapter has furnished insights into Zambia's profile, elucidated the statement of the problem, and detailed the study's overarching aim. It also encompassed a literature review, identifying gaps in prior research, enunciated research questions and objectives, and elucidated the applied research methods. Lastly, the chapter offered a succinct preview of the thesis's overall structure. The subsequent chapter delves into the conceptual framework guiding this study.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**GADAMER'S AND BIERINGER'S THEORIES AS KEY TO UNDERSTANDING**  
**CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS IN ZAMBIA**

**2.1. Introduction**

This chapter delves into the applicability of the conceptual framework utilized in the study. It provides an in-depth examination of Gadamer's fusion of horizons (FH) and Beringer's "Normativity of the Future" (NOF) as the foundational conceptual framework. Furthermore, the chapter explores the significance of the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model, which offered valuable insights into the dynamics of church-state relations in Zambia during Mr. Fredrick Chiluba's presidency. The following section elaborates on the theoretical underpinnings.

**2.2. The Significance of Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework plays a pivotal role in elucidating, foretelling, and comprehending the phenomena studied within the case study (Abend, 2008: 173). As defined by Kivunja (2018: 46), a conceptual framework comprises the theories advanced by experts in the field of study, which researchers utilize to guide their data analysis and interpretation of findings. In simpler terms, a conceptual framework is a structure that encapsulates ideas and hypotheses developed by the researcher, drawing upon validated and published evidence to establish a conceptual underpinning for the analysis and interpretation of research data. Above all, the conceptual framework serves as a lens for data exploration, enabling the researcher to make sense of their research findings by leveraging prior research knowledge within their field (Kivunja, 2018: 46).

Itumeleng Mosala has advocated for the application of conceptual insights in theological discourse, particularly when addressing the rights of minority religious groups, such as ATR, Islam, and Hindus, which often face marginalization and discrimination. Petersen further argues that

misconceptions about ATR and other non-Christian minority religions in the context of Zambia are perpetuated due to a lack of adequate social analysis concepts.<sup>35</sup>

Maluleke points out that there is a peril in allowing theoretical and political shifts to push us towards a world where everything – life, history, society – is reduced to mere text. This 'cynical and disengaged postmodernism' ironically silences the marginalized and renders them invisible and voiceless. Nevertheless, there are compelling reasons to revisit and revise issues in social theory, particularly in the pursuit of amplifying the voices of marginalized religious groups and upholding citizens' rights to engage in national matters (Maluleke, 2000: 6-7 and Cooper 1994: 1516-1545).

In the context of this study, several pertinent theories shed light on the interactions between the Catholic Church and the state concerning the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. As previously noted, this study drew upon the Catholic social tradition as encapsulated in the encyclicals on Catholic social teaching. To comprehend the background of this "living tradition," which underpinned the development of Catholic social teaching is crucial. A living tradition is a vital aspect of transmitting the social teaching of the Catholic Church. The concept of a "living tradition" is an integral component of the process of passing on the deposit of faith. As Raval (1998: 199) observes, it is a dynamic process: Living traditions are not static and homogenous. Instead, they maintain their recognizability through change, revealing their complexity. Change, according to Gadamer, does not imply a complete rupture, and continuity does not mean the transmission of a frozen tradition. Gadamer conceives living traditions as cultural junctures where conflicts, opposition, agreements, criticism, change, and renewal are essential for the continuation of a living tradition (Raval, 1998: 199).

Considering Gadamer's insights on the living tradition and its implications for the process of social teaching, the research question was formulated as follows: What role did the social teaching of the Catholic Church play in the process of declaring Zambia as a Christian state? In other words, what

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<sup>35</sup> For the above discussion on theoretical application see the following; Itumeleng Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutic and Black Theology in South Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) and R.M. Petersen, *Time, Resistance and Reconstruction. A Theology of the Prophetic and the Popular* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1998).

was the impact of encyclicals in this process, and what could the potential effects of these texts or traditions be on the declaration?

Posing this question implies an exploration of the specific reasons behind the selection of the encyclicals and the conciliar document used in the study. Given that the five encyclicals address issues that existed at the time of the declaration, it suggests a connection between the principles derived from the social teaching tradition of the Catholic Church and the issues faced by Zambia. Additionally, despite the natural evolution of our approach to social issues in the church, a clear link exists between social issues during the time of these encyclicals and those of recent times. Finally, considering the exigencies of discourse, which necessitate a writer's consideration of the intended audience, the study critically examined whether there was a plausible link between the past and present audience.

The methodology employed in this study entailed a thorough reading and analysis of the five encyclicals and the conciliar document in alignment with the declaration, as mentioned previously. The study delved into these texts within their original context and then examined how these texts were being recontextualized during the declaration, given the new context and audience. The study addressed social teaching during the era of these encyclicals and the period under scrutiny. From a conceptual and methodological perspective, the study applied modern perspectives to understand traditions, specifically Gadamer's hermeneutical theory of the "fusion of horizons," Bieringer's "normativity of the future," and the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model. In doing so, the study sought to determine whether the texts found in the encyclicals exhibited elements of a fusion of horizons or normativity of the future. Additionally, it examined whether the outcome achieved inclusivity, enabling a future for all and accommodating new developments within the Catholic Church.

### **2.3. Fusion of Horizons (FH) as Described by Hans-Georg Gadamer**

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1985:282) illuminates the notion of tradition as a dynamic entity that undergoes shifts and variations as it transcends from one generation to the next. He posits that tradition persists through a perpetual process of mediation, primarily conducted through language.

This process of mediation is not static but evolves over time. In the context of this study, since social teaching is inherently grounded in language and textual communication, it is inherently susceptible to change.

Gadamer argues that scholars possess finite perspectives, described as "horizons," which come into play when they engage with texts from the past. Historians, while seeking to elucidate the perspectives of earlier scholars, inevitably approach texts through the lens of their own era. Consequently, their contemporary understanding influences the outcome of their research. The writing of history, therefore, involves what Gadamer terms the "fusion of horizons" (*Horizontverschmelzung*), wherein the horizons of the historian and those of the past intermingle. These horizons are in a perpetual state of flux, never static; the "otherness" of the text thrusts it into the reader's present, bringing about a transformative interaction in both the past and present realms (Clark, 2004: 112). This fusion occurs when we grasp an understanding of a text that invariably comprises three essential facets: understanding, interpretation, and application. The third facet, application, is particularly vital, as a text is invariably read with the aim of connecting it to a real and contemporary situation (Gadamer, 1985: 308).<sup>36</sup>

### **2.3.1. The Fusion of Horizons: Bridging Past and Present Perspectives**

Gadamer's insightful observation highlights that acquiring a horizon of critical understanding means learning to see beyond what is immediately at hand. This expanded perspective allows us to perceive things within a broader context and with a truer sense of proportion (Gadamer, 1985: 305). Importantly, Gadamer emphasizes that genuine critical understanding involves seeing something as an answer to a question, rather than wielding it as a rigid and unyielding rhetorical weapon (O'Neill, 2007: 64). Thus, as individuals engage with texts such as those in the Catholic social teaching or engage in dialogues with others, their personal horizons intersect with the horizons embedded in the texts or interlocutors. In this reciprocal exchange, perspectives and biases can be reshaped as all participants in the "game of understanding" place themselves "at risk" in pursuit of a truth that transcends the wisdom of any single "player" (Rudolf, 2005: 785). At

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<sup>36</sup> In this instance, the praxis of the Catholic social teaching.

some point, these two horizons converge, constantly molding the present horizon as preconceptions are reassessed (Gadamer, 2013: 317).

Moreover, "these two horizons of understanding (the earlier context and the present context) serve to modify each other as they begin to merge to form a single, larger horizon which moves beyond the initial round of questions and questioning" (Thiselton, 2007: 4). To understand a subject matter, one must comprehend the flow from one horizon to the next. Present horizons are inexorably intertwined with past understandings, although theoretically, they are considered to exist independently (Gadamer, 2013: 317).

It is essential to recognize that the fusion of horizons represents just one facet of the understanding process and is therefore incomplete. As readers progress, so do their horizons, continuously oscillating in a state of flux. This oscillation embodies the essence of Gadamer's perspective on the "historical situatedness" of each phase, a fundamental aspect of the dialectical transaction (Thiselton, 2007: 4).

O'Neill (2007: 64) aptly points out that the pursuit of a fusion of horizons necessitates researchers to pose questions that have the potential to unveil their preconceived notions. This is why Gadamer characterizes the fusion of horizons as "a partial rapprochement between our present world, from which we can never hope to detach ourselves, and the different world we are seeking to appraise" (Gadamer, 1985: 7). In this context, understanding an unfamiliar text, conversation, or society does not require us to forsake our own horizons to insert ourselves into another realm or another perspective. Instead, we can put our relationship with tradition (horizons) "into play" without entirely relinquishing them (Gadamer, 1985: 7).

Therefore, when encountering unfamiliar and thought-provoking conversations or texts such as the encyclicals and a conciliar document, we are encouraged to enter the "game of truth" where our horizons are inherently at risk. As our horizons (preconceptions, possibilities, and perceptual limits) come into clearer "seeing distance" or "hearing distance," they may reveal themselves as something different from what we previously perceived (Margolis, 1995: 92). This is the transformative aspect that Gadamer offers in describing human interactions with works of art: they

allow us to enter the world-horizon opened up by the work, not by leaving our own world behind but by exposing it to the other world and emerging changed and enriched, essentially facilitating the fusion of horizons (Caputo, 1987: 113).

To gain access to the world-horizon and text of the encyclicals and conciliar document, it is crucial to delve into Gadamer's concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte*. As Denis (1992: 149) cautions us:

We could read a church document in the abstract, as though it was sent directly by the Holy Spirit without any mediation. Instead, our approach takes the historical and human dimensions of the encyclicals seriously. This way of reading them may well challenge our understanding of the social teaching of the church. Both documents are historically and socially determined, and that somehow limits them. But how could it be otherwise? At the same time, the church documents form part of the dynamic which we, disciples of Jesus, call the coming of the Kingdom of God.

In the context of this study, history and social context played a significant role in informing our discourse, as they were an integral part of the encyclicals and conciliar document's frame of reference. Therefore, the following section sets the stage for a critical aspect of the conceptual horizon—the original context of the encyclicals and the conciliar document and how these were blended into future horizons pertaining to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.

### **2.3.1. The Principle of History of Effect (*Wirkungsgeschichte*): Unveiling the Social Teaching's Context**

To gain a deeper grasp of the backdrop surrounding the social teaching, it is essential to explore its hermeneutical context through Hans-Georg Gadamer's principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, or the history of effect. Gadamer posits that "understanding is, essentially, a historically effected event" (Gadamer, 1985: 310). To understand the social teaching and the declaration fully, it's imperative to regard them as products shaped by historical forces—events molded by their historical context. Gadamer underscores that the history of effect is not a novel concept; its uniqueness lies in the perpetual endeavor to probe the history of effect whenever a piece of tradition or a work of art is extracted from the liminal region between history and tradition, allowing it to be viewed in isolation with its intrinsic meaning (Gadamer, 1985: 311). This necessitates a heightened methodological consciousness arising from the repeated rationalization of historical awareness.

The new demand is to reevaluate the social teaching and the declaration from the vantage point offered by the history of effect. Examining this study in this light calls for a dimension of historical consciousness—an awareness of what transpired in time. This clarity emerges when the apparent immediacy and context are contrasted with the texts of tradition, in this case, the social teaching, and the writings of the ZCCB, CCJP, and other Christian Churches in opposition to the declaration (Gadamer, 1985: 310). In attempting to understand a historical phenomenon from a historical perspective, we are inexorably shaped by its history and our own, essentially becoming part of that history during the process of understanding. In other words, its history impacts and governs what aspects are worthy of exploration and what becomes the ultimate object of inquiry (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

When we seek to understand events, there's a propensity to naively assume the outcome as self-evident without critically considering the "other." Gadamer elucidates that "The other presents itself so much in terms of ourselves that there is no longer a question of self and other. In relying on its critical method, historical objectivism conceals the fact that historical consciousness is itself situated in the web of historical effects" (Gadamer, 1985: 311). Historical consciousness is embedded within historical effect, making it challenging to disentangle. As a result, certain dimensions are omitted in the process, preventing us from comprehending the whole truth, which, against all odds, could be attainable.

Historical objectivism bears a resemblance to statistics in the sense that the results derived from a statistical study allow the "facts" to speak for themselves and seem objective, although it relies on the legitimacy of the questions posed (Gadamer, 1985: 312). By asking different questions, varying outcomes can be achieved. To enhance self-understanding, it's crucial to acknowledge that the effectiveness of history is perpetually at play. When this historical efficacy is factored into the equation, a more comprehensive and holistic picture can emerge.

Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that at any given point in time, we can never achieve a truly "comprehensive" picture because what we study or encounter is never fully known in all its forms and causes. Without incorporating the efficacy of history into the equation, we acquire a

fragmented understanding, as we only grasp a fraction of the entire truth. Thus, historically affected consciousness (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) is an integral component of the process of understanding. The hermeneutical situation signifies the awareness of one being influenced by history (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) (Gadamer, 1985: 312).

A typical scenario in this study can be specifically pinpointed from the moment when the Christian state declaration was proclaimed on December 29, 1991, to the conclusion of President Chiluba's tenure in 2001. During this period, especially from the perspective of the Catholic Church, the influence of the social teaching tradition, ingrained in the five encyclicals and a conciliar document, held significant sway.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of such a scenario is a complex endeavor because, as we endeavor to immerse ourselves in it, we inherently lack objective knowledge of the situation. We are inherently embedded within it, unable to detach ourselves from it. This concept aligns with the hermeneutic situation, in which we find ourselves already enmeshed in the very tradition we seek to fully comprehend, thus becoming an integral part of it. This integration occurs because we are historical beings. Accordingly, our knowledge at any given point in time is never exhaustive, as indicated previously (Gadamer, 1985: 312-313).

Self-awareness derives from what has been historically pre-established. This historical pre-establishment then begets a finite, delimited present, a "situation." Gadamer defines a situation as a vantage point that restricts the potential of the horizon: "Essential to the concept of situation is the concept of 'Horizon,'" as briefly introduced earlier (Gadamer, 1985: 313). In Gadamer's lexicon, a "horizon" encompasses a "range of vision" encompassing everything observable from a particular standpoint or perspective. Applied to the realm of cognition, it results in two oscillations: the broadening and narrowing of horizons and the continual opening of novel horizons. This dynamic process has been associated with the finite determinateness of how an individual's range of vision progressively expands since the time of Husserl and Nietzsche.

Hence, a person lacking a horizon cannot perceive distant aspects and places excessive emphasis solely on what's within their immediate field of vision. For Gadamer, "to possess a horizon means to have the capacity to see or transcend what is close at hand" (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

This method of entering into our investigation was essential, as it exposed us to all potential influences on the social teaching and during the period of the Christian state declaration. Gaining a more profound understanding of this horizon better equipped us to grasp and interpret the interaction that transpired. As we shall see later, these horizons occasionally converge, giving rise to new ones. With the sources utilized in the social teaching and the writings opposing the declaration, the transference of horizons is quite conceivable. Once one comprehends one's horizon, they "comprehend the relative significance of everything within this horizon, whether it is near or far, great or small. Likewise, working out the hermeneutical situation involves obtaining the appropriate horizon of inquiry for the question elicited by the encounter with tradition" (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

In our case, it will be imperative to acquire the appropriate social teaching horizon with which to approach the Christian state declaration (which represents another horizon). Therefore, critically scrutinizing the "horizon" of the social teaching is vital since, in the realm of historical understanding, horizons are specifically invoked when emphasizing that, in examining historical consciousness, the past must be understood within its own context, not illuminated by current biases and criteria but within the parameters of its original horizon and context (Gadamer, 1985: 313). To fathom history, the correct historical horizon must be grasped; in this way, what is being understood is seen in its true reality, as it appears within its appropriate horizon. Placing the social teaching and the declaration within the incorrect horizons would lead to a preposterous and ludicrous comprehension of the situation (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

From our contemporary vantage point, it's crucial to acknowledge that without the ability to transport ourselves back to the historical context from which the original or traditional text emerged, we are at risk of misconstruing the essential message that the text seeks to convey. Therefore, a fundamental hermeneutical responsibility is the imperative need to "place ourselves in the other situation to understand it" (Gadamer, 1985: 314). This notion can be likened to a

conversation where we aim to comprehend someone, striving to fathom their horizon and the perspective from which they originate. This parallel can be drawn in certain types of discourse, such as consultations with medical practitioners or oral examinations. Thus, historical consciousness essentially compels us to immerse ourselves in a historical context, effectively adopting the right horizon (Gadamer, 1985: 314). Subsequently, when one grasps the essence of what has been transmitted across generations, they can understand this tradition without necessarily subscribing to its beliefs or adopting its worldview (Gadamer, 1985: 314).

In understanding life, it is imperative to recognize that life is in constant flux, transitioning from one horizon to another. Therefore, human life cannot be bound to a single fixed perspective, implying that a particular horizon is never stagnant. As individuals move and evolve, their horizons evolve in tandem. When a person moves, their horizon also changes. Therefore, the Catholic social teaching tradition examined in this thesis is perpetually in motion, always adapting as individuals evolve. "The surrounding horizon is not set in motion by historical consciousness. But in it, this motion becomes aware of itself" (Gadamer, 1985: 315).

As historical consciousness transplants itself to a historical horizon, they coalesce into a single, dynamic horizon that oscillates from the historical context to the present situation. In this process, the depth of our historical self-awareness is encapsulated. Thus, all components found within this historical consciousness are indeed unified within one overarching horizon (Gadamer, 1985: 315). For the Catholic Church in Zambia, the milieu and its deep faith significantly determined its historical horizon. A critical element in the church's fusion of horizons was its ability to adapt to the new political landscape. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) utilized "conscientization" as a central reference point in its writings, thereby forging and merging a theology that adeptly addressed the *Sitz im Leben*. This aspect will become more apparent as our investigation progresses. For the Catholic social teaching tradition, its history, along with other historical contexts, played a pivotal role in shaping its evolving horizon. Likewise, in our context, our history, coupled with the histories of others, jointly guide our horizons. From this amalgamation, individuals can unravel and define their heritage and tradition (Gadamer, 1985: 314). In the subsequent sections, we will delve into this amalgamation and elucidate the horizon of Catholic social teaching and the complexities surrounding the horizon of the declaration.

This study examines the Catholic social teaching as a historical horizon in contrast to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state and the subsequent developments. The social teaching of the Catholic Church represents a product of this fusion of horizons, mediated through tradition, which is essentially a collection of thought patterns conveyed through written and artistic works (Gadamer, 1985: 413-415). The social teaching of the Catholic Church embodies a traditional process that continually blends the old with the new to create something with living significance in a contemporary context, without necessarily giving precedence to either the past or present. By examining the influence of traditions embedded in social teaching, this study sheds light on the continuity or potential disjunction between horizons and explores critical aspects of this fusion of horizons within the church's tradition.

On several occasions, Gadamer's theory has been likened to Collingwood's concept, suggesting that the questions a historian seeks to reconstruct cannot be solely situated within its original horizon. The horizon in which the question exists is invariably encompassed within a contemporary horizon (Clark, 2004: 112). Seow (2009: 562) further expounds that when Gadamer employs the concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, it beckons an exploration into how the text functions in reality. This is crucial for all interpreters, as they cannot physically transport themselves into the worldview and mindset of the author while objectively seeking to understand ancient texts. Subsequently, it is essential to delve into the transference process, wherein the past and present are perpetually mediated. Gadamer does not simply advocate for the historical mapping of tradition or text's realization but emphasizes the interpreter's awareness of the outcomes and effects of tradition or text in history and how history, in turn, affects the interpreter (Seow, 2009: 562).

This reflective process can be highly formative, initiating transformation and opening the interpreter to the other's perspective. Finally, for Gadamer, hermeneutics is heavily reliant on communal understanding and its transmitted wisdom, underpinning a future understanding that is not solely founded on individual beliefs (Gadamer, 1985: 315).

## 2.4. Normativity of the Future (NOF) – Reimagined

As previously outlined in our introduction, the process of Catholic social teaching embodies both the traditional and the contemporary, as faith, though eternally consistent, serves as the wellspring of each novel and evolving illumination. Within the concept of the Normativity of the Future (NOF), we find the essential framework to delve into the "new" and "inclusive" dimensions of the Catholic social teaching process, emphasizing its "grace-filled" facet rather than its "sin-filled" aspects. Therefore, we must contemplate whether the post-declaration references in Catholic social teaching can be perceived as an embodiment of the NOF.

In developing the NOF concept, Bieringer turns to Gadamer to propose that an ongoing tradition process perpetually negotiates and oscillates between the past and the present. As Gadamer elucidates, texts do not exclusively belong to their authors and their original contexts; rather, they transcend these origins and can potentially speak to everyone, irrespective of temporal or spatial constraints. The genuine meaning of a text, as it resonates with the interpreter, is not contingent upon the circumstances of the author and the original audience. Instead, it is co-determined by the interpreter's historical context and the entirety of the objective historical course (Gadamer, 1985: 296).

Drawing from Gadamer, Ricoeur, and Heidegger, Bieringer provides hermeneutical basis for NOF, suggesting that texts can be perceived as functioning in three distinct realms: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text (Bieringer, 2010: 14). West's classification relates to these readings as reading behind the text, reading the text, and reading in front of the text (West, 1991: 88).

Concerning the world of the text, Bieringer echoes Gadamer's emphasis on the pivotal role of horizons in the transmission of tradition. Understanding is the key to deciphering the continuous tradition process since texts both return to their original context and transcend our world. This dual existence enables texts to transcend their temporal and contextual limitations, allowing them to play a vital role in broader settings (Bieringer, 2010: 7).

Turning to the text itself, the focus shifts to the text's intrinsic attributes rather than its author. This emphasis underscores the causal and sequential nature of events when engaging with ancient texts. In such dialogues, the distinctive otherness of the past is held in high regard. Simultaneously, while reconstructing the past, one actively engages with the future dimension encapsulated within a given text (Matz, 2011: 128). In this context, Bieringer likens religious texts to icons, serving as windows into the mysteries of the future, which are ordained for creation and bestowed upon all by God (Bieringer, 2010: 18).

Transitioning from the three worlds of the text, Bieringer introduces a future-oriented hermeneutics. This perspective posits that past texts retain significance in the present and the future, as they are either wholly or partially involved in shaping the world they refer to (Bieringer, 2010: 20). Bieringer further advocates for inclusivity in the interpretation of texts, aligning with God's vision and intention for the world. This principle is regarded as normative in the sense that inclusivity remains an aspiration yet to be fully realized. Hence, we can speak of the "normativity of the future." By juxtaposing the terms "normativity" and "future," we invite a dialectic tension that encourages a nuanced examination of these concepts. The dynamism of the former is enriched by the latter, and the latter is anchored by the solidity of the former (Bieringer, 2010: 22).

Embracing a future-oriented hermeneutical approach, texts from the past take on profound significance in both the present and the future, as they are intricately woven into the very fabric of the world they envision. The inherent elements of the text create a dynamic and ever-evolving bridge between the past and the present, continually "made, unmade, and remade" (Bieringer, 2010: 20). These texts also serve as foundational elements when shaping the communities that not only read them but also live by their principles. To understand oneself, one must first understand the texts. In this context, the communal dimension supersedes the individual, and the community derives its identity through its active participation in realizing the vision presented in its foundational texts (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

From a theological perspective, the future world is an eschatological reality that contains both text-immanent and text-transcending dimensions. However, this future must be complemented by an

external reality, one that intrudes upon our world. This world is seen as a divine gift and a new creation, empowered by the workings of the Holy Spirit. It ensures an enduring connection between the potential revelations contained within ancient texts and the future, aligning with Gadamer's idea of effective historical consciousness, which suggests that the past remains influential in shaping future horizons as intended by God (Bieringer, 2010: 21).

Within the context of this study, this eschatological hermeneutic becomes particularly relevant. It underscores the responsibility of the reading community, emphasizing a paradigmatic approach over an intrinsic one. In other words, one cannot merely reiterate or reenact ancient texts, as they belong to the past and cannot be resurrected. Instead, the reading community must internalize these texts, much like the first chapters of a collaborative novel, where they are tasked with crafting the subsequent chapters. This engagement facilitates a fusion of horizons between the ancient texts and the contemporary reader (Matz, 2011: 127).

Applying this eschatological hermeneutic to the Catholic social teaching explored in this study, we observe the emergence of this dynamic. The five encyclicals and the conciliar document clearly illustrate the points made by Bieringer and Gadamer, highlighting how texts from the past continuously shape the present and the future by actively contributing to the creation of the envisioned world. A prime example of this fusion can be found in the Joint Pastoral Statement from Christian leaders in Zambia: "Leadership is for service. Jesus Himself showed us this by his humble service, (Jn. 13:3-15). Hence it is binding on Christians to ensure that the right leaders are elected. We call on Christians not to shy away from engaging themselves in political social levels at all levels. The participation of Christians in political life is to be guided by the Gospel values of respect for human dignity, human rights, the common good, social justice, solidarity, integral development, special concern for the poor, and non-violence in resolving conflicts."<sup>37</sup>

Despite the remarkable advancements in science and related fields, our human vocabulary still falls short in adequately capturing the profound mystery of God. Our perception of God remains an elusive concept. Within this context, the understanding of leadership among Christian leaders

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<sup>37</sup> Joint Pastoral Statement on the year of Political Responsibility by The Christian Council of Zambia, The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (The Zambian Episcopal Conference, 327).

in Zambia seamlessly integrates with our perspective, devoid of any contradictions or inconsistencies. This study has undertaken a comprehensive exploration of the five relevant encyclicals and a conciliar document. It has shed light on how the Catholic Church's response in Zambia harmoniously fuses these horizons.

The invaluable insights of Gadamer and Beiringer have elevated this study beyond a mere compilation of quotations from Catholic social teaching. Instead, it has focused on the dynamic interplay of both timeless and contemporary elements within the Catholic tradition and faith. These elements, to varying degrees, have found realization in the context of this study. It is essential to emphasize that the authors of these encyclicals and conciliar texts crafted their narratives in a manner that facilitated the comparison and contrast of two distinct historical standpoints or horizons: that of the five encyclicals and the conciliar document, and the subsequent developments following the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.

## **2.5. Introducing an Effective State-Church Model for Dialogue in Zambia**

The introduction of the Empathetic Dialogical Model of Church-State relations is of utmost importance, as it played a pivotal role in facilitating interactions and exchanges with the research participants. Within this context, we have selected four distinct models, each chosen for specific reasons. Calvin's Church-State model stands out for its endeavor to unite both the church and the state, seeking a harmonious coexistence. In contrast, Luther's model takes a different path, aiming to differentiate the church from the state. The Catholic Church model, on the other hand, respects the separation of the church and the state but emphasizes its elevated role, claiming to have a loftier purpose for humanity compared to the state. Bonhoeffer, drawing inspiration from Luther, developed a church-state model that recognizes both entities as bound by the same laws and devoted to serving Christ.

The Empathetic Dialogical Model aligns itself with Bonhoeffer's perspective while critically examining other Church-State models for their lack of recognition regarding the equal importance of secular government alongside the church. Consequently, it becomes evident that this study adopts the Empathetic Dialogical model as it offers a more inclusive approach to the multifaceted relationship between the church and the state.

### **2.5.1. Luther's Church-State Paradigm**

Bonino (1983:23) derives Luther's theory of the two kingdoms from his work found in Luther's Works, specifically under the heading 'Temporal Authority: To what extent should it be obeyed?' This piece, written by Luther around 1523, marks the genesis of Luther's concept of bifurcated humanity, categorized into two distinct realms. One is the domain of God, under the sovereignty of Christ, while the other exists apart from God's realm. Luther's delineation implies that the latter realm holds sway over the corporeal aspect of life, whereas the former is concerned with spiritual and profound matters of the soul. Essentially, Luther confined the church's role to matters of a spiritual and internal nature, reserving the secular world for concerns of a physical and external nature. He viewed both spiritual powers and the secular world as instruments through which God exercised divine rule. In the kingdom of the world, inhabited by fallen individuals susceptible to sin and temptation, the role of political authority is to strive for the establishment of external peace and justice, acting as a bulwark against the effects of sin.

As Bonhoeffer (1955:335) succinctly puts it, the government's purpose is to punish wrongdoers and preserve human life, justifying the existence of government as both a coercive force and a guardian of external justice. It is crucial to note that political authority remains disconnected from the inner lives and convictions of individuals. The political order, in Luther's viewpoint, has no bearing on human destiny; rather, it is a divinely ordained emergency measure to counteract the influence of sin. In essence, Luther's perspective underscores the necessity of the political order while simultaneously positioning it as subordinate to the church's mission.

However, Pannenberg (1977:127) posits that Luther's doctrine cannot serve as the definitive or ultimate doctrine for a Christian theory of politics. He contends that Luther's synthesis of the Christian tradition of political theology is overly one-sided. Pannenberg further contends that Luther failed to fully acknowledge the positive relationship between the aspiration for the kingdom of God and the dimensions of political life, instead characterizing the latter as merely a countermeasure against sin (Pannenberg, 1977:129). In a similar vein, Muwowo et al. (2010:1) assert unequivocally that governing a country as a Christian state is an unattainable goal. Luther's

stance mirrors the quandary currently faced by Zambia, a nation that assumed its "Christian state" status twenty-five years ago, not through official state proclamation, but via a Presidential decree.

### **2.5.2. Calvin's Ecclesiastical-Government Model**

In marked contrast to Luther, Calvin introduced a paradigm known as the 'Christian polity.' Calvin's early articulation of the Christian polity is encapsulated in his seminal work, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion." Within this magnum opus, Calvin espoused the doctrine of unreserved submission to secular authority, emphasizing the state's role in upholding external displays of righteousness, while concurrently entrusting internal religious matters to the purview of the church (McLellan, 1997:46).

However, as Calvin's life and theological journey progressed, he began to recognize that the relationship between civil and spiritual authority held the potential for close cooperation (McLellan, 1997:46-47). This realization fostered a symbiotic alignment between the state and the church, forming a theocratic framework. Within this theocracy, as expounded by McLellan, the state found itself subordinated to the church, with both secular and ecclesiastical authorities deriving their mandates from God. Their collaborative endeavors were thus intrinsically dedicated to advancing the Kingdom of God.

During Calvin's era, the church exercised considerable influence over the state by asserting that its principles were the sole foundation for effective governance. This resulted in the state effectively functioning as a subsidiary entity within the church's overarching structure. The state's autonomy was thereby instrumentalized as a means to the church's ends. What distinguishes Calvin's model from Luther's is their contrasting views on the role of the state: Luther separated the state from the church, viewing it as a necessary response to the presence of sin, while Calvin regarded the state as an essential instrument serving the church's objectives. In both models, the state was hierarchically subordinated to the church, positioning the church as a more direct conduit to the divine than the state.

However, it is pertinent to note that both these models face considerable challenges in modern secular and pluralistic societies. Subsequently, their applicability to our contemporary world remains highly contentious.

### **2.5.3. The Separation of Church and State Relationship**

The foundational concept of the separation of church and state underscores the vital principle advocating for the autonomy and independence of religious institutions, free from government intervention. It is intrinsically linked with the idea of secularism, which champions the notion of the state's impartiality in religious matters (DH 1). The primary objective is to create a society where individuals can freely practice their religious beliefs without government interference or oppression, ensuring that the state maintains a neutral stance towards religious affairs (DH 1).

The roots of the separation of church and state can be traced back to diverse historical and philosophical influences. An early champion of this concept was the French philosopher and writer, Voltaire, who ardently advocated for religious tolerance and the divorce of religious authority from political power. Voltaire's ideas left a lasting impact on the development of the secular state in France and had a significant influence on the framers of the United States Constitution (Israel, 2006: 200).

Within the context of the Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council, also referred to as Vatican II, played a pivotal role in reshaping the relationship between the church and the contemporary world. Vatican II was a substantial ecumenical council convened by Pope John XXIII in 1962 and continued under Pope Paul VI until 1965. The Vatican II sought to address the church's engagement with the modern world and implement various reforms (DH 9).

One of the paramount documents to emerge from Vatican II was the "Declaration on Religious Freedom" (*Dignitatis Humanae*), which tackled the issue of religious liberty and the relationship between the church and the state. This declaration on religious freedom asserted that every individual possesses the right to religious freedom, encompassing the freedom to practice, change, and share their religious beliefs without coercion or discrimination (DH 15). It underscored the significance of respecting the dignity and conscience of individuals regarding matters of faith.

Additionally, from the perspective of the Catholic Encyclopedia, a Vatican II document examines the Catholic Church's interaction with society concerning religious freedom. It highlights that both the religious institutions and the state are deemed "perfect societies," each fundamentally striving to achieve the common good suitable for the broader needs of humanity and rooted in a general way of life. Both entities are granted the legal authority to provide the necessary resources to attain this goal (Macksey, 1992:.1). While the ethical foundation for the state's role is well-established, the Catholic Church derives a similar foundation from Christian theology. As they coexist on Earth, share a community of subjects, and require some of the same resources for their activities, interactions between them are inevitable (Macksey, 1992: 1).

Through the Vatican II's lens, the Catholic Encyclopedia sheds light on the historical standpoint of the Catholic Church regarding church-state relations. Drawing influence from Vatican I and the church's prior stances, the article titled 'The Range of Jurisdiction' establishes the church's claim to supremacy over the state concerning individuals' well-being. It posits that the state can exert control over its subjects in matters aligned with its natural purpose unless superseded by a higher right. This higher right arises from a more profound or essential destiny for humanity than what civil society pursues. In this view, the church holds the authority to govern its members wherever they are located, articulating moral rights and wrongs and restricting the use of those rights that could imperil eternal salvation (Macksey, 1992: 1-2).

John Henry Newman adopted a diachronic perspective, considering the development of Catholic doctrine, including the separation of church and state. He believed that the church had gradually approached perfect truth through successive declarations, sometimes in opposing directions but ultimately complementing and enriching each other. Newman noted that throughout history, popes and councils had continued the work of their predecessors, with only partial truths emerging at certain times (in Wainwright, 2008: 411). This historical evolution led to significant variations in the church's position on the separation of church and state, which were often associated with older Catholic theology.

However, it's crucial to emphasize that Vatican II marked a substantial shift in the church's stance on the separation of church and state relations.

To fully grasp the dynamics of the separation of church and state relations, a comprehensive understanding of *Dignitatis Humanae* is essential. It's essential to acknowledge that this document adopts an intermediate approach to navigate the multifaceted issues related to religious liberty. It does not provide an exhaustive exploration of either the theory or practice of church-state relations. The relationship between the church and the state, as well as the broader interplay between religion and society, constitutes a vast and intricate subject with deep historical, social, philosophical, and theological roots (Hittinger, 2008: 412).

To discern the essence of *Dignitatis Humanae*, it is imperative to outline the spectrum of issues presented for consideration during the Vatican II. Unlike other significant conciliar constitutions like *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*, where the council offered comprehensive insights and rich contexts for assessment, *Dignitatis Humanae* is notably concise, direct, and far from verbose.<sup>38</sup>

During the Second Vatican Council, deliberations on the topic of religious liberty revolved around three distinctive models for situating the church in relation to secular authorities, each with historical antecedents. The first model was the concept of "political Christendom." Emerging as early as the eighth century, this model involved the Catholic Church's close integration with Western society, forming a single, albeit differentiated, entity known as the *corpus mysticum* (Kantorowicz, 1957: 40). Today, we often refer to this as the theological-political or church-state "issue." For centuries, the church and state were perceived as a unified entity, with both authorities seen as sharing in Christ's threefold role as priest, prophet, and king. The King represented Christ's earthly rule (*pedes in terra*), while episcopal authority symbolized Christ's heavenly rule (*caput in caelo*). Ernst Kantorowicz's seminal work, "The King's Two Bodies," shed light on the fact that

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<sup>38</sup> *Dignitatis Humanae* is a *declaratio*, which differs from a *constitutio* and a *decretum*. Constitutions and decrees have binding force upon the whole church. A declaration, on the other hand, is reserved for matters and persons who are not under the public law of the Church. Hence, the document on non-Christian religions (*Nostra aetate*, 1965) is also called a *declaration*.

Western church-state relations operated within a framework that may seem foreign to contemporary thinking (Kantorowicz, 1957: 40).

In our modern context, it is a rarity to consider the state as a shared entity, particularly one shared with the church. Despite the numerous adaptations this organic model underwent in church-state relations, it persisted in some form until the nineteenth century. Throughout this evolution, the language of self-governance underwent changes for both the church and state, mirroring evolving concepts of what constituted a legal and moral individual (Hittinger, 2008: 363). Nevertheless, Pope Leo XIII encapsulated this model in *Immortale Dei* with the phrase *Fuit aliquando tempus*, meaning "There was once a time when states were governed by the philosophy of the Gospel" (Hittinger, 2008: 363).

The second model, often referred to as the neutralist or separationist regime, positions the church in a state of negative liberty concerning civil authority. What is critical here is the foundation of this negative liberty. It's one thing to state that the government, through positive law or constitution, lacks authority over religious matters (as in "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion"), but it is an entirely different matter to assert that, on principled grounds, the government must remain neutral towards religion itself. Both approaches can lead to a form of negative liberty (Hittinger, 2008: 364).

However, the latter approach carries more significant implications. The neutralist regime can imply: (1) an extreme privatization of religion, potentially refusing to recognize the moral and legal standing of religious institutions; (2) a reduction of the moral and legal status of the church to that of other private organizations; and (3) a rejection of the idea that civil authority plays a role in the pursuit of objective truth. While the bishops may not have been experts in political philosophy, they likely had a general understanding of the principles behind the neutralist regime. Furthermore, while the bishops remained mostly silent on the concept of political Christendom, they carefully framed the civil right of religious liberty in a way that did not imply either theoretical or practical support for neutralism (Hittinger, 2008: 364).

The third model, as mentioned earlier, conflates the church's status and liberty with that of the state itself. This model's origins trace back to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, which resolved religious conflicts in Germany with the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* ("whoever rules, his religion"). Rather than a temporary solution, this model solidified as a core doctrine during the era of absolutism. In Catholic nations, it often intertwined with the titles and claims of ancient Christendom, such as "the Most Christian Prince" or "Monarch, by the Grace of God," where rulers were dedicated to a different ideal of serving the church (Hittinger, 2008: 365). Distinguishing whether *cuius regio* represented princely service and church protection (as in the first model) or a thinly veiled takeover of the church by temporal authorities was not always straightforward. The regalist faction had an interest in blurring the lines and making the new doctrine resemble the old one (Hittinger, 2008: 365).

For the council fathers at the Second Vatican Council, this model was familiar, as it had influenced church-state relations in Europe for three centuries. It even resurfaced in the communist states after World War II, taking the form of puppet churches. A noteworthy episode that illustrated the persistence of the *cuius regio* doctrine occurred when the Archbishop of Krakow passed away in 1962. The Polish government rejected seven candidates before accepting Karol Wojtyla, who later became Pope John Paul II. While not rooted in political theology, this episode underscored the continued relevance of the *cuius regio* doctrine. Bishop Wojtyla's involvement in the drafting of *Dignitatis Humanae* further emphasized his significance in this context (Hittinger, 2008: 366).

*Dignitatis Humanae*, somewhat surprisingly to some, does not directly delve into the theoretical aspects related to the establishment of religion. Instead, it focuses on civil liberties essential for safeguarding and fulfilling humanity's duty to worship God (Hittinger, 2008: 367). While it does not explicitly address the issue of religious establishment, an implication emerges in Article 6, suggesting that when one religion receives "special civil recognition," the rights of other citizens and religious communities should be acknowledged and respected (DH 10).

#### 2.5.4. Bonhoeffer's Examination of Alternative Church-State Model

Bonhoeffer, in his examination of church-state models, initiates his analysis by scrutinizing the shortcomings of alternative models. The first model he delves into is the Catholic model, which he identifies as having borrowed its concept of the state from Greek political philosophy,<sup>39</sup>

In this passage, Bonhoeffer examines various church-state models and presents his own perspective. He begins by critiquing the Roman Catholic model, noting that it perceives the state as a product of human nature. According to Bonhoeffer, the state's role is to fulfill the assigned purpose of human character within the natural and creaturely sphere. In this view, the state represents the highest development of natural society. However, Bonhoeffer argues that the Roman Catholic Church sees the state at a lower level, considering its purpose to be of a secular nature. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, is viewed as a divine institution, transcending the temporal world. For Bonhoeffer, the state is not merely an expression of human rationality but also the creative will of God within society. He emphasizes that both the state and the church serve one Lord, as Jesus is the creator of both institutions. Bonhoeffer's perspective differs from Luther's, as he rejects Luther's distinction between the church and state based on their relationship to sin.

Bonhoeffer's second critique focuses on the Lutheran Model, from which he derived his own model. He argues that the reformer Luther viewed the state as a response to the problem of sin, considering it a divine institution necessitated by sin's presence. According to Bonhoeffer, Luther did not see the state as a human community emerging from the created nature of humanity but rather as an institution originating from the fall. In Luther's view, the state's legitimacy was based on the divine viewpoint above the fallen world. Bonhoeffer, however, believes that both the state and the church are equally legitimate. Although they have distinct natures, they ultimately serve the same master. He references Colossians 1:16 to support his argument, stating that all things exist in Jesus Christ, including government. Consequently, Bonhoeffer asserts that both the state and the church derive their essence from Christ.

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<sup>39</sup> The Greek understanding of the state by the Catholic Church is derived from Aristotle and is passed down to the Catholic Church through Thomas Aquinas who converted Aristotelian philosophy into Christian philosophy. The Catholic Church recognizes most of the Aristotelian-Thomistic writings into its official teaching up to this day.

#### **2.5.4.1. Bonhoeffer's Perspective on Church and State**

Bonhoeffer delves into the essence of the state and its relationship with the church. He asserts that the government is not merely an abstract idea or a task to be fulfilled; it exists as a concrete reality. Moreover, the government's very being is divine. Those who serve in government roles are representatives of this divine institution. When the government fails ethically, the cause lies not in its inherent nature but in the shortcomings of its representatives. The government's primary purpose is to serve Christ on Earth. It derives its knowledge from the teachings of the church and from natural law, which finds its source in the creator of the natural world.

The government's service is oriented toward the praise and protection of righteousness. Service is integral to the essence of the government, and its authority stems from Christ. However, when government representatives deviate from their office, disobedience to the government becomes justifiable. For instance, the failure of Chiluba, as a government representative, to consult the wider church when declaring Zambia a Christian state can be attributed to the failure of these representatives in upholding the divine institution. Therefore, one should not reject the concept of government merely because officials fall short of its standards.

Bonhoeffer's model of church and state differs from the Catholic approach, which seeks to monopolize divinity for the church. The government and the church are linked only when the government fulfills its mission as designated by Christ. In this relationship, neither institution should dominate the other. The church's role is to preach and bear witness to the lordship of Jesus over both the government and the church. For Bonhoeffer, it's not essential for the government to become a "Christian polity" like Calvin's model. A legitimate government, according to Bonhoeffer, is one that carries out the divine task assigned by Christ.

This perspective presents some optimism, which may not always align with real-world scenarios. For example, Chiluba's government, despite declaring Zambia a Christian state, was mired in corruption. Nonetheless, both the government and the church should acknowledge each other while remaining independent institutions. They share the same Lord in their tasks, though

separated, operating within the realm of humanity. No particular constitutional form or arrangement should isolate one from the other. The ultimate goal is to allow room within any given structure for the relationship instituted by God, entrusting further development to the Lord of both the government and the church.

In summary, Bonhoeffer's view emphasizes that government and the church share the same Lord in their respective tasks, have a common field of action, humanity, and need not be isolated from one another to define a specific constitutional form. The ideal is to provide space within each structure for the divinely instituted relationship and entrust its development to the Lord of both government and church.

### **2.5.5. Conceptualization of the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model**

A innovative conceptual framework that aims to reinterpret the relationship between religious institutions and the state is the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model. This paradigm, which is based on the concepts of empathy and open communication, aims to create a cooperative and understanding relationship that respects and encourages cooperation while respecting the unique responsibilities that each entity plays (Nussbaum, 2012: 20).

#### ***Empathy in the Model***

The ability to comprehend and experience another person's emotions is known as empathy, and it is a fundamental component of the concept. Empathy is the cornerstone of understanding and valuing the various viewpoints, values, and beliefs that exist within society in the context of church-state relations (Nussbaum, 2012: 19). The concept, which draws from the ideas of Adam Smith (1976) and Martha Nussbaum (2012), asserts that empathy is a social virtue that is necessary for the development of shared moral ideals and ethical decision-making, rather than just a personal quality.

#### ***Dialogue in the Model***

The second essential element of the approach is dialogue, which is defined as an ongoing, transparent discussion between the state and religious institutions. The concept, which draws

inspiration from Jürgen Habermas's (1998) communicative action theory, views dialogue as a way to establish common norms, resolve disputes amicably, and uphold the autonomy of both parties. In this situation, discussion turns into a tool for comprehension, encouraging cooperation, and making sure that the various viewpoints that exist in society are reflected in policy decisions (Habermas, 1998: 40).

### ***Integration of Empathy and Dialogue***

According to Sen (1999: 35), the paradigm envisions a dynamic interaction in which the dialogue process is informed by empathic understanding, so integrating empathy and dialogue in a synergistic manner. The quality of communication is improved and becomes more authentic, courteous, and sensitive to the needs of diverse cultures when empathy comes before and penetrates the conversation (Sen, 1999: 35). The concept emphasizes that empathy and dialogue contribute to increasing people's freedoms and capabilities within the larger society environment by building on the ideas of Amartya Sen's capability approach (1999) (Sen, 1999: 36).

### ***Practical Application of the Model***

Beyond theory, there are real-world applications for the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model conception. It entails periodic gatherings, conferences, and cooperative projects in which delegates from the political and religious domains converse sympathetically (Habermas, 1998: 42). Case studies from environments that uphold comparable values, like interfaith discussion programs in multicultural nations, offer useful insights into the viability and possible success of the approach in promoting mutual respect and understanding (Sen, 1999: 38).

Based on the ideas of empathy and discourse, the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model presents a novel viewpoint on church-state interactions. In order to foster a cooperative and amicable relationship between religious institutions and the government, the model views dialogue as a logical and inclusive process and empathy as a moral force. The model's strength is in how well it incorporates these ideas into a holistic framework that envisions a society where empathy and discourse guide governance, support ethical decision-making, and promote shared values—all while drawing from well-established theories.

## 2.6. Utilizing Theories in the Study

Conceptual frameworks, Fusion of Horizons, Normativity of the Future, and the Empathetic Dialogical Method of Church-State Model, are critical in evaluating complicated theological, social and political events because they provide a prism through which scholars can evaluate and critique many parts of religion, society and politics. Three conceptual frameworks are used to understand the dynamics of Catholic social teaching and its critique of Zambia as a Christian state, and its impact on church-state relationship and the democratic governance in the context of Zambia:

The Fusion of Horizons concept, popularized by philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, emphasizes the joining of multiple worldviews/horizons in order to develop a shared understanding of the phenomena of the study. This technique was utilized in Zambia to investigate the interaction between the Catholic social teaching horizon and the Christian state horizon, by exploring religious freedom, human dignity and rights, common ground, and shared values to encourage collaboration and togetherness. The framework of Normativity of the Future is based on the idea that future-oriented norms and values impact present actions. This framework was utilized in the Zambian context to examine how ambitions included in the social teaching text impacted and engaged current Christian state policy and interactions between the church and the state.

A conceptual framework peculiar to church-state interactions, the Empathetic Dialogical Method of church-state Model, emphasizes the significance of empathy and conversation in negotiating the connection between religious institutions and the state. When applied to Zambia, it could give insight on how the Catholic Church interacts with the government, contributing to a better understanding of the two bodies' collaboration or friction. Analyzing Zambia as a Christian state through the perspective of Catholic social teaching entails assessing the church's position on issues such as social justice, human dignity, and the common good. This approach enables a critical analysis of how effectively the values of Catholic social teaching match with Zambian official policies and practices.

Within the framework of Catholic social teaching, critiques of Zambia as a Christian state focus on concerns such as the gap between rhetoric and execution, potential exclusivity in privileging one faith tradition, and the efficiency of such a designation in achieving social justice. In the context of Zambian church-state relations, these frameworks provide instruments for investigating power dynamics, collaborative initiatives, and potential tensions between the Catholic Church and the government. They also shed light on how these ties affect society as a whole and democratic governance.

Finally, these frameworks were utilized to investigate the influence of Catholic social teaching on Christian state declaration, church-state relations, and democratic governance in Zambia. Scholars can provide a more *nuanced* understanding of the role of religious values in shaping Zambia's democratic landscape by investigating how the Catholic Church's teachings on social justice, religious freedom, the common good, solidarity, subsidiarity, and human dignity influence policies and practices.

## **2.7. Summary**

The chapter has elucidated Hans-Gadamer's quest to explore the very possibility of understanding, be it in the context of texts, artwork, or experiences. He delves into the intricacies of how interpretation takes place, emphasizing that Martin Heidegger's temporal analysis of human existence underpins his perspective. Gadamer introduces the concept of "historically-effected consciousness" (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein*), asserting that individuals are inherently embedded within a specific culture and history that profoundly shapes them. He likens this historical consciousness to a continuous stream within which we actively participate in acts of understanding. Thus, when individuals encounter a situation, they inevitably carry pre-understandings derived from this historical stream. These pre-understandings are a product of the traditions we inherit, giving rise to biases that influence how we interpret a given situation. In the case of the Catholic Church in Zambia, the influence of the ordinary magisterium significantly shaped their interpretation of the imposed horizon.

The chapter also delves into the concept of the fusion of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*) within the interpretation of a text. Here, both the interpreter and the text find themselves immersed in a specific historical tradition or "horizon." This shared horizon is expressed through the medium of language, with both the interpreter and the text partaking in the language and history associated with it. This common linguistic ground is what makes understanding possible. As interpreters seek to fathom a text, a shared horizon gradually emerges. When horizons merge, it does not necessarily entail that the interpreter grasps the objective meaning of the text; instead, it results in an event that becomes open to that particular individual, enabling a deeper comprehension of the subject matter.

Beringer's eschatological hermeneutic departs from an intrinsic perspective and adopts a paradigmatic one. Consequently, it does not aim to replicate or reenact the ancient text since the text belongs to the past and cannot be resurrected. However, the reading or receiving community must internalize the ancient text, much like the first chapters of a chain novel for which they are tasked with writing the subsequent chapter. In this manner, the reader of ancient texts achieves a fusion of horizons between the ancient text and the reader, as discussed earlier.

Lastly, regarding the relationship between church and state, the chapter underscores the value of empathetic dialogue between the church and the state in Zambia. This approach allows for a better understanding of the intricate and dynamic elements that underpin the political landscape and how they relate to the church.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE ENCYCLICAL AND CONCILIAR DOCUMENTS OF THE VATICAN II

#### 3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter delved into the theoretical framework of this study, drawing inspiration from concepts such as Hans Georg Gadamer's "Fusion of Horizons," Bieringer's "Normativity of the Future," and the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model. In this chapter, in order to gain a deeper understanding of secondary sources (literature) we have identified, we have organized relevant literature into clusters that now inform the sections to follow. This reference to pertinent theoretical literature is examined in the context of the existing body of work, a process appropriately referred to as "enfolding literature." The result of this in-depth analysis is the interpretation of Vatican II and the social doctrines, based on our findings from the literature.

Therefore, we will embark on a comprehensive examination of the documents produced during the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II). We will apply the analytical framework established in the previous chapter to scrutinize and assess Vatican II and its associated documents. Our goal is to provide a critical perspective on Vatican II, conducting a thorough analysis of these Catholic Church documents while identifying the debates that took place during the Ecumenical Council.

#### 3.2. The Significance of Vatican II

Understanding the significance of Vatican II's achievements necessitates an appreciation of their connection to historical consciousness (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*). This concept, as elucidated by Gadamer (1985), plays a pivotal role in comprehending the actions of Vatican II. Additionally, scrutinizing Vatican II documents within the context of the historical backdrop of the Catholic social teaching is of paramount importance. According to Bieringer (2010), these texts on the Catholic social teaching function within three realms: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text.

Catholic social doctrine underscore the role of horizons in transmitting the Catholic heritage initiated during the Second Vatican Council, linking us to the past (Bieringer, 2010: 7). To fully

grasp the evolution of the Catholic traditional horizon, one must have an understanding of both Vatican II and its conciliar documents, which transcend their original context. The textual dimension of Catholic social doctrine allows it to extend beyond its temporal and geographical confines, rendering it relevant in contemporary contexts (Bieringer, 2010: 14).

Considering the hermeneutical context, the activities and publications of Vatican II can be classified within the hermeneutics of reform or renewal within continuity. This classification is rooted in the Council's pastoral intention to respond to the evolving realities in social, political, and religious spheres, often referred to as the contemporary world. From this standpoint, the Second Vatican Council is viewed as a positive force that introduced significant and necessary reforms within the Catholic Church (Lamon, 2007: 88).

On the other hand, Hans Kung contends that Catholic theology faced a challenging period during and after Vatican II. He argues that the Council, both in theology and other aspects, created deeper divisions than initially perceived (Küng, 2011: 104). Vatican II, which took place from 1962 to 1965, brought to the forefront the limitations of Catholic theology in addressing new challenges in individual, ecclesiastical, and societal realms. While it did not eliminate absolute theological authority, it did allow for the resurgence of diverse theological perspectives that had been suppressed during that period (Küng, 2011: 104). To gain a more contemporary understanding of Vatican II, it is instructive to analyze Pope Benedict XVI's address to the Roman Curia on December 22, 2005. In this address, he outlined two contrasting interpretations of Vatican II. The first, termed the 'hermeneutics of discontinuity and rupture,' views the Ecumenical Council as a departure from and replacement of Catholic tradition. In contrast, the 'hermeneutics of reform,' as discussed earlier, sees the Council as in alignment with this tradition (Lamon, 2007: 87). Pope Benedict XVI attributed the post-conciliar challenges to the former interpretation, deeming it invalid. While this assessment is valid, it raises unresolved questions. Specifically, the bishops who presided over the Council were the same individuals overseeing the subsequent challenges in implementing the social doctrine that emerged during Vatican II. They either endorsed the 'hermeneutics of discontinuity and rupture' or accepted its consequences rooted in the hermeneutics of reform. It is essential to acknowledge that they did so sincerely, believing they were implementing the decrees of the Vatican Council (Lamon, 2007: 87).

Vatican II diverges significantly from Vatican I due to its foundation on the hermeneutics of reform, which results in the creation of Catholic social documents aligned with the Catholic tradition. In contrast, Vatican I and the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pius XII on the Catholic Church as a 'perfect society' did not exclusively associate society with its institutional elements. Vatican I incorporated spiritual and organic concepts, such as the 'Communion of Grace' and the 'Body of Christ' (Dulles, 1974: 35).

### **3.2.1. Gadamer's Perspective on the Interpretation of Catholic Social Doctrine**

Gadamer's viewpoint underscores the need for each historical era to interpret the Catholic social doctrinal texts within its specific historical context. These texts, integral to the broader Catholic tradition, remain relevant to contemporary self-understanding. Importantly, the true meaning of a social text surpasses the author's specific circumstances and intended audience when it resonates with the interpreter. This impact is not limited to the interpreter alone but extends to the interpreter's historical *milieu* and the broader course of history (Gadamer, 1985: 296).

### **3.2.2. Vatican II's Emphasis on the Catholic Church Renewal**

Küng (2011: 104) highlights that Vatican II primarily addressed internal Catholic Church matters and made theological advancements in areas such as the relationship between Scripture and Tradition, Ecclesiology, Ecumenism, Judaism, World Religions, Freedom of Religion, and an early exploration of the 'church in the modern world.' Subsequently, Vatican II ushered in a transformative shift in reforms, employing the hermeneutics of reform or renewal in continuity to reshape how the Catholic Church approached Scripture, Tradition, and its interaction with the modern world (Lamon, 2007: 87).

### **3.2.3. The Debate on Vatican II's Documents**

McMahon (2012) argues that Vatican II transcends being a mere collection of old documents. He asserts that comprehending the Council's documents necessitates an examination of the discussions and controversies that unfolded during the Council's sessions (McMahon (2012: 2). Küng (2011: 104) counters McMahon's viewpoint by emphasizing that the Council addressed the foundational aspects of existing theology. It challenged both positivistic Vatican theology and recent patrological or speculative mediating theologies. To delve deeper into these developments, we will

explore two major documents: *Lumen Gentium* (The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church) and *Gaudium et spes* (The Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World). These documents offer insights into how certain essential elements of the church operated within the context of the Ecumenical Council's focus on renewal and continuity.

### **3.2.1. Noteworthy Progress in Preparing for the Council (1959–1960)**

On June 5, 1960, which coincided with Pentecost Sunday, Pope John XXIII issued the *motu proprio* "Superno Dei Nutu," signifying the conclusion of the ante-preparatory phase and the commencement of the preparatory phase for Vatican II. This announcement generated significant excitement, especially considering that interest in the Catholic Council had waned among many Christians, including both Catholic and Protestant. Theologian Küng (1963: 5) argued that skepticism had been on the rise, particularly among theologians and the educated.

Küng (1963: 5) also pointed out that there was limited attention outside the Catholic Church regarding the ecumenical orientation of the Council, which was more than just an internal matter for Catholic. Doubts lingered as to whether, amid the perplexity of the times, the Council could take the decisive actions needed to address the church's challenges.

Nonetheless, the pre-preparation phase commenced, with the establishment of ten commissions, each assigned to a specific aspect of the Council (Malley, 2010: 60). These commissions were led by cardinals heading the respective congregations, functioning with the authority of the Curial Congregations. A notable exception to this setup was the inclusion of the Secretariat for Christian Unity among the preparatory commissions, added a few weeks earlier upon the suggestion of a German Archbishop and Cardinal Bea (Malley, 2010: 60).

The pre-preparation process and the formation of the Ecumenical Council illustrated a commitment to inclusivity, aligning with the aspirations and intentions of the Catholic Church founders for a more open and inclusive world. This concept reflected a standard of inclusivity that would later be realized, introducing the notion of the "normativity of the future." This term juxtaposes "normativity" and "future" deliberately to create a dialectic tension, inviting an

examination of their meanings within the context of Vatican II. The former gains dynamism from the latter, while the latter is anchored by the solidity of the former (Bieringer, 2010: 22).

Regarding the pre-preparation for the Council, Karl Rahner emphasized that the most significant dangers often go unnoticed, especially those originating from within the Catholic Church itself. External threats only become perilous when they exploit internal vulnerabilities (Rahner, 1963: 10). Doubts about the Pope's intentions, rather than external factors, were perceived as a potential predicament for the church (Küng, 1963: 5).

Internally, the practice of secrecy during the preparatory proceedings had an adverse impact on the Council's preparations (McMahon, 2012: 3). Yves Congar, a prominent theologian involved in the process, noted that Roman theologians and bishops maintained open communication due to their familiarity, whereas those outside the Vatican bureaucracy were left in secrecy and silence. This resulted in a preparation process that was perceived as being excessively centered on Rome (McMahon 2012: 3).

What followed was a struggle for the Council to commence without delay. Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, in charge of the Holy Office responsible for enforcing doctrine, competed with several others, notably Cardinal Augustin Bea, who led the newly established Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, for influence in determining the Council agenda and focus (McMahon, 2012: 2). Ottaviani advocated for a doctrinal Council and prepared several texts reflecting this concern, including a new formulation for the Profession of Faith and documents addressing the Deposit of Faith, the Moral Order, the Social Order, the Blessed Mother, and topics like Marriage, Family, and Virginitly (McMahon, 2012: 2).

These challenges and preparations before Vatican II must be considered as historical facts shaped by the prevailing forces and circumstances of that era (Gadamer, 1985: 311). Gadamer underscores the role of historical influences, emphasizing that Vatican II's unique preparation and struggles necessitated an examination of the historical context each time a facet of Catholic tradition was extracted from the borderline region between history and Catholic tradition, allowing it to be viewed purely in its own terms with its associated significance (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

In slightly over two years, the preparatory body generated over seventy projects based on the "Questions" of 1960, addressing a wide array of subjects. Pope John XXIII marked the culmination of this phase on February 2, 1962, with the issuance of the *Motu Proprio* "Concilium" and the establishment of October 11 as the commencement date for the Council assembly's work. The formal convocation of the Council was proclaimed on December 25, 1961, through the Apostolic Constitution *Humanae Salutis* (Mettepenningen, 2010: 30).

In this era, Pope John XXIII underscored three fundamental principles for the upcoming council:

- The Council would have an ecumenical character, with a broader perspective beyond just Christian unity.
- The Council primary orientation would be pastoral, giving precedence to pastoral matters over doctrinal issues.
- The Council was to function autonomously as a deliberative body, devoid of direct oversight from the Roman Curia or the influence of the Pope (McMahon, 2012: 2).

### **3.2.2. Significant Milestones in Council Preparations (1959–1960) <sup>40</sup>**

- October 28, 1958—Giovanni Giuseppe Angelo Roncalli, Cardinal Archbishop of Venice, elected as Pope John XXIII
- January 25, 1959—Announcement of the Council (held at the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls)
- February 5, 1959—Establishment of the Pre-Preparatory Commission, comprised entirely of Roman officials and placed under the leadership of Cardinal Tardini, the Vatican Secretary of State
- June 5, 1960—Formation of the Central Preparatory Commission, along with the creation of ten thematic commissions responsible for addressing specific issues identified by the Pre-Preparatory Commission
- December 25, 1961—Official convocation of the Council (documented in "Humanae salutis")
- February 2, 1962—Conclusion of the formal preparatory phase and the announcement of October 11, 1962, as the start date for the Council.

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<sup>40</sup> Lang, M. L. & Levering, M. 2008. *Vatican II Renewal within Tradition*, Oxford University Press, 2008, XXIV.

### 3.2.3. The First Session (Autumn 1962)

Attempts to control the council's agenda characterized the preparatory period. The Doctrinal Commission, led by Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, Prefect of the Holy Office, wielded significant power over other commissions. The documents prepared for the bishops aimed to complement Vatican I agenda by offering an ecclesiology supplementing "Pastor Aeternus" (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ).

However, Cardinal Ottaviani's approach was seen as regressive for Vatican II's progression. It required a re-examination of Vatican I in light of the hermeneutical reforms introduced by Vatican II to address modern challenges. Consequently, Vatican II had the opportunity to learn from Vatican I and introduce reforms aligned with contemporary issues.

This highlights the historical consciousness of the Catholic Church fathers, who were aware of the events during Vatican I. They juxtaposed this historical context with the traditional texts of Vatican I, resulting in social teaching texts attuned to modernist crises (Gadamer, 1985:310).

To address this, the Doctrinal Commission incorporated the pope's concerns about addressing modern society into several polemical documents that frequently reaffirmed triumphalism and hostility, which were consistent with the Modernist crisis. Concerns arose after the Council fathers were presented with the agenda, leading to a rebellion against the Doctrinal Commission and the Holy Office (McMahon 2012: 3). According to Rahner, Vatican Council II was an event where the Catholic Church confronted vital questions about its existence. This had immeasurable theological significance for the church's self-understanding in both theory and practice (Rahner, 1966: 12).

What transpired at the first session of Vatican II was a process that contained both the old and the new Catholic social doctrine text infused with faith. It was seen in a new light underpinned by the Normativity of the Future, offering evidence to examine the "new" and "inclusive" aspects of the Vatican II social teaching process, characterized as "grace-filled" rather than "sin-filled." In this regard, we can rightly analyze Vatican II and its encyclicals as products of the Normativity of the Future (Bieringer, 2010: 14).

Having established Vatican II as the product of the Normativity of the Future, Pope John XXIII's opening remarks set the tone for the Council's first session (Alberigo, 2006: 21). In St. Peter's Basilica, the pope issued a dramatic rebuttal of the "prophets of doom," surrounded by his advisors and members of the Curia who had prepared the council documents (Alberigo, 2006: 21). These "prophets" clung tenaciously to rhetoric that envisioned apocalyptic confrontation with the modern world (Alberigo, 2006: 23).

During the Council preparations, the Pope's agenda of "updating," or *aggiornamento*, was under attack. He was determined that the Council would not merely renew the acrimonious relationship with the modern world seen in documents like Pius X's *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (Syllabus Condemning the Errors of Modernists). Hales defines *aggiornamento* as "bringing the Catholic Church up to date" (Hales, 1965: xi). *Aggiornamento* represented a fusion of horizons, that influenced the direction of Vatican II's deliberations.

The fusion of horizons highlighted the changing nature of Catholic tradition from one generation to the next, emphasizing a constant process of mediation through linguistics that perpetuated societal tradition (Gadamer, 1985: 282). This process of mediation evolved from Vatican I to Vatican II. Gadamer's view is that as scholars, our horizons come to the fore when questioning social teaching texts of the past. When posing questions about Vatican II texts, we are influenced by our contemporary period. Despite our efforts to shed light on the views of past Council Fathers, their horizons still affected the outcome of Vatican II documents (Gadamer, 1985: 282).

Karl Rahner remarks that the Council marked the decisive beginning of the *aggiornamento*, as it established the hermeneutics of reforms or renewal and called us to ever-necessary repentance and return to God. In other words, it was only the beginning of the beginning (1966: 39). That is why the pope made it clear that he wanted the Council to be a deliberative body, not just a consultative one. Almost immediately, his vision for the Council was put to the test (McMahon 2012: 3).

What can be argued is whether, amid the confusions and bewilderments of the times, there was an anticipation that the Council was expected to achieve that decisive action that the Catholic Church's predicament demanded (Küng, 1963: 5).

Alberigo explains that at the Council's first working session, held two days after its ceremonial opening on October 13, 1962, plans were made to hold an immediate vote to establish the commissions that would work through the various documents the council would produce. Cardinal Frings of Germany and Cardinal Liénart of France, both prominent members of the College of Cardinals, intervened, postponing the vote (Alberigo, 2006: 24). They believed that the bishops who had gathered for the council had not had enough time to get to know one another and discuss the issues at hand for the Council to function as the Pope had suggested. The vote to establish commissions at this point would have required the majority of bishops present to simply vote for those bishops who had served on various preparatory commissions. If that were the case, what was the point of a Council? The preparatory commissions' documents would have remained largely intact. Liénart and Frings' intervention was successful, and the final vote for the commission included a mix of preparatory commission members and other council fathers (McMahon, 2012: 3).

As the Council began, it became apparent that virtually none of the draft documents could serve as adequate bases for preliminary discussion and debate. The only exception was the document on the liturgy. The reform of the liturgy had been underway for a century, and all agreed that further reformation was needed (Alberigo, 2006: 25). The draft document was approved as the basis for further (contentious) discussion.

As the Council got started, it became clear that almost none of the draft documents could serve as adequate starting points for preliminary discussion and debate. The only exception was the liturgical document. Liturgical reform had been ongoing for a century, and everyone agreed that more reform was required (Alberigo, 2006: 25). The draft document was approved as the foundation for further (contentious) debate.

What transpired during the first session can be described as the hermeneutical situation that required the right horizon of inquiry for more reforms to be evoked by readdressing the draft documents as the basis of Vatican tradition (Gadamer, 1985: 313). Looking at the events with modern scholarly perspectives, it required that we examine events with the right horizon from which we can investigate the activities of Vatican II (which is another horizon). It is thus vital to critically examine the "horizon" of the Ecumenical Council, given that in the realm of historical

understanding, horizons are specifically spoken of when denoting the assertion that when one looks at historical consciousness, one has to see the past within its light, and not in the light of current prejudices and criteria but in its own historical context, as it were (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

While some of the Council fathers had initially hoped for only one session, events in the autumn of 1962 indicated that new draft documents were required. This work was completed during the winter and spring of 1963. The Council discussions served as the foundation for these new draft documents, which were then circulated in preparation for the Council's next session scheduled for October 1963. The commissions' work was accompanied by Pope John XXIII's death and the election of his successor, Cardinal Montini of Milan, who took the name Pope Paul VI (McMahon, 2012: 3).

In contrast to his predecessor, the new Pope had been a Vatican insider for years, having spent a significant portion of his career in the Vatican diplomatic corps. He had been sent to Milan (after falling out of favor with Pius XII) but was now returning to the Roman Curia, which was still dealing with the events leading up to the Council and the council's actions (Alberigo, 2006: 5). Pope Paul VI began his pontificate with the stated intention of seeing the Council through to completion, but his approach to the Council would differ greatly from that of his predecessor (Alberigo, 2006: 5).

During the interim period, Paul VI overhauled the Council's administration. Under John XXIII, the Council procedures were frequently chaotic and slow, which was frustrating for many. Until this time, bishops had been accustomed to acting merely as an advisory group rather than a deliberative body. The Curia was in charge of the Council operations, and they were not eager to move as quickly as many in the majority had hoped. The majority of council fathers, for their part, were not unified or well-organized. Paul VI tried to balance the needs of both the majority and the minority in an effort to create procedures that would facilitate debate and focus the work of the Council. Generally, his efforts were viewed as successful (McMahon, 2012: 4).

In our understanding of Pope Paul VI and the efforts he implemented, we must not forget that in reality, we should ascertain the complete truth that emerged during Pope Paul VI's administration. This involves looking at the whole phenomenon rather than merely its immediate appearance, as

it encompasses the complete truth (Gadamer, 2013: 311). Furthermore, it can be argued that the Catholic Church predicament did not arise from external factors but rather from doubts about the good intentions of the Pope (Küng, 1963: 5).

#### **3.2.4. The Second Session of the Council (Autumn 1963)**

In the second session of the Council, a significant shift occurred in the Council focus, with the central theme being a new draft document concerning the Catholic Church. The initial draft of this document had faced rejection during the first session, primarily due to its tone of triumphalism and its excessive emphasis on Catholic Church's governance. In response, the Theological Commission, reconfigured during the course of the Council, assigned the task of crafting a fresh draft on the Catholic Church to Jesuit theologian Gérard Philips. This new draft aimed to better reflect the concerns expressed by the council fathers during the first session (McMahon, 2012: 4).

Furthermore, McMahon notes that key issues arising from the revised document included the topics of papal authority and the collegiality of bishops. The strong emphasis on papal power and jurisdiction, which had been a longstanding concern within the Catholic Church since the Middle Ages and was a focal point of the First Vatican Council, seemed to undergo a noteworthy shift in the new draft. This shift placed greater emphasis on the role and authority of bishops within the Catholic Church (McMahon, 2012: 4).

Understanding this second session of the Vatican Council requires us to consider that every era interprets inherited texts within its unique context, as these texts are part of a broader tradition that the era seeks to comprehend. The issues addressed during this session were aimed at providing a clearer understanding of the underlying matters. Hence, the final draft must be viewed as a text with real meaning that spoke directly to the council fathers. The interpretation of this text depends on the circumstances within the Theological Commission and its intended audience. It was not a mere replication of Vatican I; instead, it was shaped by the historical context in which Vatican II documents were being interpreted, thereby representing the entirety of Vatican II's historical course (Gadamer, 1985: 296).

A prevalent assumption had previously limited the understanding of the role of bishops within the church. Bishops were often seen as mere extensions of the pope, with their jurisdiction received from the pope. In this view, a bishop functioned as the pope's delegate, administering a diocese on the pope's behalf. It was the Pope who held the real power and authority. However, the second session of the council introduced a significant shift in perspective. The Council fathers determined that bishops were not just appointed but ordained and had their unique charism and authority. Bishops were seen as forming a part of a global body or college, encompassing all bishops worldwide. Within this college, bishops were to teach and govern in collaboration with their fellow bishops, rather than simply following directives from Rome. The emphasis on collegiality, or the collaborative role of bishops, caused concern among a minority of council participants, as they viewed it as potentially limiting the authority of the Papacy in favor of the bishops (McMahon, 2012: 4).

The second session of the Council not only clarified but also reshaped the role of bishops, introducing new perspectives on their administrative functions and their place within the College of Bishops. The decisions made during this session were instrumental in defining the history of the Catholic Church, and they reflected the merging of horizons. This process of horizons constantly shifting and evolving played a transformative role in both the past and present, offering readers a new outlook on Vatican II and its social teaching texts (Clark, 2004: 112).

In the second session, there was a revision of the order in which topics would be addressed in the document on the church. The discussion of the hierarchy was moved to a later stage, following a discussion on the "People of God." This shift signaled a significant change in ecclesiology, moving away from the traditional focus on hierarchy and governance toward a more participatory understanding of the Catholic Church (McMahon, 2012: 4). Additionally, the second session saw the approval and promulgation of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy), a development that would lead to a comprehensive revision of the Mass (McMahon, 2012: 4).

In summary, the second session marked significant progress in the Council agenda. However, some council fathers were disappointed by the decision to extend the Council into a third session.

The pace of discussions remained slow, and the results were considered somewhat modest compared to the enthusiasm and energy generated by the Council. During the second interim period in the winter of 1963 and the spring of 1964, further revisions were made to the document on the church and other documents. Additionally, revisions were made to the Council's working procedures, aimed at expediting the Council progress. Nevertheless, the events of the third session would bring about unexpected developments (McMahon, 2012: 4).

The theological work accomplished during the Council's second session was instrumental in shaping a future world with eschatological significance. The documents produced by Vatican II became intertwined with both the text-immanent and text-transcending dimensions. These documents also interacted with external realities, serving as a bridge between the potential for revelation contained in the ancient Vatican II doctrinal text and the future. This alignment with the past and future was guided by Gadamer's concept of effective historical consciousness, which emphasized that the impact of the Vatican II's decisions and social teaching texts would persist, continually shaping future perspectives and openings initiated by God (Bieringer, 2010: 21).

### **3.2.5. The Third Session of the Council (Autumn 1964)**

The third session commenced with a packed agenda, and there was a strong hope that this session would bring the Council to a close. However, deliberations on a range of contentious issues central to the Council agenda persisted. The third session experienced numerous successes, but some may also view these achievements as accompanied by shortcomings (Alberigo, 2006: 5).

Before we delve into these perceived deficiencies, it is important to stress that we do not consider the Council an overall failure. Our standpoint is that the Council was, on the whole, beneficial, introducing crucial and necessary reforms. This perspective underscores the significance of distinguishing the Council weaknesses from its accomplishments. This distinction is particularly critical, given that traditionalists have, in our view, misinterpreted the Council impact. For example, Father Louis Bouyer, a prominent figure in the liturgical movement, voiced his opinion on the liturgical changes following the Council, stating that "perhaps in no other area is there a greater disparity (and even formal opposition) between what the Council formulated and what we now have" (Bouyer, 2007: 88). This bolsters our argument that the Council cannot be held

responsible for the liturgical deviations that followed. Furthermore, contrary to the claims of Lefebvrists, we do not believe the Council contradicted earlier church teachings on religious freedom. In fact, the Declaration on Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis Humanae*), which will be discussed later, was the document the Council debated and revised the most to avoid any potential contradictions (Bouyer, 2007: 88).

In the process of understanding the limitations of Vatican II, we sometimes neglect the reality of the situation. We may fail to ascertain the complete truth of a phenomenon if we only consider its immediate appearance and do not examine it from a holistic perspective, which encompasses the entire truth (Gadamer, 2013: 311). The complete truth highlights one of the most controversial topics during the Council: the relationship between the church and the modern secular state. Since the time of Gregory XVI and his condemnation of the principles of modern liberal democracy in *Mirari Vos* in 1832, the church had taken a dim view of the so-called indifferentism of the state (McMahon, 2012: 4). As per Alberigo (2006: 5), popes continued to assert that the state had an obligation to promote the Catholic faith and safeguard the rights of the church through state-enacted laws. The state could not remain indifferent to religious matters; it had a divine obligation to promote truth and combat evil and error. However, Vatican II presented a stark contrast with its stance on the separation of church and state, advocating for the autonomy and independence of religious institutions from government control. This was aligned with the principle of secularism, which advocated for the state's neutrality in religious matters (DH 1).

It had become commonplace to declare, "Error has no rights" within this context. However, Catholic Church could accept a form of separation between church and state and acknowledge religious freedom when the Catholic Church was a minority and the nation had no historical connection to the faith. In such a scenario, religious freedom was seen as the lesser evil compared to the alternative (McMahon, 2012: 4). The "Declaration on Religious Freedom" (*Dignitatis Humanae*) addressed the issue of religious liberty and the church-state relationship. The core message in this declaration on religious freedom was that every individual has the right to religious freedom, encompassing the freedom to practice, change, and share their religious beliefs without coercion or discrimination (DH 15). This singular declaration on religious freedom offered a theological exploration that resolved how religious liberty and the confession of religious truth

could coexist within contemporary democratic structures, upholding all civil liberties and integrating Christian values into public life (Hittinger, 2008: 367).

Consequently, many European bishops and theologians faced difficulties when it came to religious freedom. It was left to an American Jesuit, John Courtney Murray, to play a pivotal role in revising Catholic Church teaching on religious freedom. Prior to the Council, Murray had been censured by the Vatican for his writings on religious liberty, and prominent church officials initially prevented his participation in the Council. However, Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York eventually appointed Murray as his theological advisor, or *peritus*. It was in this capacity that Murray made some of the most influential contributions to the Council (McMahon, 2012: 4). This history of Vatican II was shaped by the fusion of horizons. These horizons oscillated between the historian's perspective and the past, never remaining static. The "otherness" of the Vatican II social doctrine texts was projected into our present, providing readers with insights and transformations that spanned both past and present (Clark, 2004: 112).

Thus, Murray's work on religious liberty caused significant controversy at the Council. His approach appeared to reverse the Catholic social teaching on religious liberty—before the Council, religious freedom was viewed as a necessary evil, and after the Council, it would be seen as a positive good. The religious liberty text established itself as a normativity of the future because it helped examine the "new" and "inclusive" aspects of religious liberty as a grace-filled process rather than one tainted by sin. Therefore, analyzing the religious liberty text as a product of the NOF (Bieringer, 2010: 11) is essential. In developing the concept of NOF, we must view the religious liberty text as an ongoing process within Catholic tradition, constantly navigating the past and present. Religious liberty texts do not belong exclusively to their authors and their original situations but transcend their historical context and potentially belong to everyone, regardless of time and space (Bieringer, 2010: 11).

How can such a seemingly fundamental reversal be reconciled with the continuity of past teachings? This question lay at the heart of much of the controversy surrounding religious liberty. However, this was not the only controversy unfolding during the third session.

The week of November 14–21 came to be known as the Black Week, as it witnessed three interventions that shaped the drama of the Council in the minds of many participants and observers (Luis 1964: 387). The first intervention was initiated by the Theological Commission under the Pope's direction. The Commission inserted a note into the document on the Catholic Church regarding episcopal collegiality. Some of the more conservative bishops viewed the notion of collegiality as reminiscent of the conciliarist position (revived as Gallicanism in France in the nineteenth century) from the later medieval and early modern periods, and they raised concerns. The note reaffirmed the primacy of the Pope over the bishops and circumscribed the power of the bishops with that of the Pope. Although these concerns were addressed in the third chapter of the document on the Catholic Church, the note was introduced by the minority in an effort to secure broad approval of the document when presented to the Council for a vote (Luis 1964: 387).

The second intervention was made by the Council of Presidents, a group of cardinals whose role had been significantly reduced at the Council. They announced that the vote on the document on religious freedom would not take place, much to the dismay of the Council fathers. Their claim was that recent revisions to the document were so substantial that it required further debate and discussion. The third and defining intervention of the Black Week came from the Pope himself. He made approximately twenty modifications to the document on ecumenism (the relationship between various Christian churches) without allowing for any discussion of the document (Luis 1964: 387).

The final week of the third session, known as the Black Week, embodied the Council in many ways. The Council was marked by controversies, battles, maneuvers, and procedural tactics, which were not unusual. Second Vatican Council have always been lively and complex events, perhaps partly because participants cannot predict how everything will ultimately unfold. Despite the significant disputes during the third session, it also saw important achievements, including the promulgation of the *Lumen Gentium* and the *Unitatis Redintegratio* (Decree on Ecumenism) (Luis 1964: 387).

### 3.2.6. The Fourth Session of the Council (Autumn 1965)

By now, it becomes evident that Vatican II and its social doctrine texts adhere to the principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, or the history of effect. It is crucial to recognize Vatican II and the social doctrines as fundamentally historical events (Gadamer, 1985: 310). To understand the Vatican II social doctrine, we should consider them as texts shaped by historical forces, in other words, historically affected events. According to Gadamer (1985: 311), the history of effect is not something entirely novel or new; its uniqueness lies in the endeavor to explore the Vatican II as a history of effect whenever a piece of social doctrine tradition is extracted from the borderline region between history and tradition. This is best understood within its own context and associated meanings. This demand is precisely honed when concentrating solely on the methodological consciousness of the Vatican II's social doctrine text, which emerged from the process of rationalizing historical consciousness of past Vatican councils repeatedly (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

In this light, we begin to examine the fourth session as a history of effect that saw the implementation of initial liturgical reforms. This is significant because the liturgy was taken out of the borderline realm between history and tradition within the Catholic Church. Therefore, when assessing the final session of Vatican II's text, it is crucial to consider opposing perspectives. Many changes in the liturgy were not explicitly mandated by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Instead, the Constitution outlined several principles for liturgical reform, and the *Consilium*, a group of liturgical scholars assembled by the Pope, was tasked with the actual implementation of those principles in the liturgical reform (Luis, 1964: 387). The *Consilium* had set March 7, 1965, as the date for the introduction of the new rite for the celebration of the Mass. For most of the faithful, this was the most tangible sign of the Council impact. The Council accomplishments were becoming evident with the implementation of liturgical reforms in local parishes even before the Council had concluded (Luis, 1964: 387).

The period between the third and fourth sessions of the Council also witnessed significant developments in the church's relationship with the modern world. The positive attitude emphasized by John XXIII had gained considerable momentum at the Council. Yet, many remained apprehensive about the modern world and its implicit, sometimes explicit, challenges to church

teachings and authority (Luis, 1964: 387). As the draft of "Schema XIII" (the document that later became *Gaudium et Spes*) was refined, questions related to the church's stance on religious freedom, ecumenism, and religious pluralism continued to provoke discussions among Council fathers (Luis, 1964: 387). By the end of the final session of the Council, several crucial documents were being edited and voted upon, including *Dignitatis Humanae* (Decree on Religious Liberty), *Nostra Aetate* (Declaration on the Relation of the Catholic Church to Non-Christian Religions), *Dei Verbum*, and *Gaudium et Spes* (Luis, 1964: 387).

The question of religious freedom had been simmering between the third and fourth sessions (November 1964 to September 1965), and this issue became increasingly intertwined with religious pluralism and the church's relationship with the modern world (Luis, 1964: 387). During the fourth session, debates on the documents concerning these issues concluded amid much controversy. Many Vatican II leaders viewed the acceptance of religious freedom and broad ecumenism as a repudiation of the Catholic Church's teaching (Luis, 1964: 387). Some self-proclaimed traditionalist Catholic, including many followers of French Bishop Marcel Lefebvre, separated from the Catholic Church, considering these changes as problematic at best and heretical at worst (Luis, 1964: 387). While not a majority at the Council, traditionalists made debates on religious freedom and ecumenism highly contentious. Additionally, the document on non-Christian religions remained controversial because it seemed to some Council fathers that the church's missionary obligation was being diluted (Luis, 1964: 387).

*Dei Verbum* also sparked considerable debate as it sought to comprehend revelation within the context of human history. This approach raised concerns among conservative Council fathers who saw it as potentially leaning towards Modernism. Of particular importance in this document was its discussion of tradition and its development. The Catholic Church teaches that Sacred Tradition evolves over time in conjunction with Scripture (Luis, 1964: 387).

It was underscored that Scripture and tradition are not two distinct sources of revelation, as earlier drafts of the document had implied. Instead, divine revelation, definitively accomplished in Christ, unfolds in the course of human history through the convergence of apostolic preaching, the testimony of sacred Scripture, and the growing understanding of the faithful. Such an interpretation

of revelation is closely linked with a hierarchical, communal, and historical understanding of the Catholic Church (Luis, 1964: 387). This marked a significant departure from the prevailing approach to revelation entrenched during the First Vatican Council and in theological manuals and textbooks throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Luis, 1964: 387).

The fourth session brought the Council to a close on December 8, 1965, providing relief to its participants. The Council's arduous work, extensive debates, bureaucratic challenges, and the inexperience of Council fathers in deliberative settings extended its duration beyond expectations. The conclusion of the Council shifted the debates from Rome to the world, where the laity would play a crucial role in implementing actual church updates and reforms (Luis, 1964: 387). Moving the debates from Rome to the world encapsulated a critical understanding, where one learns to consider not only what's immediately before them but to view it within a broader context, offering a more accurate perspective (Gadamer, 1985: 305). To critically understand Vatican II activities in the world, it is important to "comprehend it as the answer to the question," rather than as a weapon for rhetorical combat (O'Neill, 2007: 64)

### **3.3. Analyzing Vatican II Documents from Historical Hermeneutics and Theological Perspectives**

To delve into the examination of Vatican II documents, we must immerse ourselves in a fusion of our own perspectives with those presented in Catholic social doctrine texts. In this reciprocal exchange, viewpoints and biases undergo transformation as all participants in this process of "understanding" place themselves "at risk" in pursuit of a truth greater than the wisdom held by any single individual (Rudolf, 2005: 785). At a certain point, two horizons, those of Vatican II and our own, converge to create a continually evolving horizon, shaped as we re-evaluate our pre-conceptions about Vatican II and its encyclicals and the conciliar documents (Gadamer, 2013: 317). These two merging horizons, those of Vatican II and our own understanding (representing the historical context and the contemporary context), mutually influence one another, forming a single, larger horizon that extends beyond the initial set of questions and inquiries about Catholic social doctrine (Thiselton, 2007: 4).

Küng (2011: 104) explains that through the ecumenical council, the Catholic Church addressed various horizons, introducing significant adjustments to its theology, liturgy, and relationship with the contemporary world. Several documents produced as a result of the council have established horizons that have had a long-term impact on the church and its operations (Gadamer, 2013: 317)..

Cardinal Franz König believes that "the vital reception process, an integral component of each church council, takes several generations and is still in operation today" (O'Collins, 2020: 26). The reason for this lengthy process is that as researchers with horizons, we tend to merge the horizons of Catholic social doctrine texts with our own. This effectively becomes a reciprocal exchange, as perspectives and biases are transformed as we get involved in the "game of understanding," placing us "at risk" in the pursuit of a truth greater than the wisdom possessed by any single "researcher" (Rudolf, 2005: 785). Hence, the reception process has taken a long time, as well as the global collaborative effort of countless people and organizations, including bishops' conferences, federations of bishops' conferences, individual dioceses, parishes, schools, colleges, universities, religious institutions, and various other organizations such as publishing houses and scholarly journals. The behavior of the entire church has been critical in determining how the horizon of the Vatican II is accepted.

Having established our horizons and those of Vatican II, we can now begin to examine the Vatican II documents from a theological and historical perspective (O'Collins, 2020: 26). From a historical standpoint, as a horizon, the Vatican II documents reflected the conditions of the time in which they were written. In the mid-twentieth century, the world underwent significant social, cultural, and political transformations. The Catholic Church recognized the need to respond to these changes and enact reforms that would enable it to effectively address the contemporary world. Thus, the council's social documents embody the Catholic Church's response to contemporary historical and modern concerns (Küng, 2011: 104).

In terms of hermeneutical historical paradigm, the texts of Vatican II exhibited a more pastoral and inclusive tone compared to previous Catholic social doctrine. They displayed a willingness to engage with the world and convey the Catholic doctrines in a way that people from all backgrounds could understand. The use of inclusive language, the promotion of active involvement of the laity,

and openness to dialogue with diverse religious traditions are some of the characteristics of the texts (Küng, 2011: 104).

Through theological paradigmical investigation of the Vatican II's social documents, it emphasized several major themes and advancements in the Catholic Church's approach to theology. Some of the significant theological ideas that emerged from the council include:

- Scripture and Tradition: The council underscored the significance of Scripture and Tradition in the life of the church. It encouraged the study and interpretation of the Bible while acknowledging the importance of tradition in preserving the deposit of faith (Dulles, 1974: 35).
- Religious Freedom: The issue of religious freedom was a central theme in the Council's *Dignitatis Humanae* document. It affirmed the right of individuals and communities to religious freedom while condemning religious coercion or discrimination (DH 2-3).
- Dialogue and Ecumenism: Both within and outside the Christian community (*Unitatis Redintegratio* - Restoration of Unity). The texts emphasized the Catholic Church's willingness to engage in dialogue with other Christian churches and religions. They called on Catholic congregants to participate in ecumenical activities and to foster understanding and collaboration with members of other faiths (Pope John XXIII, 1962: 50).

Non-Catholics, however, expressed varying perspectives on Vatican II. In an essay for "The Guardian," they presented two contrasting Catholic views of Vatican II. One perspective considered Vatican II as a Council that significantly transformed Roman Catholicism, while another believed that the Council should not have convened at all (MacCulloch, 2014: 20). They further argued that despite the Catholic Church claims of adherence to the teaching of the Vatican II, it had not fully implemented them. Therefore, they contended that the Vatican needed to reassess the history of Vatican II (MacCulloch, 2014: 20).

Overall, the Vatican II documents represented a substantial advancement in the Catholic Church engagement with the modern world and its ability to adapt to changing circumstances while maintaining its doctrinal heritage (MM 50). These Vatican II's documents have left an enduring impact on the Catholic practices and have influenced its approach to various aspects of its mission. This discussion highlights the importance of examining the horizons of Vatican II and Catholic social doctrines in understanding the events of Vatican II.

The merging of these two horizons serves to continually shape the understanding of the subject matter, as they evolve and form a single, larger horizon that transcends the initial phase of questioning (Thiselton, 2007: 4). To grasp Vatican II and the social doctrine documents, we must appreciate the transition or flow from one horizon to the next. Present horizons are shaped with an awareness of past understanding. While these horizons exist independently in theory, they consistently merge. The conclusion is that the fusion of horizons represents an essential aspect of the understanding of the Catholic social teaching process, making it a dynamic and ongoing endeavor (Gadamer, 2013: 317). As the reader progresses in the understanding the Catholic social teaching process, the horizon advances with them (Gadamer, 2013: 317).

### **3.4. The Complex Reception and Contested Nature of Vatican II: An Exploration**

The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), was a pivotal moment in the history of the Catholic Church, because it ushered in significant doctrinal and pastoral changes. The Council aimed to address the role of the Catholic Church in the modern world, promote unity among Christians, and engage in a process of *aggiornamento*, or updating, within the Catholic Church. However, the reception of the Vatican II documents has been characterized by complexity and contestation, with diverse interpretations and reactions emerging among the Catholic faithful.

Catholic social teaching (CST) is a body of conciliar and papal documents that addresses the concerns of the Catholic Church in society. It provides guidance to Christians on how to reflect upon, evaluate, and take action on social issues in accordance with the social principles of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) (Lane, 2005: 22). In its modern form, CST is defined as "the corpus of social principles and moral teaching expressed in papal, conciliar, and other official texts produced since the late nineteenth century, dealing with economic, political, and social matters" (Ballano, 2021: 93).

Our discussion on the debates that transpired during the drafting of the Vatican II documents would be incomplete without acknowledging several other impactful texts that significantly shaped the social teaching and the interaction of the Catholic Church with the modern world. Notable among these are *Dignitatis Humanae*, *Pacem in Terris*, *Mater et Magistra*, *Sollicitudo\***C5**\* Rei Socialis*,

*Octogesima Adveniens*, and *Populorum Progressio*. A thorough exploration of each document's complexity, reception, contestation, and the debates surrounding them provides valuable insights into the intricate dynamics within the Catholic Church during and after Vatican II.

### **3.4.1. The Reception of Controversial Nature of *Mater et Magistra***

Philippe Denis (1992: 146) contends that "every church document, even if it aspires to universality, is inevitably influenced by its context." All writings and utterances, whether of a religious or secular nature, bear historical underpinnings, including papal encyclicals. In this section, we will explore the implications of *Mater et Magistra* reception contested nature, while applying a historical perspective and reinforcing our analysis with theological methods.

Pope John XXIII issued the encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (Mother and Teacher) on May 15, 1961 (Campion, 1962: 749-52). The document aimed to provide guidance on the social theology of the Catholic Church and its relevance in the contemporary world, responding to the evolving social, economic, and political landscape of that era (John XXIII, 1961: 10). In our examination, we will assess *Mater et Magistra* through the lens of historical hermeneutical consciousness embedded in theological prescriptions, and grounding our exploration in academic sources.

The historical consciousness context of *Mater et Magistra* can be traced back to the early 1960s, a period characterized by the Cold War, decolonization movements, and an increasing divide between industrialized and developing nations. When we talk about historical consciousness, we mean that *Mater et Magistra* is situated within a historical context, and this context is an essential part of our understanding. Attempting to remove this historical context leads to the exclusion of various aspects within the text, preventing us from reaching the truth, which, despite its elusiveness, remains attainable. Therefore, historical objectivism is akin to statistics in that the results obtained from statistical studies present the "facts" as they are, but this objectivity is contingent on the appropriateness of the questions posed (Gadamer, 1985: 312). In essence, historically influenced consciousness (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) is a fundamental element in the process of comprehending the text of *Mater et Magistra*. This hermeneutical situation involves the awareness of being influenced by history (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) (Gadamer, 1985: 312).

Hence, within this historical hermeneutical consciousness context, Gadamer employs Collingwood's concept, suggesting that the subject of a historian's inquiry cannot exist independently in its original context, as the investigator's horizon necessarily exists within a contemporary framework (Clark, 2004: 112). Pope John XXIII's *Mater et Magistra* tackled these challenges in the context of Vatican II by emphasizing the significance of social justice, solidarity, and the common good. The encyclical built upon earlier social encyclicals like *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), adapting their principles to the modern *milieu* (O'Malley, 2010: 10). According to Seow (2009: 562), Gadamer's use of the concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* prompts an exploration of how the *Mater et Magistra* text operates in practice. This inquiry is crucial for all interpreters because they cannot simply transplant themselves into the Vatican II worldview/horizon or the author's thoughts when striving to comprehend ancient works like *Mater et Magistra* objectively. Therefore, it is imperative to investigate the encyclical's process of transference, (reception and its contested nature) where the past and present are continually mediated (Seow, 2009: 562).

In our exploration of Catholic social teaching, we will employ Gadamer's concept of historical mapping. This study aims to delve into the realization of Catholic social teaching as a tradition and text. It will delve into the awareness that arises from the interpreter's encounters with the effects of the social teaching traditional text within a historical context influenced by the history of Vatican II (Seow, 2009: 562).

To comprehend the hermeneutical context of the text of Vatican II, it is crucial to establish the right horizon of inquiry based on the questions raised during the engagement with tradition (Gadamer, 1985: 313). In our case, this involves establishing the appropriate horizon of social teaching from which we approach *Mater et Magistra* (which represents a specific horizon). It is essential to critically examine the "horizon" of social teaching because, in the realm of historical consciousness, horizons are significant when we refer to the idea that when we look at historical consciousness, we must view the past within its own context, rather than through current biases and standards. We must consider its unique horizon and historical context (Gadamer, 1985: 313). This kind of reflection is highly educational as it sets the stage for a deeper understanding of the *Mater et Magistra's* reception and its contested nature.

This process of comprehending the debates and reception of the Vatican II documents will lead to transformation, as it involves us being receptive to alternative perspectives and simultaneously distancing ourselves from our personal agendas. We will strive to see the Catholic Church's social documents from the perspective of "the other" (Thiselton, 2007: xvii).

In this study, traditional hypo-deductive research, a method commonly applied in theological research, is complemented by the interpretive paradigm inherent in advanced case study research (Galliers, 1992: 45; Myers, 1997: 90). Qualitative analysis in theological and historical studies is grounded in the following principles:

- a) It is imperative to study the subject within its natural context.
- b) It primarily centers on contemporary occurrences.
- c) It does not allow for the control or manipulation of subjects, as seen in the case of *Mater et Magistra* (Myers, 1997: 90).

The conceptual understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, in this instance, Catholic social teaching, is relatively limited and still developing. Hence, *Mater et Magistra* exhibits several experiential characteristics that set it apart from earlier encyclicals:

- With a Pastoral Approach, the encyclical adopted a compassionate and pastoral tone, aiming to engage not just theologians but the broader Catholic community. Pope John XXIII intended to ensure that the Catholic Church's teaching reached and resonated with the faithful, motivating them to actively engage in addressing social issues (Pope John XXIII, 1961: 23).
- Promoting Inclusivity, *Mater et Magistra* underscored the role of all individuals, not solely the clergy, in tackling social challenges. It advocated for cooperation among individuals, groups, and institutions, fostering a sense of shared responsibility for societal improvement (Schlag, 2011: 340).
- In the Context of the Global Perspective, in response to the post-World War II global situation, *Mater et Magistra* stressed the interdependence of nations and the necessity for international solidarity. It acknowledged the significance of a just economic system that advanced the well-being of all people, particularly those in developing countries (Schlag, 2011: 340-362).

As a result, it is critical that we locate *Mater et Magistra* within a paradigmatic framework, as this forces us to consider the broader epistemological and philosophical implications of *Mater et Magistra's* change from earlier perspectives (Perren and Ram, 2004: 95). Furthermore, each *Mater*

*et Magistra* paradigm has its own set of assumptions, strategies, methods, and constraints, as well as its own set of criteria for judging its impact on the modern world. As a result, we must choose the *Mater et Magistra* operational paradigm, comprehend its nature, and explain our decisions in understanding the document (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, and Delpont, 2011: 41).

In the theological examination of *Mater et Magistra*, the concept of the fusion of horizons becomes pertinent. Hans-Georg Gadamer (1985: 282) elucidates that the fusion of horizons alludes to the ever-changing or evolving nature of Catholic tradition as they transition from one generation to the next. Gadamer contends that this ongoing process of mediation within the traditions of social teaching persists through linguistic means, and it evolves over time (Gadamer, 1985: 282). In the context of our discussion and exploration of social teaching, these church social documents are rooted in language and text, making them susceptible to transformation based on how the researcher interacts with the text (Gadamer, 1985: 282).

Several significant theological fusions of horizons are discernible within *Mater et Magistra*:

### **Human Dignity as a Horizon**

*Mater et Magistra* staunchly upheld the inherent dignity of every individual, accentuating the significance of acknowledging and safeguarding the rights and well-being of individuals and communities. It underscored the imperative of holistic human development, encompassing not only material progress but also spiritual and moral growth (MM 20).

### **Subsidiarity as a Horizon**

The encyclical reaffirmed the principle of subsidiarity, which advocated for decision-making at the most localized level of authority. It encouraged the active involvement of individuals, families, and local communities in shaping social and economic structures, while acknowledging the role of higher-level institutions in coordinating efforts and ensuring the common good (MM 15).

### **Solidarity as a Horizon**

*Mater et Magistra* stressed the interconnectedness and interdependence of all individuals. It called for solidarity among individuals, nations, and generations, fostering a sense of collective responsibility for justice, peace, and development (Schindler, 2009: 589).

### 3.4.1.1. The Uptake and Influence of *Mater et Magistra*

With its foundations firmly rooted in *Mater et Magistra*, the encyclical undeniably exerted a significant influence on the discussions and deliberations of the council fathers. Although generally well-received, the document encountered debates regarding the practicality of its proposed solutions and the appropriate role of the Catholic Church in economic matters. While *Mater et Magistra* built upon earlier social encyclicals, it also introduced novel elements in response to the evolving global landscape. Thus, in terms of reception, contested nature, and impact, *Mater et Magistra* evoked mixed responses among the council fathers. While some bishops praised the encyclical's strong emphasis on social justice and solidarity, others expressed reservations about the potential implications of the Catholic social teaching on the evolving relationship with the modern world (MM 10).

Discussions centering on *Mater et Magistra* focused on the involvement of the Catholic Church in economic affairs and the inherent tension between principles of social justice and individual responsibility. Critics raised concerns about the feasibility of certain proposed solutions, while advocates viewed the document as a compelling call to action for Catholic members to actively address social issues (Faggioli, 2012: 10). Works like "*Mater et Magistra: Encyclical Letter on Christianity and Social Progress*" by Pope John XXIII offer crucial insights, providing essential context for comprehending these debates (O'Malley, 2010: 19).

Moreover, the debates on the Catholic social doctrine, which *Mater et Magistra* addressed during Vatican II, were an integral part of the broader discourse on the role of the Catholic Church in society. These discussions revolved around various key issues, including the Catholic Church's engagement with contemporary social concerns, its interactions with political structures, and the promotion of social justice and human rights (MM 20).

From these discussions and debates at Vatican II, the pastoral constitution known as "*Gaudium et Spes*" (The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World) emerged. This document, encompassing the church's teachings on a wide range of social, cultural, and political issues, can be viewed as an expansion and further development of the themes presented in *Mater et Magistra*

(Paul VI, 1965: 76). The reception of *Gaudium et Spes* spurred extensive debates on the stance of the Catholic Church toward the modern world, with some embracing a more proactive role in addressing societal challenges, while others expressed reservations about potential compromises with secular ideologies (Schultheis, de Berri, and Henriot, 1988; Grace, 2013).

### **3.4.1.2. Merits and Drawbacks of *Mater et Magistra***

This *Mater et Magistra* delved into the role of the Catholic Church in confronting social and economic challenges, particularly in light of the evolving global landscape. Here, we outline the merits and drawbacks of *Mater et Magistra*:

#### **Merits of *Mater et Magistra***

**Advancing Catholic Social Teaching:** *Mater et Magistra* significantly contributed to the development and reinforcement of Catholic social teaching. The encyclical accentuated the Catholic Church commitment to addressing social concerns, especially in the realms of labor, development, and the growing economic disparity between the affluent and underprivileged (MM 8).

**Integral Human Development:** Another highlight of *Mater et Magistra* was its emphasis on integral human development. The encyclical underscored the importance of comprehensive human flourishing, spanning the spiritual, moral, social, and economic facets of life. It contended that authentic development should prioritize the dignity and welfare of individuals and communities, striving to establish a just and equitable society (MM 7).

**Global Solidarity:** The document stressed the significance of global solidarity and cooperation in tackling social and economic challenges. It called for international collaboration and mutual support among nations, underscoring the interconnectedness of the world and the shared responsibility required to promote the common good (MM 10).

**Labor Rights and Just Wages:** *Mater et Magistra* spotlighted workers' rights and dignity. It advocated for fair wages, reasonable working hours, and the protection of laborers' rights to form unions and engage in collective bargaining. The encyclical affirmed the Church's endorsement of the principle of a just wage that caters to the needs of workers and their families (MM 10).

### **Drawbacks of *Mater et Magistra***

**Limited Scope:** Some critics contended that *Mater et Magistra* had a narrow scope and failed to adequately address certain social and economic issues of the era. They argued that the encyclical primarily focused on the relationship between developed and developing nations while overlooking other pressing concerns within societies, such as racial inequality or the role of women (Schindler, 2009: 590).

**Lack of Specific Policy Recommendations:** The document lacked specific policy recommendations. While it provided general principles and guidelines, *Mater et Magistra* did not offer precise policy recommendations for addressing social and economic issues. Critics argued that this limitation hindered the practical impact of the encyclical and left room for interpretation, making it challenging to translate its teachings into concrete actions (Schlag, 2011: 340-362).

**Perceived Conservatism:** Some critics saw *Mater et Magistra* as taking a somewhat conservative and cautious stance, particularly in its approach to economic systems. They contended that the encyclical did not sufficiently challenge prevailing capitalist systems or propose radical alternatives, which they believed were necessary to address systemic injustices (Schlag, 2011: 363).

**Challenges in Influence and Implementation:** While *Mater et Magistra* had a significant impact within the Catholic Church, critics argued that its influence on governments, policymakers, and society at large was limited. Implementing the encyclical's principles and recommendations posed challenges, as they often conflicted with prevailing political ideologies and interests (Schindler, 2009: 590).

### **3.4.2. *Pacem in Terris* an innovative and groundbreaking document**

When delving into *Pacem in Terris*, it's essential to consider the appropriate paradigmatic context, a hermeneutical situation that involves adopting the right perspective for exploring the questions that arise from encountering tradition (Gadamer, 1985: 313). This hermeneutical situation demands the acquisition of the suitable framework from Catholic social teaching to interpret the content within the *Pacem in Terris* text, which represents another distinct perspective. Therefore,

it becomes critical to meticulously assess the "horizon" within the text of *Pacem in Terris*. In the domain of hermeneutical situation, the concept of horizons is particularly emphasized, signifying that when investigating historical consciousness, one must perceive the past within its original context, avoiding the imposition of current biases and criteria (Gadamer, 1985: 313). As we commence our examination of *Pacem in Terris*, it is essential to define and evaluate it while taking into account the hermeneutical situation that shapes our understanding of the text.

*Pacem in Terris*, which translates to "Peace on Earth," is an encyclical issued by Pope John XXIII on April 11, 1963, during the Second Vatican Council (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 129). This seminal document tackled a wide array of topics related to peace, human rights, and social justice, establishing itself as one of the most influential papal encyclicals in modern history. Its significance is not only rooted in its content but also in the backdrop of the Second Vatican Council, which aimed to rejuvenate and modernize the Catholic Church (PT 1-3). To comprehend the history of Vatican II and the papal documents, it is imperative to grasp the appropriate historical perspective. This approach ensures that what is being understood and identified within the text of *Pacem in Terris* is seen in its genuine context, avoiding the distortion of the hermeneutical situation (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

*Pacem in Terris* stood out in several distinctive ways. Most notably, it marked a historic precedent as the first encyclical in history not exclusively intended for Catholic but addressed to all people of goodwill, irrespective of their religious affiliations. This inclusivity marked a significant departure towards fostering interfaith dialogue and acknowledging the shared responsibility for the pursuit of peace. The social document emerged at a critical juncture in history, during the height of the Cold War, a period characterized by a world divided into two opposing blocs, the Capitalist West and the Communist East. It tackled the urgent need for global peace and the looming threat of nuclear conflict, a pervasive concern during that era (PT 9). *Pacem in Terris* approach to global peace, ensures that what is being understood and identified within the text of *Pacem in Terris* is seen in its genuine context, avoiding the distortion of the hermeneutical situation (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

The social document drew heavily from the foundations of natural law and human rights horizons. It underscored the inherent dignity and rights that every human being possesses, rights that demand recognition and protection from both individuals and governments (PT 9). It accentuated the value of personal freedom, equality, and solidarity among all individuals, there are precepts that are embedded within the hermeneutical situation. Pope John XXIII explicitly affirmed essential rights, such as the right to life, religious freedom, the right to form associations, and the right to engage in public affairs. These principles were perceived as a call to foster a more equitable and just societal framework, both within and among nations (PT 11).

*Pacem in Terris* also engaged with the role of the state and the necessity for political authority to serve the common good. It acknowledged the legitimate authority of governments while underscoring the significance of accountability, transparency, and participatory decision-making processes (PT 26). The document advocated that political power should be wielded in a manner that respects and advances human dignity and social justice. This emphasis on the function of political authority was interpreted as a plea for responsible governance and the establishment of equitable social and economic systems (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 135).

Furthermore, *Pacem in Terris* delved into the value of dialogue and peaceful coexistence among nations. It called upon states to resolve conflicts through peaceful avenues, such as diplomacy and negotiation, rather than resorting to violence (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 135). O'Brien and Shannon further observed that the encyclical advocated for the formation of international organizations and mechanisms to promote peace and collaboration among nations. It upheld the principles of international law, the respect for national sovereignty, and the pursuit of disarmament. These concepts laid the groundwork for subsequent initiatives, including the establishment of the United Nations and endeavors related to arms control and nuclear non-proliferation (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 135).

*Pacem in Terris* wielded significant influence during the proceedings of the Second Vatican Council. *Pacem in Terris* provided a robust moral and intellectual framework that underpinned the Vatican II exploration of critical themes like social justice, human rights, and the church's interaction with the contemporary world. Its guiding principles left an indelible mark on the

discussion of the Vatican II, particularly concerning matters such as religious freedom, the church's engagement with political authorities, and the role of the Catholic Church in advocating for peace and justice. Furthermore, *Pacem in Terris* served as a wellspring of inspiration for many of the Vatican II subsequent documents, with one prominent example being the 'Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World' (*Gaudium et Spes*) (PT 27).

*Pacem in Terris*, against the backdrop of a pivotal moment in history, emerged as a seminal document addressing the pressing concerns of peace, human rights, and social justice. Its all-encompassing approach, unwavering focus on human dignity and rights, and passionate calls for responsible governance and harmonious coexistence retain their resonance to this day. This document left an enduring imprint on the proceedings of the Second Vatican Council and continues to wield considerable influence within the Catholic Church (PT 11).

Based on an interpretive standpoint, *Pacem in Terris* is firmly grounded in the realm of ontology. This is because the document advocates the pursuit of objective truth when addressing the social world, a truth that is not only achievable but also relevant within the social context (Leitch, Hill, and Harrison, 2010: 55). Therefore, when we approach *Pacem in Terris* from an epistemological perspective within the interpretive paradigm, we come to recognize that as human actors, our collective construction of reality is paramount (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 34). Instead of adopting the standpoint of an objective observer, we seek to explain the phenomena presented in the Catholic social document from the participants' frame of reference. This approach prioritizes a subjective viewpoint, allowing us to better comprehend *Pacem in Terris* and the world it emerged in, as well as the change it aimed to effect. Therefore, at an axiological level, applying the interpretive paradigm to engage with *Pacem in Terris* emphasizes the value of relevance over rigor.

#### **3.4.2.1. *Pacem in Terris*: Key Issues and Challenges Raised during Vatican II**

During the discussion of *Pacem in Terris* at the Second Vatican Council, several key issues and challenges were raised. These included:

## **The threat of nuclear war**

*Pacem in Terris* was published during the height of the Cold War, a period marked by intense tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The encyclical addressed the urgent need to prevent nuclear conflict and emphasized on the importance of disarmament and peaceful coexistence between nations (PT 26).

## **Human rights and social justice**

The document stressed the inherent dignity and rights of every human being. It called for the recognition and protection of fundamental human rights, including the right to life, religious freedom, the right to form associations, and the right to participate in public affairs. These principles raised discussions about the church's role in promoting social justice and advocating for the rights of the marginalized and oppressed (Fuchs, 2015: 3).

## **The role of political authority**

*Pacem in Terris* discussed the role of the state and political authority in serving the common good. It emphasized the need for governments to exercise their authority responsibly and to ensure transparency, accountability, and participation in decision-making processes. This raised questions and debates about the proper relationship between the religious and political authorities, as well as the role of Catholic social teaching in shaping governance and public policy (PT 46).

## **International relations and diplomacy**

The encyclical called for peaceful resolution of conflicts between nations through dialogue, negotiation, and diplomacy. It emphasized the importance of international cooperation, respect for sovereignty, and the establishment of international organizations to promote peace. Discussions centered on the role of the Catholic Church in fostering dialogue between nations and its support for initiatives such as the United Nations (PT 11).

The engagement of the Catholic Church with the modern world: *Pacem in Terris* reflected a shift in the approach of the Catholic Church to engaging with the modern world. The *Pacem in Terris* acknowledged the realities of the contemporary world and sought to address the challenges and

issues of the time. It called for the Catholic Church to actively participate in the promotion of peace, justice, and human rights, and to engage in dialogue with people of other faiths and those of no religious affiliation. This raised discussions about the relevance of the Catholic Church in the modern era and the need for *aggiornamento* (updating) in its teachings and practices (PT 45).

Overall, the discussions surrounding *Pacem in Terris* during the Second Vatican Council were focused on addressing the pressing issues of peace, human rights, and social justice. The document's principles provided a moral framework for the Council's deliberations and influenced subsequent documents that emerged from the proceeding of Vatican II.

#### **3.4.2.2. Controversial Nature of *Pacem in Terris***

While *Pacem in Terris* garnered widespread acclaim and wielded considerable influence, it was not without its contentious elements, stemming primarily from varying interpretations and responses to specific doctrines and implications outlined within the document. Several controversial areas can be identified:

##### **The Use of Force**

*Pacem in Terris* advocated for peaceful conflict resolution and disarmament while acknowledging the right of states to employ force in self-defense. This gave rise to debates and differing perspectives on the conditions and constraints governing the justifiable use of force, particularly in situations of aggression or human rights violations (PT 30).

##### **The Involvement of the Catholic Church in Political Affairs**

The encyclical underscored the church's role in advancing the common good and encouraging responsible governance. Nevertheless, some critics argued that the document was overly explicit in its recommendations for political action, contending that the purview of the Catholic Church should be limited to providing moral guidance while leaving specific policy recommendations to political authorities and experts (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 130).

## **Religious Freedom and Interfaith Relations**

*Pacem in Terris* affirmed the right to religious freedom and called for interfaith dialogue. Nevertheless, certain traditionalist factions within the Catholic Church expressed concerns that the document appeared to diminish the uniqueness and superiority of Catholicism. This led to debates surrounding the approach of the Catholic Church to ecumenism and its relationship with non-Catholic religions (Fuchs, 2015: 5).

## **Economic and Social Structures**

The encyclical addressed the importance of social justice and critiqued economic systems that perpetuated inequality and injustice. Some critics, particularly those with more conservative economic perspectives, disagreed with the encyclical's criticism of certain capitalist practices, asserting that it exhibited leanings toward socialist or collectivist ideologies (Fuchs, 2015: 5).

## **Emphasis on Human Rights and Natural Law**

*Pacem in Terris* drew heavily on the principles of natural law and human rights, which were considered relatively new concepts within the Catholic social teaching. Debates arose regarding the extent to which these principles should be stressed and integrated into Catholic moral and social doctrine (PT 18).

It is essential to recognize that while controversies surrounded specific facets of the encyclical, *Pacem in Terris* retained its significance as a pivotal document in the evolution of Catholic social teaching. It left a lasting impact on subsequent Catholic Church teaching\***C2**\* and initiatives pertaining to peace, justice, and human rights.

### **3.4.2.3. Significant Impact of *Pacem in Terris***

As an encyclical, *Pacem in Terris* was not a subject of debate but rather a document issued by the pope to convey his thoughts and teachings. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that this encyclical had a profound impact and gave rise to extensive discussion and analysis among theologians, scholars,

and political leaders of the time. Numerous individuals from diverse backgrounds offered their insights into the content of the encyclical and its implications for global peace and justice. Some prominent figures who engaged with *Pacem in Terris* include:

- Pope John XXIII: As the author of the encyclical, Pope John XXIII articulated his perspectives on peace, human rights, and the responsibilities of individuals, nations, and international organizations in advancing justice and cooperation (PT 10).
- Catholic Theologians and Scholars: Many theologians and scholars within the Catholic Church contemplated *Pacem in Terris* and its significance for the Catholic social teaching. They delved into themes such as the inherent dignity of the human person, the role of the state, and the pursuit of peace in the context of the encyclical (PT 11).
- Political Leaders: Various political leaders, both Catholic and non-Catholic, examined the ideas presented in the encyclical and applied them to the political landscapes of their respective nations. They explored the role of governments in promoting peace, human rights, and international collaboration (PT 10).
- Interfaith Leaders: *Pacem in Terris* also ignited interfaith discussions and dialogues, as leaders from diverse religious traditions explored the common principles and values related to peace and justice expounded in the encyclical (PT 44).

In essence, *Pacem in Terris* facilitated a broad-ranging conversation among theologians, scholars, and leaders from various backgrounds. It shaped subsequent discussions on peace, justice, and the responsibilities of individuals and nations in the pursuit of a more harmonious world.

### **3.4.3. The Declaration of Religious Liberty, *Dignitatis Humanae***

The examination of *Dignitatis Humanae* is guided by Bieringer's normativity of the future as the conceptual framework. This choice is rooted in the understanding that texts function in three distinct realms: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text (Bieringer, 2010: 14). Article 1 of *Dignitatis Humanae* serves as a starting point for our analysis, allowing us to explore the document through these three distinct realms. This study clearly articulates the declaration's purpose, stating that while individuals seek religious freedom to fulfill their duty of worshipping God without coercion in civil society, it does not contradict the traditional Catholic doctrine regarding the moral obligations of individuals and societies towards the true religion and the Church of Christ (DH 1).

It is worth noting that *Dignitatis Humanae* does not extensively delve into theoretical aspects related to the establishment of religion, especially from a Zambian standpoint. Instead, its primary

focus is on civil liberties, which are essential for safeguarding and enabling humanity's duty to worship God (Hittenger, 2008: 365).

Undoubtedly, the discussion of religious liberty does have implications for the establishment of religion. One such implication is briefly mentioned in *Dignitatis Humanae*, Article 6. In cases where one religion is granted "special civil recognition," the rights of other citizens and religious communities should be "acknowledged and respected" (DH 6). Considering the long history of the church and state forming a kind of collective entity, along with various historical instances of state-established religions, it seems improbable that the official acknowledgment of this history would be limited to the disclaimer in Article 1 about what the Council does not interfere with, and the concise statement, and in Article 6 regarding the state's obligation to respect the rights of minority groups in situations where the church holds a privileged position in the constitution or through a concordat, a treaty between the state and the Holy See (Hittenger, 2008: 365).

The accurate response is that *Dignitatis Humanae* does not engage in such an evaluation. For Vatican II, the primary concern was to address the issue of religious civil liberties for individuals, communities, and the church itself. Besides the inherent challenges in formulating and resolving every issue faced by the drafters of *Dignitatis Humanae*, there are other reasons why they chose to emphasize religious liberty/freedom rather than the establishment or disestablishment of religion (Hittenger, 2008: 365).

Firstly, the declaration on religious liberty or freedom aimed to address the pressing challenges confronting the church, such as how to encourage secular governments to respect religious freedom and how to leverage the Catholic Church and other denominational moral and spiritual influence to support limited constitutional governance in the aftermath of the world wars (DH 2). Secondly, it may surprise many scholars, but the Catholic Church did not, and still does not, consider disestablishment as a principle superior to the free exercise of religion (Hittenger, 2008: 365). Lastly, both Vatican II and John Paul II emphasized the necessity for a theology of social liberty, particularly concerning the laity and the sanctification of culture. *Gaudium et Spes*, Article 43, encourages the laity "to imprint the divine law on the affairs of the earthly city" (*lex divina in civitatis terrena vita inscribatur*) (GS 19).

Likewise, in Article 7 of the Decree on the Laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, it is emphasized that "the entire religious institutions has a collective responsibility to actively engage in facilitating individuals' efforts to correct distortions in the secular world and steer it towards God through Christ" (AA 7). This perspective underscores the notion that texts extend beyond their authors and their original contexts. Instead, they have the potential to resonate with individuals irrespective of when and where they are encountered. As Bieringer (2010: 11) aptly expresses, "Texts are not confined to their creators and the specific historical settings in which they initially emerged; they possess a universal quality that transcends time and space."

The Catechism of the Catholic Church states that Christians have a social responsibility to both respect and kindle in each individual a love for what is true and good. This duty also entails making known the worship of the one true religion, which is found in the Catholic and Apostolic Church. In doing so, the church demonstrates the sovereignty of Christ over all of creation, particularly within human societies (Catechism of the Catholic Church, no. 2105).

From a certain perspective, this theological contemplation has only just commenced. It becomes apparent why, in 1965, it would have been premature to compel *Dignitatis Humanae* to tackle the complex issue of harmonizing religious liberty with the confession of religious truths within civil society, especially in a contemporary context where democratic institutions prevail, the civil liberties of all are duly respected, and the process of Christianization or re-Christianization has advanced to the point where the essence of the Gospel has become fully integrated into public life (Catechism of the Catholic Church, no. 2105).

*Dignitatis Humanae* does not rule out the possibility of addressing this issue, but at the same time, it does not explicitly address it as an immediate concern. Just as *Dignitatis Humanae* does not revisit all the historical challenges, it refrains from projecting its teachings into the distant future as mere speculation. Instead, *Dignitatis Humanae* proclaims: (1) that the Catholic Church and other denominations should have the freedom to carry out its mission, including the duty of the laity to sanctify culture, (2) that everyone has the duty and the corresponding right to freely fulfill their obligation to worship God, and (3) that this right should find expression within constitutional frameworks (DH 2-3).

This analysis highlights that *Dignitatis Humanae* is part of a broader tradition that resonates with contemporary concerns. The true meaning of the text is not confined to the author's context or audience; it's also shaped by the historical situation of the interpreter and the broader course of history (Gadamer, 1985: 296).

#### **3.4.3.1. Rejection of the Idea of Liberal Neutrality**

The initial segment of *Dignitatis Humanae* (sections 2–8), titled "*Libertas Religiosae Ratio Generalis*," deals with religious freedom in the context of the fundamental principle of human dignity. The concept of human dignity is developed within the framework of natural law (DH 9). In elucidating this general principle, the Ecumenical Council needed to distinguish its stance from what we have termed the liberal model. The liberal model can yield a form of negative liberty within the civil order, whether in the context of natural law or the liberal paradigm (DH 8).

To provide context for our discussion, we need to frame our arguments within three distinct realms, which lead us to the understanding that "Texts do not exclusively belong to their authors and the situations into which they originally spoke; instead, they transcend their initial context and can have relevance for anyone, regardless of time and place" (Bieringer, 2010: 11). *Dignitatis Humanae* has indeed transcended its original historical context and now holds significance for contemporary scholars. Thus, it is appropriate to assert that individuals possess inherent, self-expressive autonomy as a natural right, free from any preexisting obligations. This *liberal dignitarian* perspective is particularly evident in areas related to privacy and the exercise of freedom (Hittenger, 2008: 365).

However, *Dignitatis Humanae*, in Article 2, asserts that "the right to religious freedom is grounded not in the subjective disposition of the individual but in their very nature" (DH 2). This concept of "nature" is not derived solely from superficial considerations and is not devoid of theological or religious influences. Additionally, it can be argued that government should refrain from making judgments on religious matters, as exemplified by James Madison's position in his "Memorial and Remonstrance," where he asserted that "Religion is entirely beyond the reach of government's authority" (Madison, 1995: 60)

However, *Dignitatis Humanae*, in Articles 5–6, maintains that the government has a responsibility to support the free exercise of religion (DH 5). Article 3 of *Dignitatis Humanae* states that humanity has been designed to participate in divine governance (DH 3). The Eternal Law gently disposes humanity to fulfill their duty to seek and adhere to the truth. This reference to Wisdom 8:1 has a longstanding tradition in Catholic theology and was one of Saint Thomas's favored biblical texts for illustrating divine governance (DH 6).

In more recent times, popes have cited this passage to admonish governments to heed the divine example (for example, in "*Mit brennender Sorge*" and "*Summi pontificatus*"). Before the state imposes its laws and sanctions, individuals are already moved by God, through the causality of their own nature, to seek and adhere to religious truth. Religious obligation is a principle that precedes human custom and positive law (DH 7). Hence, *Dignitatis Humanae* does not propose a purely anthropocentric doctrine of conscience, but rather, it states that "It is through the conscience that humanity perceives and acknowledges the demands of the divine" (DH 7).

Hence, the concept of religious liberty<sup>41</sup> is rooted in more than just a simple freedom of choice. Conscience serves as the intermediary in a dialogue between humanity and God. *Dignitatis Humanae*, in Article 3, draws upon Saint Thomas's discussion of divine authority over the inner processes of human judgment and conscience. Additionally, in Article 2, it firmly asserts that "actions of this nature cannot be dictated or prohibited by any purely human authority" (DH 2). Coercion of one's conscience is therefore a violation of both human dignity and divine authority (DH 3): "To deny people their freedom to practice their religion within society, while maintaining the rightful demands of public order, is to commit an injustice against the human individual and the very order established by God for humanity" (DH 3).

Therefore, *Dignitatis Humanae* proceeds to state that limitations on religious liberty, concerning outward actions, must be based on that same established order (DH 3). The passage we just mentioned includes the phrase "while maintaining the rightful demands of public order" (DH 3)

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<sup>41</sup> Religious liberty, often known as religious freedom, is the notion that people have the right to hold, practice, and express their religious views without interference or pressure from the government, other people, or institutions. It involves the right to worship, participate in religious ceremonies, and freely express one's faith. Religious liberty is frequently seen as a fundamental human right and is safeguarded by numerous international declarations and national constitutions (United Nations General Assembly, 1976).

During the deliberations on various drafts of *Dignitatis Humanae*, Bishop Karol Wojtyla of Krakow played a pivotal role by proposing that Article 7 make it explicit that when the state imposes restrictions on liberty, it should do so "in conformity with the objective moral order" (DH 7).<sup>42</sup>

In Catholic terms, this conformity implies compliance with natural law. This qualification was necessary for two important reasons. Firstly, it highlights that external restrictions on freedom are not derived from principles that are entirely separate from those underpinning religious liberty itself. The common good and individual conscience are not rooted in distinct realms of moral truth. Secondly, this qualification was crucial in making it clear to communist states that "public order" cannot be used as a pretext for overriding fundamental moral principles (Ehler & Morall, 1954: 252).

Therefore, *Dignitatis Humanae* develops the concept of negative liberty in terms of the substantive duty of individuals to seek, embrace, and structure their lives in accordance with religious truth. Since this principle encompasses an obligation, it cannot be reduced to either individual liberty or governmental incompetence (Hittinger, 2008: 366).

When the government acknowledges the right to religious freedom, it is not merely recognizing an empty form of liberty. Furthermore, *Dignitatis Humanae* argues that due to the absence of human authority over the inner workings of conscience, the government must respect not only the individual's psychological aspect but also God's authority. Consequently, natural law establishes a standard for what constitutes an ultra vires act on the part of the government. Positively, government, whose primary aim is the promotion of the common good in the temporal realm, should acknowledge and support the religious practices of its citizens (Hittinger, 2008: 366).

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<sup>42</sup> However, critics argue that *Dignitatis Humanae* embraces a narrow, liberal interpretation of public order. To clarify the matter, it is essential to note that the Catechism of the Catholic Church, in paragraph 2109, affirms that "The right to religious liberty can neither be unlimited on its own nor restricted solely by a 'public order' understood in a positivist or naturalistic way. The 'due limits' inherent in it must be determined for each social context through political prudence, in line with the demands of the common good." In underlining its alignment with prior teachings, the Catechism references the statements of Pius VI in *Quod Aliquantum* (1791) and Pius IX in *Quanta Cura* (1864).

However, if the government attempts to control or limit religious activities, it can be deemed to have exceeded its rightful authority (DH 3).

Here is the main idea: Government should actively encourage religious practices but should not infringe upon them. Although *Dignitatis Humanae* does not attempt to create an exhaustive list of policies aligned with religious liberty, it explicitly mentions in Articles 5–6 the importance of enabling parents to provide religious education for their children (DH 5). Furthermore, *Dignitatis Humanae* prohibits government at all levels from providing support and promotion to religion, not limited to any particular denomination or religion but religion in general (DH 6).

However, it is essential to emphasize that *Dignitatis Humanae* does not endorse a philosophy of separation or neutrality. Another key point regarding the government's competence, as addressed in *Dignitatis Humanae* Article 3, relates to the second draft, known as the *Declaratio* prior. It stated that the "State is not qualified [*ineptam esse*] to make judgments of truth in religious matters" (DH 3). However, this sentence was discarded in the penultimate draft, and for good reasons (DH 3).

Firstly, it could have been interpreted as implying that the government lacks even the epistemic justification to recognize religion as a good, thereby undermining *Dignitatis Humanae*'s own argument. Secondly, it might have obscured the government's responsibilities in matters like marriage and abortion, which involve both religious and secular aspects. Lastly, it could have inadvertently favored the neutral and indifferent doctrines that *Dignitatis humanae* made great efforts to avoid. While *Dignitatis Humanae* does not provide a precise roadmap for the acceptable extent of government involvement in religious matters, it does not completely remove the government from the realm of religious truth (Hittinger, 2008: 367).

#### **3.4.3.2. Rejection of *Cuius Regio***

*Dignitatis Humanae* delves at length into a significant issue: the “freedom of the church.” The most crucial passage can be found in Article 13, which emphasizes the paramount importance of the church's freedom. It states that among all the things necessary for the church's well-being and society's welfare on Earth, safeguarding and defending the Catholic Church and other denominations' freedom of action is paramount. This freedom is deemed sacred, bestowed upon

the church by the only begotten Son of God and purchased with His blood. It is so integral to the church that opposing it is akin to opposing the will of God. The freedom of the religious denominations serves as the foundational principle governing the relationship between the religion and public authorities and the entire civil order (DH 13).

In human society and in the face of governmental authority, the church asserts its freedom both as a spiritual authority established by Christ and entrusted with the divine mandate to spread the Gospel worldwide and as a society of individuals entitled to live in accordance with Christian principles. Ecclesiastical authorities have consistently advocated for this independence in society. Simultaneously, Christian faithful, like all other individuals, possess the civil right to live their lives according to their consciences without interference (Hittinger, 2008: 368).

There is a harmonious relationship between the church's freedom and the religious freedom that should be recognized as the right of all individuals and communities, sanctioned by constitutional law. While *Dignitatis Humanae* approaches other issues with caution, Article 13's language is unequivocal: "the most outstanding surely is that the church enjoy that freedom of action which her responsibility for the salvation of men requires" (DH 13). This freedom is labeled as "sacred" (*libertas sacra est*) because it originates from Christ. Therefore, the council asserts it as an undisputed "fundamental principle" (*principium fundamentale*) in the church's relationship with governments, one not subject to considerations of 'prudence,' whether introduced by the church or the state. It was essential to distinguish this fundamental principle from the general right of religious liberty based on human dignity. The Catholic Church's 'sacred liberty' emanates directly from divine mandate, not indirectly through secondary causes (Hittinger, 2008: 269). This is why *Dignitatis Humanae*, in Article 13, speaks of a concordance but not a conflation of these two aspects of freedom (DH 13).

Unlike the question of whether the state should manifest or exemplify the claims of the one true church, a question *Dignitatis Humanae* chose not to address, even historically, *Dignitatis Humanae* does address the opposite question (Ederer, 1981: 145). *Dignitatis Humanae* rejects the regalist doctrines that would subordinate the religious denominations to the state. This issue has been a persistent concern in modern church-state relations, primarily in Europe. Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, the Bishop of Mainz, whose thoughts on this matter influenced the

pontificates of Pius IX and Leo XIII, critically evaluated the *cuius regio* ideology (Ederer, 1981: 145). While acknowledging the merits of historical monarchies, Bishop von Ketteler argued that *cuius regio* amounted to nothing more than destructive idolatry (Ederer, 1981: 145).

What was of utmost importance was that the Catholic Church could maintain its distinctiveness within the context of the declaration on religious liberty (*Dignitatis Humanae*) without relegating itself to the level of any other private association. In simpler terms, evaluating religious liberty solely through the lens of the general principle (*ratio generalis*) would not accurately represent what the church sought for its own freedom (Ederer, 1981: 145).

To gain a comprehensive understanding, *Dignitatis Humanae*, Article 13, should be considered alongside the Vatican II decree on bishops, *Christus Dominus*, which was issued just five weeks before *Dignitatis Humanae*. In *Christus Dominus*, Article 20, it is stated, "since the apostolic office of bishops was instituted by Christ the Lord and is directed towards a spiritual and supernatural end, the sacred ecumenical council affirms that the competent ecclesiastical authority possesses the proper, special, and inherent right to appoint and consecrate bishops" (CD 20). The final confirmation came in the 1983 *Codex iuris canonici*, which explicitly declared that "No rights or privileges of election, appointment, presentation, or designation of bishops are granted to civil authorities" (Code of Canon Law, 1983, Canon 377, no. 5).

Critics of *Dignitatis Humanae* have raised concerns that Article 13, despite its alignment with the teachings of Pope Leo XIII, deviates from the traditional stance of the Catholic Church. While *Dignitatis Humanae* clearly emphasizes the duty of the state not to subsume the church or consider it merely one private entity among others, Article 13 does not explicitly discuss the state's ideal obligation to acknowledge the true religion (DH 13). Archbishop Lefebvre, for instance, voiced his objection, contending that the line "*Libertas Ecclesiae est principium fundamentale*" was incomplete because the issue extended beyond the state's duty to the church to also encompass its responsibility to "recognize the social sovereignty of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (DH 13), was not suggesting that the church's liberty consists only of a negative freedom, which is to be discussed (*ad extra*) only in procedural terms. Paul VI does not ask the states to establish or even to privilege Catholicism; rather, he asks them to respect its sanctifying mission and power in society (Paul VI, homily, Dec. 7, 1965).

In this case, Murray's perspective was mistaken on several fronts. Firstly, Murray, who typically advocated for narrow and focused interpretations of the matters at-hand, attempted to use *Dignitatis Humanae* (after the promulgation) to address an issue explicitly outside its scope. Secondly, a doctrinal reading of "nothing more" cannot be substantiated by *Dignitatis Humanae*. The document not only calls upon the state to preserve liberty within the framework of a "just ... public order" but also urges temporal authorities to recognize that, according to the church's own understanding, its liberty is rooted in a divine mandate (Murray, 1993: 580). Recall the opening words of *Dignitatis Humanae*, Article 13: "Among those things which pertain to the good of the church and indeed to the good of society here on earth, ... the most outstanding surely is that the church enjoys the freedom of action" (DH 13).

Indeed, *Dignitatis Humanae* insists that the church's liberty is primarily derived from Christ (hence, the *principium fundamentale*) and also from its character as a society of individuals. However, after the Council, Murray expressed a different viewpoint, stating, "This unique theological title, however, cannot be urged in political society and against government. The mandate of Christ to the Church is formally a truth of the transcendent order in which the authority of the Catholic Church is exercised and her life as a community is lived. Therefore it is not subject, or even accessible, to judgment by secular powers as regards its truth or falsity" (Murray, 1993: 580). Yet, in our opinion, this contradicts the positions presented in *Dignitatis Humanae* and *Gaudium et spes*.

#### **3.4.4. Populorum Progressio**

*Populorum Progressio*, which means "The Development of Peoples" in Latin, is an encyclical penned by Pope Paul VI and officially released on March 26, 1967. This significant document occupies a prominent place in the annals of the Catholic Church due to its extensive coverage of social, economic, and political matters pertaining to development, poverty, and inequality. The encyclical incorporates historical hermeneutic and theological elements to provide a holistic perspective on the challenges confronting humanity and the Catholic Church's role in advancing social justice and human dignity (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 238).

The hermeneutical historical analysis of *Populorum Progressio* must be contextualized within the backdrop of the significant social transformations occurring during the 1960s. This period witnessed the emergence of decolonization movements, the intensifying Cold War, and a growing global awareness of inequality (PP 2). When we consider the context and immediacy of this era in contrast to more traditional texts, as discussed by Gadamer in 1985:310, it becomes evident that the document's origins were deeply intertwined with the historical events of the time.

Pope Paul VI, deeply concerned about the suffering and injustices experienced by people worldwide, felt a moral obligation to address these pressing issues. In this context, the encyclical called for a new approach to development that prioritized human beings and aimed to tackle the root causes of poverty and inequality (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 238). Therefore, when we endeavor to comprehend a historical phenomenon from a historical perspective, we inevitably become influenced by the historical context, as if we become a part of that history in the process of understanding. In essence, the historical context shapes our examination and dictates the focal point of our inquiry (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

When delving into the historical context that drove Pope Paul VI to compose *Populorum Progressio*, it is essential not to limit our understanding to immediate appearances but to recognize the broader reality. Focusing solely on the surface can hinder our grasp of the complete truth of a specific phenomenon (Gadamer, 2013: 311). The challenge here lies in extricating ourselves from a specific historical moment to gain a comprehensive understanding without compromising the significance of that particular juncture (Gadamer, 2013: 311).

The hermeneutical analysis of *Populorum Progressio* places significant importance on the real-life experiences of people and communities worldwide. In qualitative research, particularly interpretive paradigm, offers a valuable method for gaining a deep understanding of the factors that influenced this post-Vatican II document. It narrows the gap between the historical context in which the text originated and our ability to develop both practical and theoretical insights into *Populorum Progressio* (Bygrave, 1989: 42). This approach opens the door to generating new and alternative theories and concepts related to this historical Catholic Church encyclical (Bygrave, 1989: 42). The dominance of the positivist approach has adversely affected the relevance of post-

Vatican II texts in theological studies (Lee, 1999: 97). Therefore, as we engage with *Populorum Progressio*, it is crucial to adopt a critical perspective that allows us to look beyond the immediate and consider the document within a broader and more accurate framework (Gadamer, 1985: 305).

Built upon a strong hermeneutical foundation, it becomes evident that *Populorum Progressio* recognized development as a multifaceted endeavor encompassing not only economic aspects but also spiritual, cultural, and social dimensions (PP 12). This recognition stemmed from the document's acknowledgment of the inherent worth and dignity of every individual, along with its emphasis on the well-being of all, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized (PP 8). The document emphasized the importance of fair resource distribution, access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, as well as the protection of human rights (PP 9). Understanding the issues raised and addressed in *Populorum Progressio* is not about wielding rhetorical weapons, but rather about personal horizons merging with the horizons presented in the document and other relevant discussions (O'Neill, 2007: 64). By focusing on the hermeneutical historical dimensions of development, the *Populorum Progressio* challenges oversimplified and reductionist approaches that prioritize economic growth over human flourishing (O'Neill, 2007: 64).

From a theological paradigm, *Populorum Progressio* draws from the rich tradition of Catholic social teaching, rooted in Biblical principles and the teachings of Jesus Christ (PP 3). The document underscores the Gospel's message of love, justice, and solidarity, connecting it to the imperative of advancing social and economic development (PP 10). It affirms that development is not solely material progress; it's also a spiritual and moral journey involving the transformation of hearts and minds (PP 10). The concept of integral human development, encompassing the entirety of a person's well-being, including their spiritual, intellectual, and social dimensions, forms a cohesive horizon that emerges as we scrutinize our biases (Gadamer, 2013: 317). Moreover, the horizons of love, justice, and solidarity embedded in our understanding of the *Populorum Progressio*, both in the past and present contexts, interact and evolve to shape a broader horizon that transcends initial questions and inquiries (Thiselton, 2007: 4).

Within *Populorum Progressio*, Pope Paul VI references various theological sources to bolster his arguments. Notably, he draws upon the Second Vatican Council's document, *Gaudium et Spes*,

which explores the Catholic Church's role in the contemporary world (PP 15). Furthermore, the *Populorum Progressio* also harkens back to earlier papal encyclicals like *Rerum Novarum* and *Mater et Magistra*, which were centered on social justice and workers' rights (PP 16). In addition to these references, the post-Vatican II text invokes various passages from Scripture, such as the Parable of the Good Samaritan and the teachings of Jesus emphasizing love and compassion for the impoverished and marginalized (PP 15).

Moreover, *Populorum Progressio* engages with the broader theological tradition, incorporating concepts like the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. It underscores the significance of a just social order that fosters the common good, necessitating the participation of all members of society (PP 20). It also emphasizes subsidiarity, the principle dictating that decisions should be made at the most local level possible, ensuring that individuals and communities have a voice in shaping their own development. Lastly (PP 20), the *Populorum Progressio* calls for solidarity among nations, recognizing that poverty and inequality issues are of global nature, demanding collective action and cooperation (PP 20). *Populorum Progressio* stands as a significant document in the annals of the Catholic Church, addressing pivotal social, economic, and political issues, while drawing from historical and theological sources.

#### **3.4.4.1. *Populorum Progressio*'s Debate and Criticism**

*Populorum Progressio* ignited a significant debate, garnering both support and criticism from a range of individuals and groups. Here, we examine the perspectives of some notable figures:

**Pope Paul VI:** As the author of *Populorum Progressio*, Pope Paul VI staunchly advocated for a holistic development approach that prioritized human dignity, social justice, and solidarity. He firmly believed that addressing poverty and inequality necessitated structural changes and called for a global commitment to advancing the common good and the well-being of all people (PP 8).

**Gustavo Gutiérrez:** A Peruvian theologian often associated with the development of liberation theology, Gustavo Gutiérrez welcomed *Populorum Progressio* and regarded it as an affirmation of the concerns raised by liberation theologians. He appreciated the focus of *Populorum*

*Progressio* on addressing systemic injustice and empowering the marginalized but pressed for a more radical and transformative approach to social change (O'Collins, 2020: 26).

Milton Friedman: An influential economist and advocate of free-market capitalism, Milton Friedman criticized *Populorum Progressio* for its emphasis on government intervention in the economy. He argued that economic growth and development were best achieved through the unrestricted operation of free markets. Friedman believed that the proposed solutions in the encyclical would curtail economic freedom and impede prosperity (O'Collins, 2020: 26).

Friedrich Hayek, a prominent economist and proponent of classical liberalism, shared Milton Friedman's skepticism regarding government intervention. He argued that the emphasis of *Populorum Progressio* on wealth and resource redistribution would undermine economic efficiency and individual freedom. Hayek firmly believed that a market-driven approach was more effective in achieving overall prosperity (O'Collins, 2020: 26).

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Haitian Catholic priest and political figure, welcomed *Populorum Progressio* and its call for justice and solidarity. He embraced the encyclical's message while advocating for social and political change in Haiti to uplift the impoverished and marginalized. Aristide viewed the document as an affirmation of the struggles faced by developing nations in their quest for liberation (Shaffer, 2014: 66).

Various Catholic bishops and theologians had diverse responses to *Populorum Progressio* around the world. Some embraced the encyclical's call for social justice and the role of Catholic Church in promoting development, considering it a powerful tool for raising awareness and inspiring concrete action to address poverty and inequality. Others, however, expressed concerns about potential political implications and questioned the feasibility of implementing the proposed changes (Falkiner, 2007: 1).

It is important to note that the perspectives of these individuals are not exhaustive, and the reception and debates surrounding *Populorum Progressio* extended beyond these figures. The

encyclical remains a subject of study, discussion, and reflection among scholars, theologians, and policymakers interested in development and social justice.

### 3.4.5. Octogesima Adveniensi

*Octogesima Adveniensi*, an apostolic letter issued by Pope Paul VI on May 14, 1971, holds a title translated as "A Call to Action," commemorating the eightieth anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*. This document represents a significant milestone in the history of the Catholic Church, encompassing both historical and theological dimensions (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 263). This study aims to delve into the historical context surrounding the letter, explore its hermeneutical aspects, and examine its theological implications, shedding light on its enduring relevance.

*Octogesima Adveniensi* emerged during a period of global social and political upheaval. The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed a surge in social unrest, student movements, and demands for increased political participation (OA 1). Against this backdrop, Pope Paul VI sought to address the evolving challenges facing the church in the modern world (OA 1). The letter drew inspiration from the legacy of *Rerum Novarum* and reflected the church's ongoing commitment to social justice (OA 2).

To comprehend the context in which *Octogesima Adveniensi* emerged and the issues it addressed, it is essential to apply Hans-Georg Gadamer's principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, or the principle of the history of effect. This principle involves understanding *Octogesima Adveniensi* as essentially a historically affected event (Gadamer, 1985: 310).

In this context, the global social and political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, which significantly impacted the modern world, should be recognized as events shaped by historical forces (Gadamer, 1985: 311). The uniqueness of the history of effect lies in the demand for us to investigate the influence of these events on the global challenges that *Octogesima Adveniensi* addressed as part of the tradition. This entails examining how the document, as a piece of tradition, was molded by the historical context and how it responded to these challenges.

To pinpoint this approach more precisely, it's essential to focus on the hermeneutical consciousness that arises from the ongoing process of rationalizing the historical consciousness of the Roman Catholic Church document (Gadamer, 1985: 211). This involves analyzing how the document's meaning was shaped by the historical context and how it aimed to address the challenges of its time.

The interpretive paradigm encourages us to engage with aspects of *Octogesima Adveniens*, considering the wider epistemological and philosophical implications of our perspective on the *Octogesima Adveniens* text. Researchers are urged to position their research, analysis, and investigation of the Roman Catholic Church document within a paradigmatic framework (Perren and Ram, 2004: 95). Each research paradigm has specific assumptions, strategies, methods, and constraints, and each paradigm offers a different way to determine the quality of the analysis of *Octogesima Adveniens* results. Researchers must decide which paradigm they will operate within, understand the nature of that paradigm, and articulate their choice in their writing when engaging with the encyclical (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, and Delpont, 2011: 41).

In addressing global social and political upheavals, *Octogesima Adveniens*, as a paradigm, demonstrated a profound understanding of the multifaceted nature of human development (OA 10). The document emphasized the importance of grassroots participation and recognized the need for individuals to play an active role in shaping their communities. It highlighted the significance of social change, which, in the pope's view, should be approached with prudence, avoiding both radicalism and complacency (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 238). This balanced perspective reflected the church's commitment to engaging with the world while remaining faithful to its core principles (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 263).

The paradigmatic framework for analyzing *Octogesima Adveniens* lies in the research of the social world. This framework does not aim for a detached, objective truth but aligns with the life-world ontology, forming the foundation of interpretivism (Leitch, Hill, and Harrison, 2010: 55). From an epistemological perspective, the interpretivist paradigm of *Octogesima Adveniens* holds that human actors collectively construct their understanding of reality (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 34).

To substantiate the interpretivist paradigm of *Octogesima Adveniens*, the document draws from a variety of sources. It references various socio-political movements, such as the civil rights struggle and the battle against poverty, recognizing the legitimacy of these concerns and advocating for a more inclusive society (OA 23). Additionally, it weaves a rich tapestry of Catholic social teaching into its framework, incorporating concepts like subsidiarity, solidarity, and the preferential option for the poor (OA 23). By anchoring its arguments in these sources, *Octogesima Adveniens* aims to provide a comprehensive framework for addressing the complex challenges of the modern era (Baum, 1991: 57).

The theological underpinnings of *Octogesima Adveniens* are firmly grounded in the Catholic social doctrine. The letter clarifies the theological basis for the engagement of the Catholic Church with social issues, emphasizing that such concerns are an integral part of the evangelization mission (OA 32). According to Baum (1991: 57), the document proclaims that the church has a prophetic role in denouncing injustice and promoting human dignity. The theological dimension of the letter is deeply rooted in Scripture and the teachings of the *Magisterium*, highlighting the fundamental dignity of every human person created in the image and likeness of God (*Imago Dei*) (Baum, 1991: 57).

*Octogesima Adveniens* delves into a fundamental theological aspect - the concept of the common good. The document asserts that the pursuit of the common good should be central to any social, economic, or political initiative (OA 25). It goes beyond a mere aggregation of individual interests, emphasizing the flourishing of the entire community, which, in turn, fosters solidarity and contributes to integral human development. This strong emphasis on the common good underscores the commitment of the Catholic Church to the creation of a just and equitable society (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 263).

Furthermore, *Octogesima Adveniens*, grounded in an interpretivist paradigm, offers a *nuanced* understanding of the relationship between the church and the world. It recognizes the autonomy of temporal realities while highlighting the role of the Catholic Church as a moral guide (OA 20). The document encourages the laity to actively engage in social and political spheres, striving to transform society in line with Gospel values. This vision of a harmonious collaboration between

the Catholic Church and the world is rooted in the theological concept of the "People of God," emphasizing its communal nature (OA 23).

### **3.4.5.1. *Octogesima Adveniens*: An Apostolic Letter**

*Octogesima Adveniens*, an apostolic letter issued by Pope Paul VI in 1971, has ignited discussions and contemplations among scholars, theologians, and Catholic social thinkers. However, it is crucial to note that the document itself did not trigger a formal debate with specific individuals or groups. Instead, it acted as a catalyst for dialogue within the church and beyond.

*Octogesima Adveniens* addressed a spectrum of urgent social and political issues of its time, encompassing topics like poverty, inequality, racism, and the role of the Catholic Church in the modern world (OA 1). Subsequently, its contents underwent analysis and interpretation by a diverse array of individuals, both within and outside the Catholic Church, each contributing their unique perspectives and insights.

Catholic theologians and scholars played a pivotal role in delving into the teachings of *Octogesima Adveniens*, evaluating its ramifications, and providing critical analyses. Their reflections sought to explore the letter's relevance in the evolving social and political context and to deepen the comprehension of the Catholic social doctrine (Baum, 1991: 57).

Among the notable theologians and scholars who engaged with the themes presented in *Octogesima Adveniens* were:

- Joseph Komonchak: An American theologian renowned for his expertise in ecclesiology and the Second Vatican Council, Komonchak delved into the implications of *Octogesima Adveniens* concerning the church's understanding of social justice and the role of the laity in promoting social change (Baum, 1991: 59).
- Johannes Baptist Metz: A German Catholic theologian who focused on political theology and the relationship between faith and social transformation, Metz's work grappled with the challenges posed in *Octogesima Adveniens*, particularly concerning the church's responsibility in addressing systemic injustice (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 264).
- Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian theologian renowned for his contributions to liberation theology, examined *Octogesima Adveniens* within the context of Latin American realities. He emphasized the church's imperative to stand in solidarity with the impoverished and oppressed, highlighting the need for social justice (Baum, 1991: 60).

- Bernard Lonergan, a Canadian Jesuit philosopher and theologian, delved into the interplay of faith, reason, and ethics. Lonergan's work provided insights into the moral and ethical dimensions of *Octogesima Adveniens*, particularly concerning decision-making and social action (O'Collins, 2020: 26).

Beyond the academic sphere, *Octogesima Adveniens* exerted influence on discussions among Catholic bishops and clergy. Local church leaders incorporated its teachings into pastoral letters, sermons, and social justice initiatives, striving to translate the document's principles into tangible actions within their communities (Baum, 1991: 60).

Furthermore, *Octogesima Adveniens* resonated with various social and political movements of the time. Activists, intellectuals, and leaders involved in civil rights, anti-war protests, and struggles against economic inequality discovered in the document a framework for their advocacy work. They drew inspiration from *Octogesima Adveniens* to articulate their demands for justice, dignity, and equality (Baum, 1991: 60).

While the specific individuals engaged in debates about *Octogesima Adveniens* cannot be pinpointed, it is evident that the document stimulated conversations, reflections, and actions among theologians, scholars, clergy, and activists. Their diverse perspectives and analyses played a crucial role in deepening the understanding of the Catholic social doctrine and its application in the contemporary world.

#### **3.4.6. *Solicitudo Rei Socialis*, A Groundbreaking Document**

*Solicitudo Rei Socialis*, an encyclical issued by Pope John Paul II on December 30, 1987, is a groundbreaking document that addresses critical issues related to social justice, economic development, and solidarity (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 393). It stands as a significant contribution to Catholic social teaching, presenting historical hermeutics and theological dimensions that have guided the engagement of the Catholic Church with the modern world. This study aims to delve into these aspects of *Solicitudo Rei Socialis*, providing an in-depth analysis.

To comprehend the historical hermeneutical significance of *Solicitudo Rei Socialis*, it is essential to examine the context in which it emerged. According to Bieringer, religious texts such as *Solicitudo Rei Socialis* become like icons, opening windows into the mysteries of the future

bestowed upon creation by God (Bieringer, 2010: 18). Thus, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* transcends the confines of the text. As developed by Bieringer, the future-oriented hermeneutics of *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* suggests that past texts hold significant meaning in the present and future as they are wholly or partially involved in shaping the world in which they are cited (Bieringer, 2010: 20). The world in which *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* was articulated in the 1980s was marked by rapid globalization, economic disparities, and political upheavals (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 393). Pope John Paul II's encyclical responded to these challenges by emphasizing the Catholic Church commitment to addressing social issues through a holistic approach (SRS 8). The document builds upon the foundation laid by earlier encyclicals like *Rerum Novarum* and *Populorum Progressio*, affirming the Catholic Church longstanding concern for justice and human dignity (SRS 8). The Catholic Church maintains that the *Imago Dei* is the foundation of human dignity (Reginald, 2017: 222). The Catholic Church advocates that all humans have inherent dignity and promotes the right to life and peaceful coexistence (CCC, no. 1702).

*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* embodies a hermeneutical understanding of social development by centering its focus on human dignity and the common good. It underscores the moral obligation of individuals and nations to confront issues of poverty, inequality, and injustice (SRS 9). The text places a significant emphasis on genuine human development, which extends beyond mere economic growth to encompass the comprehensive well-being of individuals and communities (SRS 9). By delving into the root causes of social problems and advocating for structural change, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* offers a historical hermeneutical framework for addressing these complex societal issues.

Moreover, the encyclical delves into the role of culture in the realm of development, acknowledging the value of diverse cultural expressions while advocating for the respect of human rights and the promotion of solidarity. The Catholic Church concept of human rights is deeply rooted in its understanding of the dignity and worth of every human person. According to Catholic doctrine, all individuals are created in the image and likeness of God (*Imago Dei*) and possess inherent and inalienable rights that must be upheld and safeguarded (CCC, no. 1702). Therefore, through *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, the Catholic Church calls for a dialogue among different cultures, emphasizing the need for mutual understanding and cooperation. This facet of *Sollicitudo Rei*

*Socialis* highlights the importance of cultural diversity as a wellspring of social progress and underscores the necessity to counteract cultural imperialism and exclusion (SRS 8).

Embedded within *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* are profound theological insights that shape its approach to social justice. The text draws upon the rich Catholic tradition, particularly the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. Solidarity, as stressed by Pope John Paul II, promotes the interconnectedness of all humanity and calls for collective responsibility in alleviating suffering and promoting justice. Subsidiarity, on the other hand, advocates for decision-making authority to be vested at the most local and appropriate level, ensuring the active participation of individuals and communities in shaping their own development (SRS 10).

Furthermore, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* strongly upholds the principle of the universal destination of goods, asserting that the resources of the Earth should be harnessed to serve the well-being of all, rather than being concentrated in the hands of a privileged few. It challenges existing economic systems that prioritize profit and consumption over human dignity and the common good (O’Conner, 2012: 100).

Additionally, the social text underscores the significance of the preferential option for the poor, emphasizing the need to give priority to the needs of those who are marginalized and vulnerable in society. It calls for a transformation of both hearts and structures to attain a more just and equitable world (O’Conner, 2012: 100). *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* envisions a society where human dignity is upheld, economic development benefits all, and the principles of justice and solidarity guide interpersonal and international relationships (SRS 8).

*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* represents a profound engagement with the historical hermeneutics and theological dimensions of social justice. It positions itself within a historical context of global challenges, offering a framework that extends beyond mere economic growth. Drawing from Catholic social teaching, the *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* provides a theological perspective through which to address social issues and advocates for principles like solidarity, subsidiarity, and the common good.

### 3.4.6.1. Notable Figures and Groups who debated *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*

Numerous notable figures and groups participated in discussions and analyses of the encyclical, each providing unique perspectives and contributions to the dialogue surrounding its themes. Various scholars and theologians have meticulously examined *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, offering critical analysis and valuable insights into its content. Among the prominent individuals and groups are:

Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (later Pope Benedict XVI): As the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith at the time, Cardinal Ratzinger played a significant role in shaping the *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*. He was renowned for his contributions to Catholic social teaching and provided valuable input during the drafting process (Schlag 2011: 341).

St. John Paul II Institute for Studies on Marriage and Family: Founded by Pope John Paul II himself, this institute has generated numerous scholars who have engaged deeply with *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*. Their research has centered on the *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*' teachings related to family, solidarity, and the role of women in development (Schlag, 2011: 345).

Gustavo Gutiérrez: As one of the pioneers of Liberation Theology, Gutiérrez examined *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* from the perspective of social justice and the preferential option for the poor. He emphasized the necessity of structural change and the Catholic Church's role in advocating for the rights of the marginalized (O'Conner, 2012: 100).

Various Catholic social ethicists and theologians: Distinguished scholars such as David Hollenbach, Lisa Sowle Cahill, and Brian Stiltner have actively engaged with *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, exploring its themes of human rights, global solidarity, and the ethical implications of economic development (Schlag, 2011: 345).

Numerous Catholic organizations and movements have actively engaged with *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, often focusing on its practical application and the imperative for action it conveys. Several key groups include:

- Catholic Relief Services (CRS): This international humanitarian organization has integrated the principles of *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* into its work. CRS places particular emphasis on the *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*' teachings related to solidarity, development, and poverty alleviation in its programs and advocacy efforts.
- Sant'Egidio Community: A lay Catholic movement, the Sant'Egidio Community has embraced the encyclical's teachings on peace, dialogue, and solidarity. They have been fervently promoting interfaith cooperation and humanitarian interventions in conflict zones, embodying the encyclical's call for a culture of encounter.
- Caritas Internationalis: As the confederation of Catholic charities, Caritas Internationalis has woven *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* into its global initiatives. They have concentrated on issues such as human trafficking, climate change, and social inequality, aligning their actions with the encyclical's guiding principles.
- Ecumenical and Interfaith Dialogue: *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* has stimulated discussions in ecumenical and interfaith contexts, considering its relevance to other Christian denominations and interfaith perspectives on social justice and development.
- World Council of Churches: This ecumenical organization has examined *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* within the broader context of its own work on justice, peace, and ecological responsibility. They have explored areas of convergence and differences between Catholic social teaching and their own theological perspectives.
- Interfaith Organizations: Comprising scholars and leaders from various religious traditions, interfaith organizations have engaged with *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, highlighting its potential for interfaith dialogue and cooperation on social issues. They have explored common ground on principles of justice, human rights, and solidarity (O'Conner, 2012: 100).

While there may not have been specific recorded debates on *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* involving individuals in a traditional sense, the encyclical has spurred robust discussions and analyses among scholars, theologians, and Catholic organizations.

#### **3.4.6.2. Theological Interpretation of Contemporary Issues**

The theological interpretation of contemporary issues, as presented in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, underscores the practice of solidarity as essential within each community. It is deemed acceptable when community members acknowledge one another as individuals. Those in positions of greater power, due to their higher share of resources and common services, bear a responsibility toward the weaker and should be willing to share their abundance. In the same spirit of solidarity, those who are less privileged should not adopt a passive or destructive stance toward the social fabric.

Instead, while asserting their legitimate rights, they should actively contribute to the common good. Similarly, intermediate groups should not selfishly pursue their own interests but should respect the interests of others (SRS 39).

However, following the declaration, President Chiluba failed to exemplify solidarity within Zambian society by recognizing the worth of citizens from non-Christian religions. As a prominent political figure, Chiluba imposed the declaration without considering democratic processes like a referendum, which could have validated public acceptance of the declaration. Consequently, civil society felt marginalized and excluded from the process of making Zambia a Christian state. This lack of solidarity with the Zambian citizens, who played a pivotal role in his election, was a missed opportunity for Chiluba.

The MMD, functioning as an intermediate group under the leadership of Mr. Frederick Chiluba, selfishly pursued their particular interests. This approach ran counter to the principle of respecting what Pope John Paul II referred to as the "subjectivity" of the people. As Baum suggests, when an elite, a single party, or a special body exercises unchallenged control over society, people are deprived of their "subjectivity." This deprivation leads to frustration and makes them victims of injustice (Baum, 1991: 57). Furthermore, O'Brien and Shannon posit that the framework for freedom and solidarity is rooted in the dignity of the human person. The solidarity they advocate for is both a path to peace and development (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 393). Solidarity is a natural outcome of interdependence, necessitating the abandonment of political blocs, the rejection of all forms of economic and political imperialism, and the transformation of mutual distrust into collaboration (SRS 39).

In the Zambian context, the declaration of a Christian state fell short of the solidarity needed to cultivate the fruits of interdependence among the nation's diverse citizens. This solidarity would have facilitated their collective participation in shaping the public policy represented by the declaration itself, possibly through a democratic referendum. Regrettably, Mr. Frederick Chiluba, exercising unchecked political authority, denied the Zambian people their "subjectivity." This denial resulted in widespread frustration and subjected them to various injustices. Notably,

Chiluba's dominance extended over opposition political groups, civil society, and even a politicized church.

However, the Catholic Church emerged as a resilient obstacle to Chiluba's government manipulations. It consistently provided constructive criticism of his administration. This stance aligned with the principles articulated in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, which assert that safeguarding religious freedom and recognizing human rights through the rule of law would demand an inclusive sense of responsibility. Such an approach would pave the way for the development of a more interconnected and interdependent Zambian society (SRS 42).

### **3.5. Comprehending the Essence of Catholic Social Teaching (CST)**

The global catechism classifies Catholic social teaching (CST) as a branch of moral theology. It emphasizes that "the social philosophy of the church is not an ideology but a form of moral theology" (Ballano, 2019, 1). As a set of beliefs intended to guide individuals' behavior, CST is inherently theological in nature, specifically theological-moral (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace [PCJP], 2005, para. 72–73). For Christians and Catholic, CST serves as the church's moral normative framework for examining and responding to social issues within the context of the Christian faith. It is a subdivision of moral theology that specifically deals with addressing contemporary challenges within political, economic, and cultural structures of society (Wright, 2017, 11).

Furthermore, CST is positioned within the realm of theology, specifically moral theology, rather than ideology. As stated by John Paul II (1988, 507), it "belongs to the field of theology, particularly moral theology, rather than ideology." Additionally, because CST is a component of the church's moral teachings, it carries the same status and authority as other moral doctrines of the church that require adherence from believers (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 2005, para. 80). Therefore, it cannot be characterized in terms of political or social ideologies. It stands as a distinct category, not intended to define and establish economic, political, and social systems (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 2005, para. 72).

Catholic social teaching, abbreviated as CST, constitutes the ethical guidance for Catholic Church, offering principles on how they should navigate society and address social concerns while staying true to their Christian faith.

CST is aptly described as "the precise expression of the findings of a comprehensive study of the complex aspects of human existence within society and the global order, illuminated by faith and the church's tradition" (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 2005: 72). At its core, all social teaching in the Catholic Church revolve around the moral imperative of upholding the value of human life. This foundational Catholic principle asserts that every institution, policy, and course of action should be assessed based on how effectively it promotes human dignity, especially for the most vulnerable and marginalized. Summing up the entirety of encyclicals, conciliar documents, and pastoral letters on CST from the past century, it can be said that they collectively aim "to offer consistent and reliable moral guidance for the future" (Krier Mich, 2011).

### **3.6. Boundaries of Catholic Social Teaching as a Framework of Moral Guidelines**

The primary obstacle to the effective application of CST in society stems from the nature of its moral precepts as content. CST comprises normative recommendations that guide societal progress according to the teaching role of the church (*magisterium*). While these value prescriptions can be valuable in assessing societal issues, they often fall short when it comes to addressing specific circumstances (Arce, 2001: 4). Although the religious message is timeless and universal, the cultural context in which it is practiced can become outdated. Typically, a CST document delineates the specific historical, cultural, and social context in which it was issued by the church (Arce, 2001: 4).

Therefore, its social message may only be relevant to a particular society, culture, and historical period. This contrasts with our conceptual framework of the Nomativity of the Future (NOF), which posits an ongoing process of Catholic tradition that constantly negotiates between the past and the present. According to this perspective, CST texts do not solely belong to their authors and the situations into which they were initially addressed; they transcend their original context and have the potential to be relevant to everyone, regardless of time and place (Bieringer, 2010: 11).

Given that popes and bishops were addressing specific social and political concerns when composing CST publications, the social themes derived from CST need to be interpreted through horizon discernment. This method involves acknowledging the evolving nature of tradition from one generation to the next, illustrating that there is an ongoing process of mediation through which societal tradition endures via language. This process of mediation evolves over time (Gadamer, 1985: 282). Consequently, in order to apply CST principles to specific situations, they should be employed with a fusion of horizon discernment. Arce (2001) cautioned against directly applying normative and moral prescriptions to particular situations since they can be ambiguous when used to evaluate social issues. Although CST's doctrinal principles may possess universal applicability, the Catholic dioceses must possess the capability to merge the horizons of Catholic social teaching with empirical understanding of the underlying social structure and cultural horizons to effectively apply them to specific circumstances (Bieringer, 2010: 12).

A Catholic social teaching (CST) document is typically issued by the RCC's *magisterium*, or teaching office, to address significant social issues within a specific historical context that affect the Catholic Church. However, it is not designed to encompass every individual situation across diverse socio-economic settings experienced by Christians around the world. While CST's moral principles do not reflect the general sentiments and the cultural and social contexts of the broader Catholic population within the universal church, they do align with the official doctrines of the Catholic Church. It's worth noting that "a small group of individuals are responsible for producing the literature of Catholic social doctrine. The creators of the documents primarily consisted of European clergy, and church authorities relied on a limited number of church writers, advisors, and individuals to assist in preparing the documents" (Himes, 2005: 3).

One certainty is that there will always be a gap between the vaguely defined circumstances to which a prescription applies and the specific circumstances that an individual seeking guidance must confront (Arce, 2001, 4). The Eurocentric cultural orientation of Catholic social teaching (CST) concerning social issues and the cultural orientation of African Catholics regarding social order are more likely to diverge when CST is applied to real-life circumstances (Arce, 2001: 4). Therefore, CST is well-suited to the European experience in the "sense [that] its content essentially mirrors the social and economic decision-making and working conditions of European nations,

especially during significant portions of the 20th Century" (Habisch, Backhaus, Chaloupek, and Frambach, 2017: 40).

In this case, as these writings were primarily intended for European contexts, the moral guidelines in CST documents may not be directly applicable to readers from different locations and cultures within the worldwide church. To draw a biblical analogy, CST could be likened to "new wine" poured into "old wineskins" (Matt. 9:16–17). It is "new" in the sense that its moral lessons are timeless and relevant to all historical eras. However, since these lessons were formulated in the past under specific historical conditions, their "wineskin" or social context is antiquated. Readers of CST today may recognize the fundamental moral lessons, but without adequate prior knowledge of the Catholic social teaching documents, they may struggle to grasp the message (Ballano, 2021: 96).

Understanding and applying moral guidelines to their present circumstances would pose a significant challenge due to the substantial differences in context, history, and culture between them and the writings. Western nations, where CST originated, tend to have individualist societies that prioritize the individual over the group, which is in contrast to African nations like Zambia, characterized by collectivist cultures that prioritize the group over the individual. Sun, Horn, and Merritt (2004) provide a helpful summary of the behavioral disparities between individuals in individualistic and collectivist cultures:

In individualistic cultures, individuals tend to be more self-centered, focused on self-enhancement, less emotionally connected to their in-groups, and less concerned with the needs, goals, norms, interests, integrity, and consequences of their in-group membership. They often perceive the individual as the fundamental aspect of life, the source of identity, meaning, and objectives. Conversely, those residing in collectivist cultures value their group membership, embrace collective decisions and processes, and expect other in-group members to look out for or protect them in times of need or crisis (Sun, Horn, and Merritt, 2004, 317).

As explained by Greif (1994), the industrialized West is typically characterized as "individualist," whereas the majority of emerging nations tend to be "collectivist." In "collectivist" societies, where contract enforcement relies on "informal" economic and social structures, individuals primarily engage socially and economically with members of specific religious, racial, or familial groups, thus resulting in a more "segregated" social structure. Members of collectivist societies also tend

to feel a strong sense of responsibility for the well-being of other group members (Greif, 1994, 913).

Consequently, the interpretation of CST primary moral prescription, the promotion and defense of the common good, can be significantly influenced by the diverse cultural perspectives on collectivity. This makes it challenging to adapt CST moral prescriptions to the complexities of the modern world. Moral or value prescriptions, such as those found in CST, may be effective in certain contexts but may yield opposite or unforeseen results in others.

Moral guidelines tend to be general, while social realities are often specific and intricate (Arce, 2001). Therefore, if general membership of the Catholic Church must apply social teaching concerning a just or family wage (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace 2005, para. 302) without a thorough understanding of the relevant real-world circumstances and supporting evidence, it may inadvertently harm the common good. For instance, advocating for significant wage increases for workers may lead to layoffs or job terminations if employers cannot afford the higher labor costs due to the increased cost of production and economic challenges (Ballano, 2021: 96).

The initial step in applying social doctrines or CST moral principles involves a comprehensive analysis of the specific real-world conditions and an understanding of the supporting evidence. This represents the first of three steps in implementing CST principles. Pope John XXIII outlined these three essential stages for the Catholic Church in Zambia to apply CST in a practical manner, which can be summarized as "see," "judge," and "act" (Brigman, 2019). In the case of engaging with the Christian state, the Catholic Church gathered information, observed, listened to, and experienced the lived realities of individuals and communities in this new context, thereby assessing the Christian state declaration and making a well-founded decision in light of societal and religious norms.

In conclusion, the Catholic Church formulated and put into practice the social teaching with the aim of transforming the systems that perpetuated suffering and injustice among minority religious groups in Zambia (*Mater et Magistra*, para. 235). To further support the points made earlier, it can be argued that the Catholic Church engages with a text, primarily based on the historical context

in which it was written. Therefore, the Catholic Church, while attempting to shed light on the perspectives of past scholars they investigate, their understanding ultimately influences the outcome of their analysis. When history is being reexamined, it entails a merging of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*), where the horizons of the historian and those of the past are in a constant state of flux, never remaining static. The "otherness" of the Catholic social teaching text propels it into the reader's present and offers insights that can lead to transformation in both the past and the present (Clark, 2004: 112).

### **3.7. Summary**

In this chapter, we delved into the debates that took place during Vatican II. Subsequently, we engaged in a discussion of the five social teaching documents using the conceptual frameworks of Gadamer's Fusion of Horizons and Bieringer's Normativity of the Future (NOF). The chapter demonstrated the relevance of the social teaching texts to the Zambian context. Each of the social doctrines was assessed on its individual merits and limitations, and its connection to social issues in Zambia was highlighted.

The concluding section of this chapter addressed the complexities, reception, and contested nature of Catholic social teaching. We argued that CST was rooted in a Euro-centric perspective, which limited its applicability in most Catholic Churches beyond Europe. Additionally, many Catholics did not have access to the formal discourse of CST. Furthermore, CST often struggled to address situations that deviated from the European context. This was due to the fact that the societies in which the social texts originated were more individualistic compared to the societies for which CST was intended.

The hypothesis proposed at the beginning of this study has been confirmed. Thus, it can be posited that the encyclical process of the Second Vatican Council comprises both old and new documents and continually offers new and diverse hopes and perspectives. The framework used facilitated the exploration of the 'novel' and 'inclusive' aspects of the social teaching process, particularly the 'grace-filled' elements. The following chapter will delve into the role of the encyclical in shaping the Catholic response to and rejection of the Christian state horizon.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**THE IMPACT OF THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING ON THE CHRISTIAN**  
**STATE DECLARATION**

**4.1. Introduction**

The objective of this chapter is to present the research findings derived from interviews and documented sources. We conducted interviews with thirty-six (36) participants, including individuals from Catholic, Pentecostal, and Anglican Churches, as well as ordinary Zambians who experienced and witnessed Zambia's declaration as a Christian state. We employed both snowball and purposive sampling techniques in our research.

To rephrase the research questions, this chapter is centered around the inquiry: "How did the core theological and social principles outlined in the encyclicals and a conciliar document influence the reception or rejection of the Zambian Christian state declaration within the Catholic community?"

To address this research question effectively, we will explore the role of the encyclicals as a guiding factor in how Zambian Catholic received or rejected the declaration, which represents another significant aspect. This examination will be conducted through the lens of the conceptual framework that incorporates the "Fusion of Horizons," "Normative of the Future," and "Empathetic Dialogical of the Church-State Model."

In the course of this chapter, we will provide a comprehensive analysis of the role played by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and The Zambia Conference of the Catholic Bishops (ZCCB) in the implementation of Catholic social teaching. As part of this discussion, we will critically examine the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) and its Basic Need Basket (BNB) survey, which serves as a practical application of Catholic theological doctrine and social teaching. The BNB survey primarily focuses on addressing the needs of the impoverished, a concern also addressed in the pope's encyclicals, conciliar documents, and their practical application in Zambia. The subsequent section will delve into the fieldwork report.

## 4.2. The Fieldwork Report: Oral Interview Schedule

For this research, an interview protocol was developed to collect data regarding the Christian state declaration and the influence of Catholic social teaching (referred to as CST) on responses to the Christian state declaration. The interviews were conducted with a diverse group of participants, including Catholic clergy, which consisted of bishops and priests. Additionally, we conducted interviews with individuals from various other mainstream denominations such as the Anglican Church, United Church of Zambia (UCZ), and pastors from the Pentecostal Church.

Furthermore, female participants who have worked or are currently employed within the Catholic Church and other religious organizations were also included in the study. The research extended to ordinary Zambian residents in Lusaka and Zambians residing in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, who willingly volunteered to participate in the interviews.

The selection of participants was based on their knowledge and experience related to the subject matter. They either resided in Zambia during the period when it was declared a Christian state or were cognizant of the issues that arose after the declaration. The questionnaire or interview schedule was designed to be open-ended to encourage in-depth responses. Participants were also asked if they possessed any insights into both the negative and positive consequences of the Christian state declaration on non-Christian religious groups such as Islam, Hindus, and African Traditional Religion (ATR).

**TABLE 1: Summary of Questionnaire** (See appendix for a complete questionnaire or interview schedule)

<b>Section A: General Information</b>
<b>Section B: The Christian nation Declaration</b>
<b>Section C: The Catholic Social Teaching</b>
<b>Section D: Responses to the Declaration by the Catholic Church</b>
<b>Section E: Responses to the declaration by the Catholic Church and other Religious denominations</b>

**Section F: The Impact of the Christian State on Democratic Governance of Zambia**

**Section G: Responses to the Church-State Relations in Zambia**

This study has placed a strong emphasis on adhering to research ethics principles. As per Oliver (2003), it is essential to provide respondents with the option to keep their identities confidential in a research report (Oliver, 2003: 77). Therefore, prior to conducting interviews with the selected participants, it was imperative to obtain informed consent. Paul Oliver (2003) outlines that informed consent is a crucial component of ethical social science research, where participants should be fully informed about the research project before they agree to participate. Informed consent is required because it ensures that participants are aware of the essential components of the information they legitimately need (Oliver, 2003: 30).

In order to maintain confidentiality, the study opted to use pseudonyms as part of the informed consent process. However, it was not sufficient to merely promise confidentiality to the respondents. It was necessary to explicitly state who would have access to the data provided by a particular respondent. In the case of interview data, individual respondents were merged into the overall aggregated data, and fictional names or pseudonyms were employed to ensure anonymity (Oliver, 2003: 83).

As depicted in Table 2 below, the total of thirty-six (36) participants were categorized as follows: fourteen (14) Catholic Clergy, eight (8) Catholic women, two (2) women from other religious organizations, three (3) Pentecostal pastors, three (3) other participants from the Anglican Church, and six (6) ordinary Zambians. These individuals volunteered to participate in the study due to their knowledge of or firsthand experience when Zambia was declared a Christian state during President Chiluba's tenure. The inclusion of a larger number of Catholic clergy was primarily in line with the study's focus, while respondents from the Anglican and Pentecostal Church were included to offer varying perspectives on the Catholic social teaching. The participation of women from the Catholic Church and other religious organizations aimed to ensure a diverse sample for the study.

**TABLE 2: Research Participants**

<b>Churches</b>	<b>Catholic Church</b>	<b>Anglican Church</b>	<b>Pentecostal Church</b>	<b>Women Participants</b>	<b>Ordinary Zambians</b>
<b>Number of Candidates</b>	Bishops 6 Priest 9	Priests 3	Pastors 3	Catholic C 8 Religious Org 2	Volunteers 6
<b>Age Range</b>	40 -60	30 -40	40 -57	40 - 60	45 -55
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>

### 4.3. Responsiveness of the Research Participants

Our behavior and actions throughout the interview process were guided by the understanding that effective interviews rely on a researcher's capacity to establish a connection with interviewees and foster trust and rapport, as emphasized by Rubin and Rubin (2005: 108). The study's robust conceptual framework and its applied comprehension of the dual horizons, namely Catholic social teaching, and the Christian state declaration played a pivotal role in instilling confidence in the participants regarding the interviewer. Participants were assured of the strict adherence to ethical principles, with a commitment to ensuring anonymity and confidentiality, which in turn promoted open and candid participation and information sharing.

At the commencement of each interview, the study presented a background of the research and the rationale for focusing on Catholic social teaching and critiquing Zambia's status as a Christian state. Interviewees were afforded the autonomy to respond to questions they found relevant and appropriate, avoiding any offensive inquiries.

The questions designed for each participant were tailored to align with their respective roles, experiences, and areas of influence. The combined use of purposive and snowball sampling approaches to identify interviewees proved highly effective, as almost all the participants possessed a deep understanding of the Christian state declaration and its impact on the Zambian community. This enabled participants to engage with complex questions and define their own perspectives effectively. Notably, many participants expressed a desire for the researcher to return and share the research findings with their organizations, allowing their colleagues who were not

interviewed and newcomers to benefit from the insights. The researcher valued this request as it underscored the importance of disseminating the findings.

### **Utilizing the Interpretive Research Paradigm for Data Analysis**

To effectively analyze the data gathered from our interviews, it is essential to apply the interpretive research paradigm. This paradigm is rooted in the ontology of the life-world, which asserts that the pursuit of objective truth in understanding the social world is both attainable and fitting (Leitch, Hill, and Harrison, 2010: 55).

Furthermore, the interpretation of our data is shaped by an epistemological perspective inherent in the interpretive paradigm. This perspective, as proposed by Burrell and Morgan (1979: 34), contends that, as human actors, we collectively construct our understanding of reality. It places an emphasis on examining phenomena from the participants' point of view rather than that of an objective observer, thus giving precedence to a subjective viewpoint in comprehending the world.

On an axiological level, the interpretive paradigm places a higher value on relevance over rigor when evaluating data.

Thus, the interpretive paradigm utilized in this study serves as a distinctive criterion for assessing research findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). While the former assesses the value of findings based on their relevance to a broader population, interpretive research evaluates the quality of understanding by its alignment with and enrichment of informants' perspectives (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In contrast to positivist research, which relies on metrics like reliability, validity, and generalizability, qualitative research employs different terminology, placing importance on dependability (reliability), credibility (validity), confirmability (objectivity), and transferability (generalizability) (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008: 70).

Credibility involves evaluating the alignment between participants' narratives and how the researcher presents them (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008: 70). On the other hand, dependability relies on the thorough and systematic examination of the intended exploration, contingent upon the quality of data collection and analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994: 17). Transferability assesses the extent to which the study's findings can be applied to similar contexts, enabling readers to verify that the conclusions are drawn from data and experiences rather than

being influenced by the researcher's biases and subjectivity. This underscores the importance of consistently reporting all relevant information.

Thus, deeply embedded within the interpretive paradigm is textual analysis, which is encapsulated within our conceptual framework. As a result, the forthcoming sections will be evaluated through the interpretive research paradigm, underpinned by a multifaceted conceptual lens, including concepts such as the "fusion of horizons," the "normativity of the future," and an empathetic dialogical church-state model.

#### **4.3.1. Interpreting and Synthesizing Findings within the Existing Literature**

Moreover, to enhance our comprehension of the data derived from the analysis, we will group the findings, following the guidance of Hycner (1985: 58), while taking into account relevant theoretical literature. These findings have been scrutinized in conjunction with the existing body of literature, a procedure fittingly termed "enfolding literature" by Eisenhardt (1989). The result of this analytical approach is the interpretation of the findings.

#### **4.4. The Contribution of Catholic Social Teaching to the Response to the Christian State Declaration**

In this section, the findings will encompass the synthesis of existing literature and the feedback obtained from research participants. This entails a meticulous examination of the findings in conjunction with the established body of knowledge, a process aptly referred to as "enfolding literature" (Eisenhardt, 1989).

According to Cheyeka (2016: 159), the designation of Zambia as a Christian state continues to be a topic of enduring relevance, attracting the attention of scholars who have explored its origins and subsequent evolutions. The historical consciousness inherent in the interpretive paradigm, and grounded in the concept history of effect (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), can be persistently ingrained, making it difficult to eliminate. This may lead to the exclusion of specific aspects that impede our quest for the complete truth, even though, remarkably, it remains within our reach (Gadamer, 1985: 320). Over the years, this horizon of the Christian state declaration has piqued the curiosity of numerous researchers, both within and outside Zambia. As described by Paul Freston, "Zambia is a laboratory for studying some typical tendencies in a certain kind of evangelical politics in action

in highly favorable circumstances" (Freston, 2001: 154). In this context, the current study embarked on researching the response of the Catholic Church to this declaration.

Cheyeka (2016:160) asserts that the significance lies not merely in retracing the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state and contextualizing the 'Christian state' rhetoric, but rather in understanding what Zambia transformed into. The State House Covenant rendered the Zambian people immediate subjects of God, establishing a unique nation worldwide, "a nation in which both the population and the government, including the President, were under full submission to the Lord Jesus Christ, a country that God could use to influence the world significantly" (Schoots, 1995: 15). It is worth noting that the declaration horizon extended beyond Zambia, as it was not the first African nation to proclaim itself a "Christian state." Liberia had previously declared its Christian status from its inception as a settlement for former slaves. However, according to Jenkins (2011: 188), religion was exploited to rationalize the widespread corruption of the political elite and the oppression of native populations. During Samuel Doe's rule in post-William Tolbert Liberia (1986-1990), Christianity was similarly manipulated for selfish purposes. Gifford (1993:145) argued in his book on Samuel Doe that Liberian Christianity became a tool of domination, dehumanization, and inequality. Liberia's Evangelical Christianity diverted attention from the oppressive social system, left Doe unchallenged in his greed and negligence, and disregarded injustice while denouncing any form of Christianity that sought to address Liberia's unjust social structure (Gifford, 1993: 145).

In Zambia, the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state occurred in 1991 during the tenure of the second Republican President, Mr. Frederick Chiluba, and was incorporated into the Constitution in 1996. However, due to the complex religious composition of Zambia, the first President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, hesitated to declare the country a Christian state (Cheyeka, 2016: 160). Given this context, it was imperative to examine how the Catholic Church, particularly through the Conference of Catholic Bishops, responded to this declaration horizon using Pastoral letters and statements rooted in social teaching. In a press statement, the Conference of Catholic Bishops, along with the General Secretaries of the Christian Council of Zambia and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, asserted that "a nation is not Christian by declaration, but by deeds" (Komakoma, 2003: 264). This response was directed at President Chiluba's unilateral declaration

of Zambia as a Christian state. They further argued that "The legitimacy of any public pronouncement and policy depends on the quality of consultations done before the announcement. It was argued that a declaration horizon of such magnitude required time to prepare the nation so that citizens understood what they were getting into. In the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, these elements were missing. This is why the church leaders only welcomed the declaration cautiously" (Komakoma, 2003: 246).

The leaders of the Church also expressed concerns regarding the need for guarantees that the declaration horizon would not compromise the freedom of conscience and the freedom of worship. They argued for the promotion of an environment where minority groups could feel secure and included, even within the context of the declaration. Most importantly, the church leaders hoped that the separation of church and state, even in the context of the declaration, would remain intact (Komakoma, 2003: 246).

While the declaration was generally welcomed by most Christians, it encountered reservations from many mainline denominations due to the intricate nature of the matter and its potential implications for the diversity of legitimate opinions (Komakoma, 2003: 265). The Catholic Church leaders viewed the declaration as a significant challenge and emphasized that the unity of the country should prevail over the diversity of its people (Komakoma, 2003: 265). They expressed regret over the lack of consultation with the religious institutions and the lack of adequate preparation for the nation (2003: 265).

Despite their reservations, the church leaders acknowledged that Christianity is the predominant religion in Zambia. They also stressed the importance of Christianity embracing religious pluralism and respecting the rights of those practicing other religions. The leaders endorsed the President's declaration of Zambia as a Christian state and accepted the challenge to rededicate themselves to the Glory of Almighty God (Komakoma, 2003: 266). They concluded by urging everyone to embrace hard work, combat corruption, and uphold Christian values of love, respect, justice, and tolerance for all (Komakoma, 2003: 266).

Amidst their critique of the declaration, church leaders identified some positive aspects in the declaration and the subsequent television interview by President Chiluba. This interview affirmed freedom of conscience and worship, as well as the expression of Christian love in an environment that excluded the persecution of minority groups (Chiluba, 1997: 2). The religious leaders pledged that the Christian Church in Zambia would continue to collaborate and provide constructive criticism to the state when necessary, as they believed that Christian principles could positively impact the nation's development (Komakoma, 2003: 265). This stance aligns with the study's perspective on political religion, emphasizing that the church should transform politics, with Christians urged to seek Christian politics guided by the redemptive purposes of God (Chaplin, 1995: 70). The church leaders' position was in harmony with the MMD Manifesto, which stated that "MMD shall welcome criticism, ideas, and practical cooperation from religious groups" (Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, Manifesto, 1991: 10). The Catholic Church was ready to engage in constructive dialogue with Chiluba's government based on social wisdom enabling them "to analyze social realities, make judgments about them, and indicate directions for the just resolution of the problems involved" (Pope John Paul II, 1991: 5).

It is worth noting that President Chiluba's declaration was seen as an attempt to persuade Zambians to obey him as the self-proclaimed messiah, in accordance with the thirteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans (Cheyeka, 2014b:). Chiluba envisioned that the Church-State relations established at State House would rid the nation of corruption and lead it to prosperity (Cheyeka, 2002). To that end, the then Vice President, Brigadier General Miyanda, encouraged citizens to "have a Christian orientation in all fields, at all levels" (Jenkins, 2011: 187). However, this 'orientation' also implied submission to the Christian state, which, as Jenkins (2011: 187) noted, could easily lead to willful refusal to acknowledge the regime's flaws and connivance in official corruption.

While most Pentecostal leaders remained silent regarding President Chiluba's corrupt practices, Pastor Nevers Mumba broke the silence in 1997 by condemning the lack of morality and integrity in politics. He went on to form a political party to challenge Chiluba's regime, which had become evidently corrupt. Mumba's assertion that he aimed to bring morality and integrity to politics was not without challenges (Cheyeka, 2016: 160). Freston (2001) characterized it as a strategy to

succeed Chiluba in 2001, as by that year, he would have served his two terms. This was after his efforts to gain government co-option by issuing statements and writing in private newspapers about corruption in the country had failed (Cheyeka, 2014a). It is widely known in Zambia that despite Chiluba's role in championing democracy through the MMD and replacing Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's socialist one-party-participatory democracy, he did not necessarily share the same concerns for democracy, constitutionalism, and Christian practical ethics. This became evident when he introduced a new era of "Third Term" democracy in Africa (Cheyeka, 2016: 160).

#### **4.5. The Significance of Democracy and the Requirement for Diligent Effort**

In the era of democracy, the role of Catholic Church was to hold the new Christian government accountable for delivering on its promises. The Catholic Church leaders called upon all Zambians to actively contribute to the necessary improvements in their socio-economic conditions through heightened diligence and a commitment to the common good, as reflected in the following statement:

We have frequently heard from our fellow citizens the plea to rekindle a spirit of hard work and collaboration. It is undeniable that some individuals in both rural and urban settings are exerting great effort, often with insufficient rewards. However, there are also a significant number among us who occasionally succumb to the allure of idleness, indifference, fatalism, dishonesty, evasion of responsibilities, attributing blame to others, and illicit gains. For instance, who among us has not, at times, entered a government office, a store, or a school and left disappointed due to the lack of service? Such shortcomings in fulfilling our responsibilities cannot be justified (Komakoma, 2003: 270).

The Catholic Church leaders recognized that the future of Zambia primarily rested in the hands of its people, emphasizing the importance of fostering greater self-reliance and reducing dependence on government and charitable assistance. They encouraged individuals to enhance national, communal, and personal productivity. By doing so, they believed that a sense of conscientiousness and professionalism would prevail, instilling a sense of pride and satisfaction in contributing to the nation's development (Komakoma, 2003: 270).

#### **4.5.1. The Christian Church as an Exemplar of Social Principles**

The Catholic bishops acknowledged that in championing this fresh ethos of responsibility and transparency, the Catholic Church must serve as an exemplar for society. They emphasized that "we cannot urge others to adopt virtues that we ourselves do not endeavor to embody" (Komakoma, 2003: 271). They committed to fostering increased transparency and candor regarding the church's decisions, activities, and finances, as well as fostering engagement and self-sufficiency within the framework by actively engaging young individuals in the planning and decision-making processes (Komakoma, 2003: 271).

#### **4.6. The Tangible Implementation of Catholic Social Teaching in Zambia**

##### **4.6.1. The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR)**

This section will be discussed based on the theoretical framework that suggests the importance of understanding a historical phenomenon from a historical perspective, as we are continually influenced by both its history and our own. In this process of comprehension, we become intertwined with that history (Gadamer, 1985: 310).

The process of understanding the way the JCTR views social teaching is rooted in the belief that it serves as a repository of social wisdom, offering values designed to guide Christian conduct in the political, economic, and social aspects of society, with the goal of enabling individuals to lead a complete and dignified human life (JCTR, 2016: 1). According to the JCTR, Catholic theology maintains that this social wisdom is encapsulated in Scripture, the teachings of Popes, bishops, and other religious leaders, the work of theologians, and the everyday experiences of Christians (2016: 1).

Catholic theological teachings on social matters revolve around four key principles:

**The Dignity of the Human Person:** This principle asserts that every human being is created in the image of God (Genesis 1:27) and, as a result, possesses inherent dignity. This dignity and sanctity

of life confer various rights on each person that should be honored, safeguarded, and promoted by both individuals and the political and social institutions within the nation.

**Subsidiarity:** This principle recommends a decentralized administrative system that operates closer to the people. It advises that policy decision-making and implementation should occur at the local level where it can be carried out efficiently and effectively.

**The Common Good:** The common good entails the establishment of institutions and behaviors that benefit all members of society, contributing to their fulfillment. Services offered by the state should be easily accessible to everyone.

**Solidarity:** Solidarity underscores the idea that, despite differences in nationality, politics, religion, and language, the human family is united. As a result, we share a mutual responsibility to promote the development of all individuals, particularly the disadvantaged and vulnerable, irrespective of their specific identities (JCTR, 2016: 1).

The true meaning of a text, in the case of the JCTR, is conveyed to the interpreter and is not solely contingent on the circumstances of the author and their original audience. It is not identical to them but is also influenced by the interpreter's historical context, shaped by the entirety of the objective course of history (Gadamer, 1985: 315). Reading a text focuses on the themes of the social teaching world that the text generates and projects (West, 1991b: 89).

When President Chiluba sought to incorporate the declaration into the Zambian Constitution, the JCTR regarded it as "unfortunate." The final 1996 amendment to the Constitution was seen as lacking in popular legitimacy because it did not consider most of the recommendations made by the people (Zambia, 1995: 20). Moreover, the government rejected numerous suggestions, including the expansion of the Bill of Rights to encompass women's rights, children's rights, economic, social, and cultural rights (such as health, education, food, clean water, and sanitation), the establishment of a constitutional court, and the adoption of the Constitution through a constituent assembly, as advocated by civil society groups (Zambia, 1995: 20). The following

section delves into the implementation of social teaching and its influence on the Catholic Church's reception or rejection of the declaration.

#### **4.6.2. The Impact of the Catholic Social Teaching on the Christian State Declaration**

This section explores the practical application of Catholic social teaching by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) in addressing the socioeconomic challenges faced by the majority of Zambians in their daily lives. One of the tools used by the JCTR to assess whether government policy decisions are contributing to development is the Basic Need Basket (BNB). As we will demonstrate, many of the elements identified by the BNB are closely aligned with the social teachings of the Catholic Church.

Additionally, this section validates the hypothesis that the theological and sociopolitical principles embedded in the social teaching of the Roman Catholic Church significantly inclined Catholics to respond positively to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. The ensuing discussion encompasses the key elements of the social teaching documents mentioned earlier.

##### **4.6.2.1. Theological and Practical Characteristics of Catholic Social Teaching**

The regular surveys conducted by the JCTR, which delve into socio-economic, political, justice, human rights, and dignity issues in Zambia, are inspired by the organization's mission statement. The JCTR, an initiative of the Zambia-Malawi Society of Jesus, commonly known as the "Jesuits," defines its mission as an endeavor to "promote a critical understanding of current issues from a faith-inspired perspective" (Chiti, 2011: 4). This mission statement is a dynamic and ever-evolving framework, akin to Gadamer's concept of the "historical situatedness" of each phase of the JCTR's mission, illustrating a dimension of dialectical development (Thiselton, 2006: 91).

Chiti (2011: 4) elucidates that the JCTR was established in 1988 with the purpose of examining the Zambian reality from both theological and social angles, and to conduct pertinent research and take action imbued with a faith-driven quest for justice. This faith draws its principles from various sources, including Scripture, the teachings of Popes (such as encyclicals and conciliar documents), theologians, and Episcopal Conferences (like the Zambian Conference of Catholic Bishops). This

study posits that the theological and social perspectives are connected to the finite determinate of how an individual's scope of vision gradually expands.

A person with no horizon is limited in their ability to see beyond their immediate surroundings, placing significant emphasis on what lies within their current field of vision. Gadamer points out that having a horizon means having the capacity to perceive and transcend what is immediately in view (Gadamer, 1985: 340). The JCTR has managed to achieve this, possessing a horizon that allows them to perceive and transcend immediate challenges, particularly through the conduction of various surveys like the Basic Need Baskets (BNB).

When addressing specific policy decisions, governance issues, questions of human dignity, and justice, JCTR draws extensively from the Catholic social wisdom found in the social doctrine. Catholic social teaching (CST) is a collection of teachings from the Christian tradition that instructs how the actions of individuals, groups, local and national leaders, governmental and non-governmental entities, and others should contribute to the establishment of just societies, economies, political and legal systems, communities, and more (Chiti, 2011: 4).

Several values emerge from CST, serving as the foundation for reflection and thoughtful action. CST emphasizes the intrinsic human dignity of all individuals as beings created in the image of God and living within a community. It also guides us that development represents a transition from less humane conditions to more humane ones (John Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, 1967, 4). Other values encompass solidarity, human rights, and respect for the integrity of creation.

To contextualize JCTR's role in Zambia, it's vital to consider a pivotal aspect in determining whether citizens' human dignity is being enhanced, namely, the Basic Need Basket (BNB). According to Chiti (2011: 4), "some of the principles and values guiding the BNB include the promotion of human dignity, the right to food, employment, the need to provide fair wages, and the preference for the poor. Through this, the JCTR endeavors to work toward the enhancement of the fullness of life (John 10:10)." In this context, the JCTR addresses issues akin to those Karl Marx sought to tackle during the early years of industrialization, where workers were often

exploited by capitalists, leading to the dehumanization of the impoverished in the modern developed and developing world.

This concern aligns with the focus of Liberation Theology in Latin America and the Second Vatican Council. The latter introduced several encyclicals that modernized the social question, adding dimensions such as human rights and dignity, justice, religious liberty, socio-economic rights, political rights, the importance of citizen consultation and participation in policy-making decisions, among others. The study posits that the JCTR has taken up the mantle of the fight for the social question initiated by Pope Leo XIII through *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 and now serves as a watchdog in areas of policy-making decisions. Many of the human values espoused in the aforementioned encyclicals are encapsulated in the advocacy work of the JCTR.

#### **4.7. The Impact of the Catholic Social Teaching on JCTR**

The JCTR's activities are guided by Catholic social teaching, which places a strong emphasis on upholding human dignity within the community. As previously mentioned, one of the areas in which the JCTR operates to assess the realization of human values outlined in papal documents is the Basic Need Basket (BNB). This tool is designed to assess whether an average Zambian household can afford the essential requirements necessary for a dignified life, and whether genuine development is occurring as the affordability of these basic needs changes over time (Chiti, 2011: 4). As a result, the BNB, which highlights the challenges faced by the underprivileged and gives voice to their concerns, is guided by the following principles:

##### **4.7.1. The Aspiration for a Dignified Existence**

The preceding section has illustrated the significant dimension added to the BNB approach, which is grounded within Catholic Social Teaching (CST) and fundamentally acknowledges the dignity of every individual. CST places a belief in the fundamental dignity of every human person at the core of its policy formulation. This belief is rooted in scriptural teaching, specifically Genesis 1:27, which affirms that human beings are "created in the image and likeness of God" (Chiti, 2011: 4). The JCTR employs the concept of conscientization as its clear point of reference in much of its literature, and this approach forges a theology that is well-suited to address the contemporary

context (Sitz im Leben) (Gadamer, 1985: 314). It follows that every individual, regardless of their involvement in the actions of a Christian state, possesses inherent and inalienable basic rights and corresponding duties. These rights and duties emanate not from Christian state action but from the generous and creative endowment intrinsic to human nature.

Pope John XXIII, in *Pacem in Terris*, reminds us that "any well-regulated and productive association of human beings in society demands the acceptance of one fundamental principle: that each individual is truly a person endowed by nature with intelligence and free will. As such, he or she has rights and duties, which flow together as a direct consequence of this human nature. These rights and duties are universal, inviolable, and therefore inalienable" (PT 9). The text of *Pacem in Terris* emphasizes that the state should safeguard, foster, and promote human rights.

The belief in the fundamental dignity of every human person necessitates that people are treated in ways that reflect and respect their inherent dignity. Furthermore, it requires that every policy, program, and priority be evaluated based on whether it enhances or diminishes human life and dignity (PT 9). The overarching orientation or "final cause" is further specified through two other forms of justice, known as 'distributive justice,' which relates the common goods of society to its constituent parts, and 'commutative justice,' which governs the relationships among those parts. These principles align loosely with the concepts of subsidiarity and solidarity, respectively (Sullins, 2008: 17).

In this context, it is anticipated that the discussion of the common good is followed by an exploration of the concept of the universal destination of human rights and dignity. Subsidiarity is succeeded by a section on participation, and solidarity leads to a discussion of the fundamental values of social life. The implicit dynamic of this presentation revolves around a reciprocal call and response (Sullins, 2008: 17). This is why Gadamer (1985: 314) argues that "hermeneutics relies heavily on communal understanding and its transmitted wisdom, which support a future understanding not based solely on individual beliefs." For the JCTR, the BNB serves as a tool to assess whether these principles are being upheld by considering whether Zambians have genuine access to the basic necessities of life that contribute to the realization of their rights and the ability to live a dignified life (Chiti, 2011: 4).

#### **4.7.2. Fair pay, as stated in *Mater et Magistra* (MM) 71 and *Quadragesimo Anno* (QA) 31**

These writings on social teaching emphasize the importance of "First and foremost, the worker's salary should be sufficient to maintain both himself and his family. Every effort should be taken to ensure that heads of households are paid a wage that meets their average domestic needs " (QA 31). In Zambia, the JCTR uses the BNB results to fight for fair worker rates. Several labor unions use the JCTR's BNB findings as a valuable reference for seeking better salaries. Even foreign embassies use BNB data to determine employee wages (Chiti, 2011: 5).

However, during Chiluba's government, large-scale layoffs occurred due to the privatization of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), resulting in the loss of employment and jeopardizing the economic security of numerous families. Moreover, Chiluba's administration was marred by extensive bribery and corruption, leading to a significant increase in poverty levels due to the mismanagement of public funds (The Post, 1996). It was during this period that the grand promises made by Chiluba when he declared the country a Christian state appeared hollow, leaving the population in despair (Gifford, 1998: 197-198).

#### **4.7.3. Preference for the Less Fortunate**

The concept of the "Option for the Poor" is evident in various encyclicals, including *Quadragesimo Anno* (QA 137), *Octogesima Adveniens* (OA 23), *Mater et Magistra* (MM 20,17), and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (SRS 42) (Dorr, 1993: 30). The specific passage cited here is from the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, published in 1987. It emphasizes that, in today's global context of the social question, the love and preference for the poor should encompass vast numbers of hungry and needy individuals (SRS 42). We believe that the "Option for the Poor" is a dynamic principle that must adapt to meet the basic needs of individuals as they evolve (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

Despite Zambia being declared a Christian state, Chiluba's expectation that God would bring prosperity to the nation's economy has not been realized (Gifford, 1998: 198). The majority of Zambians continue to live in poverty, as evidenced by JCTR's Basic Need Basket (BNB) data, which reveals their struggles to meet even their most essential needs (Chiti, 2011: 5). The BNB

serves as a means to shed light on the interests and needs of the poor, drawing attention to the challenges faced by the majority of Zambians (Chiti, 2011: 5). In conclusion, the study suggests that the Christian state declaration has not brought about a profound transformation of the country, particularly in terms of alleviating poverty (M'fundisi, 2014: 127).

#### **4.7.4. The Right to Food (*Pacem in Terris*, 26)**

The concept of the "right to food" is predominantly articulated in the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, which asserts that when discussing human rights, it is evident that every person possesses the right to life, bodily integrity, and the means necessary for the proper development of life. This encompasses fundamental essentials such as food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, and essential social services (PT 26). Various international human rights agreements also emphasize the right to food as a fundamental entitlement for individuals. Therefore, food is not merely a basic necessity. The JCTR, in alignment with Catholic social teaching, has aligned itself with the global recognition that the right to food constitutes another facet of the rights inherent to human beings as a result of their God-given dignity (Chiti, 2011: 5). It can be contended that when one acknowledges the right to food as a horizon, they gain a sense of the relative importance of everything within this horizon, whether it is close or distant, significant or trivial. Similarly, establishing the hermeneutical context involves developing the appropriate perspective for investigating the questions prompted by the encounter with the right to food (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

#### **4.7.5. Universal destination of earthly goods, *Mater et Magistra*, MM 43; *Gaudium et Spes*, GS 69**

This concept is primarily elaborated in *Mater et Magistra*, published in 1961, and *Gaudium et Spes*, which was released in 1965. These encyclicals proclaim that "God intended the earth and all its riches for the benefit of all human beings and nations" (GS 69). According to the JCTR, in a nation like Zambia, which is rich in natural resources, there is no excuse for failing to ensure that all its inhabitants have unimpeded access to the earth's bounties hidden beneath its surface and those that can be extracted from above (Chiti, 2011: 5).

However, since Zambia's transition to multi-party politics, a trend has emerged where only a select elite few have reaped the benefits of these natural resources. In the context of this study, the JCTR

plays a crucial role in addressing these governmental shortcomings. The BNB further underscores this message by highlighting that these earthly goods are not reaching every corner of the country and all sectors of society (2011: 5).

#### **4.7.6. Improvement in the Standard of Living, MM, 160, 187**

In line with *Mater et Magistra's* teachings, it is emphasized that economically prosperous nations should support less fortunate ones to enhance their quality of life (MM 160). Elevating the standard of living for millions in Zambia involves addressing poverty, a concept Pope John XXIII also encouraged economically advanced nations to embrace. JCTR, following this principle, endeavors to highlight the plight of the impoverished, marginalized, and frail within the country, urging influential stakeholders to enhance their living conditions (Chiti, 2011: 5).

The examples cited above reveal that the "Christian state" rhetoric has not significantly improved the socio-economic circumstances of the average Zambians; instead, it has primarily benefited those with political connections. Presently, Zambia faces widespread poverty across all religious groups. Although the religious denominations appear to collaborate through ecumenical bodies like ZCCB, CCZ, and EFZ, Chiluba's administration divided the religious institutions, favoring Pentecostals. The following section explores the role of JCTR in advocacy.

#### **4.8. The JCTR and its Advocacy Role**

The advocacy role of JCTR can be understood as an essential aspect of their commitment to the principles of social teaching. It is crucial to examine the underlying perspective or "horizon" of the Catholic social doctrine, as it is vital in the historical context of advocacy strategy. When discussing historical consciousness in advocacy, we must view the past in its own light, not through contemporary biases and standards, but within its historical context (Gadamer, 1985: 313).

As a result, the findings of the BNB are frequently utilized in JCTR's advocacy work. JCTR's advocacy approach regarding basic needs strongly relies on collaboration with key strategic partners, such as trade unions, NGOs, donors, government officials, community leaders, among others. This collaboration serves as a means to gain insight into the socio-economic conditions of

various Zambian towns, reflecting the historical context of advocacy (Gadamer, 1985: 313). This snapshot often reveals the widespread suffering of the majority. In accordance with JCTR's mission, which is aligned with the mission of Jesus Christ, as outlined in Luke 4:18, JCTR advocates on behalf of the people of Zambia. This is also in line with the teachings of the Second Vatican II, which encourages us to champion the interests and concerns of all those who suffer in any way (The Church in the Modern World, 1).

The BNB, which highlights the disparity between the cost of living and the income of ordinary families, is a crucial tool when advocating for change, social justice, and improved economic policies, among other objectives. It can be argued that during Chiluba's tenure, he failed to uphold democratic principles that he had espoused in his writings on issues of good governance, the rule of law, and political rights, particularly regarding citizen consultation and participation in decision-making. Notably, state financial support was directed toward selected churches favored by his government. Moreover, rampant bribery and corruption hindered the government from addressing the needs of the people. Policies such as privatization and market liberalization exacerbated poverty, as many State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) were either sold to the highest bidder or collapsed under official government actions. The majority of the population was denied their basic rights, including fair wages, access to food, and a decent standard of living. It was within this context that the Catholic Church, through organizations like CCJP and JCTR, engaged with the government, highlighting the areas where it fell short in providing for its citizens.

#### **4.9. Summary**

This chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of how the Catholic social doctrinal texts have influenced the Catholic Church's acceptance or rejection of a particular declaration. The focus of this chapter was on the Zambian Conference of Catholic Bishops, aiming to determine the Catholic Church's stance on the declaration by examining the content of their pastoral letters and statements, which draw from the principles outlined in the five encyclicals and conciliar texts. Ultimately, the chapter concludes that these documents, embedded within the bishops' pastoral letters and statements, led to a rejection of the declaration. This rejection was based on the failure of the declaration to address specific aspects that would have made it more representative of the entire country.

Additionally, the chapter explored the practical implementation of Catholic social teaching within the context of Zambia. It shed light on how the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) has applied various Catholic social doctrine to their monthly surveys, particularly through the use of the Basic Need Basket (BNB). These surveys illustrate the extent to which Catholic social teachings are relevant to the socio-economic conditions of the Zambian people.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### A THEOCRATIC STATE: REACTION TO THE INSTRUMENTALISATION OF RELIGION UNDER PRESIDENT CHLUBA

#### 5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter initiated with an exposition of the theological and socio-practical aspects of social teaching, followed by an exploration of the role played by the five encyclicals and a specific conciliar document (referred to as *Dignitatis Humanae*) in shaping the Catholic Church's acceptance or rejection of the Christian state declaration. In contrast, this chapter commences with the presentation of research findings concerning church-state relations. The central inquiry revolves around the nature of the church-state relationship in Zambia. These findings will be juxtaposed with the theoretical foundations of four distinct church-state models, namely Luther's, Calvin's, the separation of the church and state relations, and Bonhoeffer's models.

Furthermore, we will take into account Gadamer's hermeneutical theory, an integral part of the interpretive paradigm, which underscores the idea of merging horizons. We will also explore Bieringer's notion of normativity of the future. Thus, the primary objectives of this chapter are twofold: first, to investigate how the Christian state has influenced the amalgamation of the church-state relationship, particularly by involving certain religious leaders in government roles; and second, to determine which of the aforementioned church-state models aligns best with the Zambian context. The next part will delve into an in-depth exploration of reactions to the church-state relationships in Zambia, guided by the principles found in encyclicals and conciliar texts.

#### 5.2. Responses of Zambians to Church-State Relations

##### 5.2.1. Examining the Relationships between Politics and Religion in the Old Testament

Before delving into the examination of responses regarding the church-state relationship, it is crucial to conduct a biblical analysis of politics and religious relationships. These findings will encompass the synthesis of existing literature and the feedback obtained from research

participants. This entails a meticulous examination of the findings in conjunction with the established body of knowledge, a process aptly referred to as "enfolding literature" (Eisenhardt, 1989). This analysis aims to critically understand and establish how the church-state relationship as 'enfolding literature,' has historically existed in Zambia.

The concept that the evolving literature should be seen as historically shaped consciousness (referred to as *Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) which is fundamentally an integral element of the comprehension process. The hermeneutical situation can be described as one's awareness of being influenced by historical factors (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) (Gadamer, 1985: 312). Consequently, historically influenced consciousness and the hermeneutical situation are components of a multifaceted interpretive framework, positioned within the fields of theology and social studies.

As we delve into this unfolding literature, Bieringer's hermeneutical foundation of NOF suggests that literature can be perceived to operate in three distinct dimensions: the world preceding the text, the world within the text, and the world after the text (Bieringer, 2010: 14). Additionally, West's categorization corresponds to these perspectives as reading into the text's origins, interpreting the text itself, and projecting beyond the text (West, 1991: 88). These distinct dimensions have significantly influenced our approach to the discussions within this section.

According to David Njovu, Israel was not merely a nation but rather "the people of the Lord" across religious, political, and cultural facets. The nation's religion held legal authority over all, including foreigners residing within its borders. Every aspect of religious observance, from the attire of religious leaders to the places of worship, was divinely ordained. The focal point of Israel's worship was the "Ark of the Covenant," symbolizing God's central role in socioeconomic, political, and religious affairs (Njovu, 2002: 9).

Before the era of kings in Israel, the nation operated as a theocracy with God governing through appointed vice-regents, namely prophets and judges like Moses, Deborah, and Samuel. The political structure was theocratic, with both the Constitution and laws rooted in the "Word of God." The introduction of monarchy in Israel was initially met with reluctance, as the people's request

for a king marked a shift from their theocratic tradition. Despite the change, the monarchy continued to operate within a theocratic framework (Njovu, 2002: 9).

Though the monarchy was established, the lineage of David held particular significance in the context of Jesus as the Son of God. The desire for a king in Israel can be associated with the concept of "horizon" where new perspectives continuously evolved. Even with the monarchy, cultural practices of the Israelites remained deeply rooted in the "Word of God." Religious rituals, such as circumcision, held both religious and cultural significance, and the Book of Leviticus outlined guidelines for daily life, including dietary restrictions. Essentially, they were considered the "People of God" (Njovu, 2002: 9).

Njovu asserts that Israel's relationship with Yahweh is characterized as "Sonship." Israel, as a nation, was regarded as God's son. This sonship was based on three considerations. Firstly, Israel was specially created as God's people, not selected from existing nations but uniquely formed by God. Secondly, the Sinai Covenant, described in Exodus 19-24, was particularly significant as it provided the framework for governing the Israelites. This covenant outlined conditions and obligations that, if followed, would result in blessings, while disobedience would lead to curses and punishment. This covenant was exclusive to Israel and had profound symbolic value (Njovu, 2002: 10).

The notion of Covenants, including the New Covenant introduced by Jeremiah in Jer. 31:31, was essential in uniting people with God through the redemptive work of Jesus Christ. However, the Sinai Covenant was specific to Israel, emphasizing its unique status as God's chosen people. Consequently, the Covenant made by Chiluba to establish Zambia as a Christian state, resulting in a church-state relationship, is considered irrelevant in the context of modern Zambia, which operates as a democratic state rather than a chosen nation of God (Njovu, 2002: 10).

The connection between Yahweh and Israel was evident in God's provision of the land for the nation, as noted by Njovu (2002: 10). This act was a direct fulfillment of the promise made to Abraham (Genesis 12:1), signifying that the land of Israel remained under Yahweh's ownership. The continued occupancy of the Israelites was contingent on their obedience to God's word (2002:

10). However, the Israelites' unfaithfulness led to the occupation of their land by foreigners (cf. Deut. 28:58-64; see also Neh. 1:8-9).

Special relationships that bound the nation of Israel to Yahweh can be observed in passages like Exodus 23:21-33, where several features are discernible, including (a) an exhortation to obedience, (b) the dispossession of other nations, (c) the prohibition of idol worship, (d) the forbidding of contractual relations with the land's inhabitants, and (e) a warning to be aware of snares (Njovu, 2002: 11).

Njovu explains that the perception of a religious nation, as seen by Jesus and others, was distinct. God's supremacy was absolute, and human rulers governing the nations were not on par with God. A clear separation existed between the supremacy of God and religious beliefs (2002: 11). According to the Empathetic Dialogical Church and State Model, the state is just as divinely appointed as the church, and its contribution to the well-being of the people is equally valuable (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 352). Kyambalesa (2015: 2) concludes by asserting that no country today, except for Israel, can claim to be a Christian state in its national constitution. However, even Israel, which is considered God's chosen nation in the Holy Bible, does not have an official religion. The religious demographics of Israel indicate a diverse population, with a small percentage identifying as Christian and the majority adhering to Judaism (which does not recognize Jesus as Savior). The subsequent section explores the origins of Church-State relations in Zambia

### **5.3. The Commencement of the Church-State Relations in Zambia**

The concept of the separation of church and state has deep historical and philosophical roots. One of its earliest proponents was the French philosopher and writer Voltaire, who championed religious tolerance and the distinction between religious authority and political power. Voltaire's ideas played a pivotal role in shaping the secular state in France and had a profound influence on the framers of the United States Constitution (Israel, 2006: 200).

The decision to establish Zambia as a Christian state had unexpected consequences, particularly in the realm of church-state relations. The Christian state declaration led to a strengthening of ties between the church and the state, as it became evident that President Chiluba's political party, the

MMD, sought to leverage the state's power to secure support from religious institutions and maintain political dominance. This questionable approach to church-state relations was met with opposition, reflecting the principles of Bonhoeffer's church-state model (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 332-353), which emphasizes the church's ability to critique and challenge the state through open discourse.

When President Chiluba attempted to exert control over the church by appointing church leaders to government positions, the Catholic Church, represented by the ZCCB, voiced its concerns. These appointments were predominantly drawn from Pentecostal churches, and to further consolidate influence over specific religious groups, Chiluba established a Ministry of Religious Affairs that primarily oversaw Pentecostal congregations (Njovu, 2002: 58).

In our analysis of the church-state relations in Zambia after the Christian state declaration, it is important to draw from the principles of *Pacem in Terris*, which are rooted in natural law and human rights. To critique these relations effectively, it is essential to recognize and safeguard the inherent dignity and rights of all individuals, principles that demand acknowledgment and protection from both individuals and governments (PT 9). These principles underscore the value of personal freedom, equality, and solidarity among all individuals, as emphasized by the Catholic Church in Zambia through *Pacem in Terris*. Pope John XXIII explicitly affirmed fundamental rights, including the right to life, religious freedom, the right to form associations, and the right to engage in public affairs. These principles were perceived as a call to create a more equitable and just societal framework, both within nations and in international relations (PT 11).

As President Chiluba's government continued to appoint Evangelical pastors to political positions, it deepened what could be characterized as a problematic and closely intertwined relationship between the state and the church (Njovu, 2002: 58).

Chiluba's actions could be seen as an attempt to enlist the religious institutions' support in promoting good governance. However, his divisive efforts, particularly within mainstream churches, were primarily aimed at advancing his political career by capitalizing on the influential

Evangelical/Pentecostal Christian vote. The tainted relationship between the church and the state had the effect of suppressing the prophetic voice within the Pentecostal movement.

*Pacem in Terris* engaged with the role of the state and emphasized the importance of political authority serving the common good. While acknowledging the legitimate authority of governments, the encyclical underscored the need for accountability, transparency, and participatory decision-making processes (PT 26). It advocated for the responsible exercise of political power, with a focus on respecting and promoting human dignity and social justice. This emphasis on the role of political authority was interpreted as a plea for governance that is accountable and for the establishment of fair social and economic systems (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 135).

Conversely, voices from different ecclesiastical backgrounds, particularly those within mainstream churches like the Catholic Church, voiced their disapproval of the Christian state declaration. They also voiced apprehensions about the presence of corruption and bribery within Mr. Chiluba's government, drawing support from Vatican II documents, including *Pacem in Terris* (Njovu, 2002: 67).

During the colonial era, the government and the church forged a cooperative alliance driven by a shared strategic objective of securing the allegiance of the nation and its people to one of their European projects (Gibbs et al., 1999: 73). In the post-independence era under President Kaunda's rule, the religion held a pivotal role in his governance vision, with Kaunda frequently invoking his Christian heritage (his father served as a local missionary and was ordained as a Scottish Presbyterian pastor) to affirm both his political and religious legitimacy on the international stage (Gifford, 1998: 189).

Despite this close association with the church, Kaunda never deemed it necessary to declare Zambia a Christian state, recognizing and respecting the secular nature of the church-state relationship. His stance may have been influenced by the belief that the church held the potential to guide the state toward truth. Thus, under Kaunda's leadership, Zambia became a society where

individuals were free to practice their religious beliefs without government interference or oppression, and the state maintained a neutral and impartial position in religious matters (DH 1).

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) assumed leadership in Zambia following the country's transition to a democratic state in 1991. The MMD Manifesto recognized the unique significance and autonomy of churches, mosques, and other religious communities. It explicitly stated that these organizations would not be subject to state influence in their spiritual and social welfare activities (MMD Manifesto, 1991: 58). This acknowledgment of the independence of religious institutions underscored the MMD's commitment to the separation of church and state, a fundamental principle advocating for the self-governance and autonomy of religious entities, while also aligning with the concept of secularism, which emphasizes the state's impartiality in religious matters (DH 1).

Within this framework, as outlined in *Pacem in Terris*, the role of the state is to serve the common good, acknowledging the legitimate authority of governments and emphasizing the importance of accountability, transparency, and participatory decision-making processes (PT 26). The encyclical emphasizes the responsible exercise of political power, with a focus on respecting and promoting human dignity and social justice. This emphasis on the role of political authority is interpreted as a plea for governance characterized by responsibility and the establishment of fair social and economic systems (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 135).

During this period, the MMD, as a political party, initially endorsed the principle of separating church and state (Kasomo and Naila, 2013: 14). However, their stance underwent a transformation once they assumed political power. In a diverse society like Zambia, characterized by people of various backgrounds, cultures, religions, and value systems, it is imperative that the dominant religion, Christianity, exhibits tolerance towards others (N'diaye, 2008: 5).

Moreover, the discussion on religious freedom carries implications for the establishment of a particular religion. One such implication is briefly touched upon in *Dignitatis Humanae*, Article 6. In cases where a specific religion is granted "special civil recognition," it becomes essential that the rights of other citizens and religious communities are duly "acknowledged and respected" (DH

6). Given the extensive history of church and state coalescing into a collective entity and considering various historical instances of state-established religions, it seems unlikely that the official acknowledgment of this history would be confined to the disclaimers found in Article 1, detailing what the council refrains from interfering with, and the concise statement in Article 6 outlining the state's obligation to respect the rights of minority groups, particularly in situations where the Catholic Church holds a privileged position in the constitution or through a concordat, which is a treaty between the state and the Holy See (Hittenger, 2008: 365).

The pluralist model strives to establish contemporary societies that can effectively embrace individuals from various ethnic backgrounds and diverse religious orientations (N'Diaye, 2008: 5). Achieving this goal becomes feasible when we take into account the declaration on religious liberty or freedom, which seeks to tackle significant challenges that the Catholic Church faces. These challenges encompass encouraging secular governments to uphold religious freedom and harnessing the church's moral and spiritual influence to endorse limited constitutional governance, particularly in the post-World War era (DH 2).

The central concept here is to welcome the existence of diverse religious groups and provide them the freedom to function within the parameters of the Christian state declaration. This approach would promote a practical pluralist discourse within Zambia (N'Diaye, 2008: 5). Accordingly, the notion of separating the church-state relations aspires to establish a society where individuals can freely exercise their religious beliefs without government interference or oppression. It also envisions a state that maintains a neutral and unbiased stance regarding religious matters (DH 1).

It's important to note that religious pluralism, characterized by religious freedom, does not marginalize other religious groups. The argument is that religious freedom in the country provides the best opportunity for these groups to actively and respectfully participate within the socio-political context and offer constructive criticisms to the state concerning issues of injustice, human rights abuses, and governance deficiencies. This perspective aligns with the church-state model that emphasizes both the church and the state as legitimate institutions providing different services while serving the same master and being essential for the welfare of the community (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 332-353).

President Chiluba had the opportunity to leverage ecumenical organizations representing Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and mainline churches in Zambia, including the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, as well as other religions like Hinduism, Islam, and African Traditional Religion (ATR), as valuable non-governmental voices to advise the government on critical governance matters, such as the proposed Constitutional declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.

During Chiluba's presidency, the relationship that developed between the church and the state led to certain segments of the church being co-opted to serve the political objectives of the ruling party (Gibbs et al., 1999: 74). In this process, other religious groups were sidelined by President Chiluba. Ihonvbere characterizes this period as a "merger of church and state" (Ihonvbere, 1996: 199). However, Henriot argues that this perspective oversimplifies the situation and prefers to describe it as the politicization of religion by Chiluba and his associates (Henriot, 1998: 58).

This was evident in the way Chiluba appointed several pastors who supported his election to significant government positions (Gibbs et al., 1999: 74), while leaders from mainline churches and other religious groups were disregarded. For instance, during the presidential elections, Reverend Danny Pule, who opposed Kaunda and supported Chiluba, claimed that "some presidential and parliamentary candidates were relying on witchcraft and demonic powers to win the election, inviting spiritual darkness into the land" (Gifford, 1998: 192).

Following Chiluba's election, Rev. Pule was appointed as the Assistant Minister of Finance in the new government. Another significant appointment was that of Rev. Stan Kristafor as the Assistant Minister of Information, who subsequently banned Muslim radio programs. This ban, however, was lifted following complaints from NGOs, which argued that it contravened the Constitution's stipulations regarding religious freedom (Gifford, 1998: 201). These examples clearly illustrate how Mr. Chiluba and his political party utilized certain church leaders as instruments to achieve their political objectives. Therefore, mainline churches and other religious groups that opposed Chiluba's model of church-state relations were marginalized.

The Roman Catholic Church, along with other religious groups such as Islam, Hinduism, and African Traditional Religion (ATR), found themselves treated as subordinate religious entities. This situation reinforced the perspective that only the state's definition of "true churches" and which religion was deemed "true" were considered valid. As both Bolaji Idowu (1970: 93-94) and Johnson Mbillah (2004: 192) have observed, religious pluralism characterizes the African continent, reflecting its diverse cultures and pluralistic societies (Mbillah, 2004: 192).

President Chiluba, however, disregarded religious freedom, guaranteed under Part Three of the Zambian Constitution. The right to religion or the protection of the freedom of conscience is enshrined in Article 19 of the Constitution, which states: "Except with his own consent, a person shall not be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of conscience, and for the purposes of this article, the said freedom includes freedom of thought and religion, freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, and both in public and in private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worshiping, teaching, practicing, and observance." This right to religion is on par with other rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

Additional clauses in other pieces of legislation provide protection for freedom of religion. Offenses against religion are outlined in Chapter XIV of the Penal Code, Chapter 87 of the Laws of Zambia, including (1) insulting the religion of any class of people with the intent to insult or defile places of worship or sacred objects, (2) disrupting lawful religious worship or ceremonies, (3) offending religious beliefs or hurting feelings by trespassing on graves, and (4) intentionally offending someone's religious beliefs or hurting their feelings.

The study argues that the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, as previously discussed, obstructed the exercise of freedom of conscience for non-Christians. This declaration essentially elevated Christianity above all other religions, a fact demonstrated by President Chiluba's disregard for religious freedom. Abraham Mwansa (2008: 557) notes that although these offenses are outlined in the law, they are generally considered minor misdemeanors with minimal or challenging-to-enforce penalties. However, Penal Code 132(4) highlights an area where President Chiluba infringed upon religious freedom through the Christian state declaration. In contrast, *Dignitatis Humanae* strongly underscored that every individual possesses the right to religious

freedom, which encompasses the freedom to practice, change, and propagate their religious beliefs without facing coercion or discrimination (DH 15).

As there was no respect for religious freedom, Christianity became politically charged, leading President Chiluba to respond to criticism by quoting the biblical verse, "Judge not, and you shall not be judged" (Ihonvbere, 1996: 199). Chiluba faced harsh criticism from the media for using public funds to promote his religious agenda. The media argued that Chiluba's dedication to Pentecostalism jeopardized effective governance in Zambia. They urged Chiluba to prioritize resolving the nation's political and economic challenges and tackling corruption within his administration (A Post editorial quoted in Gifford, 1998: 203). However, President Chiluba disregarded such criticism from both the media and the church due to his autocratic style of rule. The following section examines the responses to the church-state relationship in Zambia.

#### **5.4. The Reactions to Zambia's Church-State Relations**

The Christian state declaration in Zambia led to the politicization of responses regarding the church-state relationship. Mr. K., a research participant or informant, shared his perspective on church-state relations, reflecting on the time when Kaunda promoted unity within the church in Zambia. This occurred during the inauguration of the United Church of Zambia (UCZ). He explains:

*After gaining independence in 1964, the following year, in 1965, under Kaunda's leadership, the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) was established. Correct me if I'm wrong, but this initiative aimed to unite various missionaries and, for lack of a better term, foreign Christian missions in Zambia. Kaunda's goal was to create an indigenous church, forming an umbrella organization within Zambia. This was seen as a strategy to further strengthen the presence of Christianity in Zambia with the support of the government.*<sup>43</sup>

Mr. K's statement is contradicted by a minister of the United Church of Zambia, who says:

*Kaunda was invited to the occasion, he never initiated the unification of the five missionary churches. He was invited and made the patron of the church because he was the incumbent President at that time. The coming together of the five missionaries was necessitated mainly because of the country's new*

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<sup>43</sup> Interview with Mr. K. on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

*dispensation that was independence. I am aware that many writers have said that Kaunda initiated the unification that is not true.*

A Minister from the United Church of Zambia offers a different perspective, contrary to what Mr. K. mentioned. She explains that:

*Kaunda's involvement in the unification of the five missionary churches wasn't initiated by him. He was invited to the event and became the patron of the church because he was the serving President at that time. The consolidation of the five missionary churches was primarily prompted by the country's new status of independence. She's aware that some writers have claimed that Kaunda initiated the unification, but she asserts that this is not accurate.<sup>44</sup>*

By 1991, Zambia had officially been designated as a Christian state, and there were deliberate efforts by Chiluba's government to solidify the Church-State relations. One research participant commented as follows:

*Chiluba had other motives behind declaring Zambia a Christian nation. I've examined a brief history in which we can trace the influence of Christianity in various historical periods. To me, it seemed unnecessary to enforce church-state relations in Zambia after the declaration. As I mentioned, he had hidden agendas, and in my view, it was politically driven. People have put forward reasons explaining how Chiluba manipulated the church through the state.<sup>45</sup>*

This statement highlights the belief that Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia a Christian nation was influenced by political considerations rather than a genuine need for strengthening church-state relations.

The primary motivation behind Chiluba's tolerance of the church-state relationship was his aim to secure unwavering support from the church, ultimately maintaining his political power. As a result, Mr. Chiluba pursued this goal by aligning himself with certain pastors and church leaders who, in turn, received financial benefits from state resources. This dynamic is well articulated by one of the informants:

*... but some bishops and senior pastors drew close to Chiluba, to the extent that at one point, the government began to exert influence over them (religious leaders).*

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<sup>44</sup> Rev Jane, interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2020

<sup>45</sup> Mr. K. PMB interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

*On one side, they (religious leaders) were attempting to provide prophetic guidance to the government, but, on the other side, the government sought to manipulate them to strengthen its support among the Pentecostal Churches. It's important to remember that immediately after the MMD came to power, there was a faction of MMD that became dissatisfied and eventually broke away.<sup>46</sup>*

The provided response affirms that President Chiluba had a hidden agenda to exploit church leadership for the sole objective of prolonging his grip on power. This stands in contrast to the assumptions underpinning Bonhoeffer's Church-State model. According to Bonhoeffer, the government's relationship with the church is designed to enable Christians to engage in the secular world effectively. However, in Chiluba's case, he leveraged his connection with bishops and senior pastors who backed his government due to certain benefits received from the state, as elaborated below:

*The practice of offering bribes, known as "brown envelopes," emerged concurrently with certain pastors and bishops receiving land from Chiluba's government, gaining significant attention. Bishops who wished to maintain their integrity and avoid involvement in bribery and corruption distanced themselves from Chiluba, which had a negative impact on the church-state relationship. Meanwhile, some bishops aligned themselves closely with Chiluba, effectively blocking out others. This led to growing tensions among the bishops. In one notable instance, Bishop Ngambi distanced himself from these issues, particularly the bribery and corruption within church leadership. Subsequently, several scandals began to circulate, with reports of individuals receiving envelopes and benefits. For example, there were claims that Dan Pule had acquired a substantial piece of land initially presented as a government project, but it was later revealed that he intended to build a church and studio with funding from government funds.<sup>47</sup>*

Rev. Jane also contributes:

*The matter of 'brown envelopes' exchanging hands between the government and the church, particularly among those church leaders who aligned themselves with the Chiluba presidency, notably intensified the church-state relationship. Without reservation, I can assert that a significant portion of the clergy became extremely close to the President, all in pursuit of receiving favors from President Chiluba. Regrettably, this compromise hindered a substantial segment of the church from fulfilling its prophetic duty as entrusted by God, thereby undermining the trust of the people.<sup>48</sup>*

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

<sup>48</sup> Interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2020

In this particular context, President Chiluba's government aimed to establish a Christian state. However, it's important to note that a government does not necessarily have to become a 'Christian polity' in the Calvinist sense. Instead, a legitimate government should be defined by its divine duty, as designated by Christ, which is to serve the people (Bonhoeffer, 1995:347). In alignment with the principles of *Dignitatis Humanae*, the primary objective is to create a society where individuals can freely practice their religious beliefs without government interference or oppression. The state should maintain a stance of neutrality and impartiality concerning religious matters (DH 1)

Therefore, the corrupt approach to church-state relations contradicts Bonhoeffer's ethical church-state model, as Mr. Chiluba derived political benefits from these relationships. Bonhoeffer sought to delineate the ideal church-state relationship, where the church possessed the rights to engage, question, and critique the state through discourse (Bonhoeffer, 1955:332-353), especially when the government imposed public policies on people without adhering to the laws outlined in the Constitution and its statutes. It can be argued that the Catholic Church had a responsibility to engage, challenge, and criticize the state, particularly when Mr. Chiluba exploited certain churches. After the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, Chiluba effectively controlled the church through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, primarily communicating with Pentecostal and Evangelical denominations (Njovu, 2002: 58).

A Catholic informant provides the following perspective:

*During Chiluba's presidency, the dynamics of church-state relations primarily revolved around the state leveraging the clergy, many of whom were appointed to ministerial roles in his government. Initially, we were hopeful that the President's approach, involving religious leadership, would empower them with a prophetic voice within the government, allowing it to advocate for the people's interests. However, what unfolded diverged from our expectations. Instead of serving as advocates, these church leaders appointed to governmental positions became entangled with corrupt funds and property acquired from Chiluba.<sup>49</sup>*

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<sup>49</sup> Mrs. Musonda interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2020

In response to a question about the continued existence of the Ministry of Religious Affairs/Desk in successive governments, an Anglican priest noted that it seemed to be an effort to solidify the relationship between the church and the state:

*Indeed, that's quite accurate. Since Zambia was declared a Christian state, subsequent governments have placed significant emphasis on maintaining a ministry of religion. However, in my view, this may not be necessary because not all religious groups in Zambia equally benefit from its endeavors.<sup>50</sup> However, it's important to consider that perhaps this approach has been a way to sustain church-state relations, which could pose various risks to the country, especially when taking religious radicalism into account. We should also bear in mind that such initiatives to establish a new government department in Zambia for the oversight of religious affairs run the risk of transforming the country into a "theocracy" and extending state influence over religious matters.<sup>51</sup>*

This is why we advocate for the separation of church and state relations. The "Declaration on Religious Freedom" (*Dignitatis Humanae*) directly addressed the issue of religious liberty and the interaction between the church and the state. This declaration firmly stated that every individual possesses the right to religious freedom, which includes the freedom to practice, change, and share their religious beliefs without any form of coercion or discrimination (DH 15). It emphasized the paramount significance of respecting the dignity and conscience of individuals when it comes to matters of faith (DH 15). The establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs has consistently been supported by Rev. Mwansa, the leader of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, who highlights that:

*Its aim is to advance Christian principles and provide a deeper significance to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state.<sup>52</sup>*

Nonetheless, a Catholic Church informant contends that:

*In my perspective, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has been employed as a political instrument to further church-state relations in Zambia. I have yet to come across any official statement from the Religious Affairs Ministry that seeks to clarify the Christian state declaration. To our knowledge, the main duty of the minister in*

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<sup>50</sup> Some of the benefits can allude to certain policies that were designed by Chiluba's government for the benefit of selected churches.

<sup>51</sup> Father Phiri, Lusaka, interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>52</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2017

*charge is to attend churches, particularly when those churches are hosting national events, and that seems to be the extent of it. There hasn't been any information specifically addressing matters of church and state relations, particularly concerning the Christian nation.*<sup>53</sup>

Our contention is that the relationship between the church and the state, facilitated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, solidified and grew more pronounced during Mr. Chiluba's presidency. He initiated the appointment of Evangelical bishops and senior pastors into ministerial positions, as documented by Njovu (2002: 58).

In reference to Calvin's Church-State model, Calvin recognized that "the relationship between civil and spiritual authority had the potential for close cooperation" (McClellan, 1997: 46-47). According to some disciples of Calvin, the church essentially exerted control over the state by imposing its principles as the exclusive framework for governing a nation. In Zambia, many Pentecostal bishops and senior pastors aspired to eventually take over the reins of government after Chiluba's presidency, hoping to realize a system aligned with Calvin's Church-State model.

Our argument is that this vision was never fulfilled. Chiluba's agenda of pursuing political gains through the church-state relationship ultimately failed to materialize.

An informant made the following observations:

*From what I understood, the expectation was that President Chiluba would appoint a significant number of Christians, including bishops and pastors, to governmental positions. This was an expectation shared by many, including myself. I even thought that prominent figures like Reverend Sixtus Chiluba would eventually have a role in the government. It wouldn't be surprising if some people believed that the government would be largely influenced by the church.*

*What I personally anticipated was an increased presence of Christians in government. When individuals like Reverend Stan Kristoffer were initially appointed, there was a sense of optimism and satisfaction among us. We had hoped for more such appointments. However, our hopes were dashed when Chiluba later removed Kristoffer from his position. This left us disappointed, as we saw only a limited number of Christians in the government.*

*I'm struggling to recall the specific reason behind Kristoffer's dismissal. It wasn't related to religious differences, such as with the Muslim community. There was something he did, a specific action or incident, that led Chiluba to make the*

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<sup>53</sup> Ms. Betty interviewed on 17<sup>th</sup> March 2020) once worked at the Catholic Secretariat.

*decision to remove him from office. It might have been a rebuke or another issue, but I can't recall the exact details.*<sup>54</sup>

Rev. Jane responded to the question regarding the possibility of President Chiluba handing over the government to the church with the following points:

*Such a scenario would not have been feasible due to the diversity of denominations within Zambia, each of which has distinct doctrines and beliefs that may significantly differ from one another. To illustrate this, let's consider the current situation with the national day of prayers, which provides insight into what might have occurred if political power had been transferred to the church.*

*When the national day of prayers was introduced and later declared as a public holiday by the government, it was predominantly leaders and pastors from Pentecostal Churches who played a central role in organizing and leading the national prayers. Notably, many church leaders from the mainline churches were notably absent from the list of clergy participating in these national prayers. Consequently, numerous mainline church leaders chose not to attend these national prayers.*

*This serves as a prime example of church-state relations becoming deeply entrenched, with the state exerting influence over the church through events like the national day of prayers. As to your question about the church taking on political leadership, one must consider which denomination would assume that role. If, for instance, a Catholic priest were to be elected as the country's president, there's a high likelihood that Catholic doctrines and practices would be imposed on the nation, potentially leading to conflicts with other denominations. Therefore, in my view, such a scenario would not have been practical.*<sup>55</sup>

The aspirations of certain church leaders to assume leadership positions in Zambia were inappropriate. The church's role was not to govern the country but rather to fulfill a vital function within it. In essence, the church's prophetic voice was intended to advocate for the welfare of Zambians, particularly with regard to human rights, responsibilities, political matters, rights, justice, peace, and religious freedom – all of which were compromised following the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state (DH, 12).

As Mr. Chiluba marginalized most of the prominent mainline churches, these religious institutions continued to provide prophetic guidance and express doubts regarding the legitimacy of the

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<sup>54</sup> Mr. T. PMB interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>55</sup> Rev Jane, The United Church of Zambia Minister

declaration. The concept of the separation of church and state, a fundamental principle promoting the autonomy and independence of religious organizations from government influence, aligns with the idea of secularism, which advocates for the state's neutrality in religious matters (DH 1).

Moreover, they vocally voiced their concerns about the escalating issues of corruption and bribery within the government (Njovu, 2002:67).

A Catholic informant shares the following perspective:

*It's essential to recognize that if you closely examine the history of church-state relations in Zambia, you'll find that the church has consistently been influenced by the state. For example, President Kaunda encouraged church leaders to assume political roles in various capacities. Additionally, Kaunda associated himself with Protestant Churches, such as UCZ, and to a significant extent, exerted his influence on that denomination. I recall a time during Kaunda's Presidency when he invited Catholic priests and sisters to the statehouse for discussions, although the exact nature of these discussions remains unclear. However, with Chiluba, the dynamics took a more critical turn as he particularly favored church leaders from the Evangelical sector of the church. He frequently visited these churches and made substantial donations of money and land.<sup>56</sup>*

Mr. Chiluba consistently attended Pentecostal and Protestant churches until his departure from office in 2001. The following section will delve into the Catholic Church's stance and actions regarding the church-state relationship.

## **5.5. The Catholic Church's Approach to Church-State Relations**

To examine the Catholic Church's responses to the church-state relationship, it is essential to consider Catholic theology, particularly as outlined in Vatican II's *Dignitatis Humanae*. This document asserts that the fundamental principle of the separation of church and state advocates for the autonomy and independence of religious institutions from government control (DH 1). This principle is often associated with the concept of secularism, which promotes the state's neutrality in religious matters (DH 1). The overarching goal of this concept is to establish a society where individuals can freely practice their religious beliefs without government interference or oppression, while the state maintains a neutral and impartial stance on religious issues (DH 1). In

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<sup>56</sup> Ms. Mary was interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

essence, the framework of the separation of church and state is grounded in the principles of religious freedom, individual liberty, and the idea that the state should remain impartial in religious affairs (DH 3).

Vatican II, through its documents, significantly contributed to the development of this framework by recognizing the importance of religious freedom and the necessity for the church to engage with the state while preserving its fundamental teachings and values. The church-state interactions that evolved subsequent to the proclamation of Zambia as a Christian state are a particularly relevant area for Catholic doctrine.

It's important to note that both the church and the state are regarded as perfect societies, each fundamentally striving to achieve the common good that serves the broader needs of humanity and is centered on a general way of life. Both entities are legally empowered to provide the necessary and sufficient resources to accomplish this objective. The ethical foundation for the state is well-established, while the church's equivalent foundation is found in Christian theology. Since they coexist on Earth, share a community of subjects, and require some of the same resources for their activities, it is inevitable that they would have legal interactions with each other (Macksey, 1912: 1).

In this section, we will utilize two models and a concept to aid in the examination of the church-state relationship. We will commence with an exploration of the concept of the separation of church and state relations, followed by an examination of Luther's church-state model and Bonhoeffer's church-state model. These conceptual framework and models provide a hermeneutical foundation for understanding the Normativity of the Future (NOF). Within the texts related to the church-state models and concepts, we can discern their significance in three distinct realms: the world that precedes the text, the world within the text, and the world that lies ahead of the text, as described by Bieringer (2010: 10). Bieringer emphasizes that the connections to the past in the texts of church-state models play a crucial role in perpetuating the church-state model tradition. The concept of comprehension is paramount in unraveling the ongoing evolution of these two church-state model and a concept traditions, as the texts harken back to their original contexts while simultaneously transcending our contemporary world. This duality allows the texts to extend

beyond their temporal and spatial confines, constrained by their context, and assumes a pivotal role in noble contexts, as elucidated in their literary dimension (Gadamer, 1985: 314).

Above all, we must permit the Catholic social doctrine to engage with the matter at hand. For example, Philippe Denis (1992: 146) argues that "every church document, even when aspiring to universality, is inevitably shaped by its contextual surroundings." Furthermore, all forms of written and spoken expression, whether of a religious or secular nature, carry historical underpinnings, including papal encyclicals. In this section, we will delve into the ramifications of this historical dimension on Catholic social doctrines and church-state relations. Therefore, when we refer to historical consciousness, we are acknowledging that *Mater et Magistra* is situated within a historical context, and this context is an indispensable component of our understanding of church-state relations. Striving to eliminate this historical context in the analysis of church-state relationships results in the omission of various facets within the text, obstructing our pursuit of truth, which, though elusive, remains within reach. Consequently, historical objectivity is akin to statistical analysis in that the outcomes derived from statistical studies present the "facts" as they are, but this objectivity is contingent on the appropriateness of the questions posed (Gadamer, 1985: 312).

Fundamentally, an awareness deeply influenced by historical context (referred to as "*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein*") plays a vital role in the process of interpreting the text of *Mater et Magistra* concerning the relationship between the church and the state. This hermeneutical context involves the acknowledgment of how history shapes our understanding (Gadamer, 1985: 312). *Mater et Magistra* vigorously advocated for the inherent dignity of every individual, emphasizing the importance of recognizing and protecting the rights and well-being of people and communities in situations where church and state are separate. It emphasized the crucial aspect of comprehensive human development, encompassing not only material progress but also spiritual and moral advancement (MM 20). Moreover, *Mater et Magistra* highlighted the interconnectedness and interdependence of all individuals within religious institutions and the government, calling for unity among people, nations, and generations and fostering a shared responsibility for justice, peace, and development (Schindler, 2009: 589).

The Catholic Church's stance on the church-state relationship in Zambia was shaped by the doctrine of separation, which was deeply influenced by the Vatican II documents. The idea of separating church and state argues that the state can regulate its citizens within the bounds of its natural purpose unless a higher moral imperative prevents it. This higher moral imperative arises from a deeper and more fundamental destiny for humanity than the mere objectives pursued by civil society (Macksey 1912:1-2). Subsequently, *Pacem in Terris on Religious Freedom and Interfaith Relations* affirmed the right to religious freedom and advocated for interfaith dialogue. However, some traditionalist factions within the church expressed concerns that this document seemed to dilute the uniqueness and supremacy of Catholicism. This gave rise to discussions about the Catholic Church's approach to ecumenism and its interactions with non-Catholic religions (PT 8).

Above all, within the context of *Economic and Social Structure*, the Catholic social teaching emphasized the importance of social justice and critiqued economic systems that perpetuated inequality and injustice. Some critics, particularly those with more conservative economic viewpoints, disagreed with the encyclical's criticism of certain capitalist practices, asserting that it appeared to lean toward socialist or collectivist ideologies (PT 9).

Certain Protestant churches have emphasized the importance of maintaining robust church-state relations:

*This necessitates nurturing a balanced church-state relationship, where the government doesn't show bias toward only those groups that wholeheartedly endorse every decision and plan it undertakes.*<sup>57</sup>

The Catholic Church's standpoint is upheld as follows:

*I must express my support for my church's stance on the separation of Church and State relations, particularly here in Zambia. I believe that if the state can treat all religions equally and refrain from appointing specific church leaders to political positions, I would be more inclined to agree that these relations can coexist. However, in cases like President Chiluba, who exclusively appointed leaders from the Pentecostal Churches, I align with my church (the Catholic Church) in asserting that these relations should remain distinct.*<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Rev. Mwanza, Lusaka, interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2017.

<sup>58</sup> Ms. Mary was interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

While the idea of maintaining healthy church-state relations is commendable, there is a concern that this concept can be misused by certain politicians with the aim of exerting control over the church. This was evident in the case of Mr. Chiluba, who, through the declaration of a Christian state, seemed to pursue a Calvinistic church-state model, resulting in the dominance of the church by the state. Our argument asserts that the establishment of healthy church-state relations is feasible when Bonhoeffer's church-state model is put into practice. This model emphasizes distinct roles for both the church and the state, while emphasizing their shared allegiance to Jesus Christ as the ultimate authority (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 355). On the other hand, the Catholic model is more suitable when there is a clear separation between the church and the state:

*Considering the numerous financial and economic difficulties our nation is presently encountering, we view the establishment of this ministry as neither a foremost priority nor a wise choice. In essence, we are of the opinion that Zambians aspire to have a democratic nation rather than one governed by religious principles.<sup>59</sup>*

Mr. Chiluba's primary aim in amalgamating the church and the state was to create a theocratic state. However, the two main religious bodies opposed this endeavor, *emphasizing that the church's authority, purpose, and organization are divinely ordained and must not be conflated with the earthly realm of political governance.*<sup>60</sup>

Father Chomba further asserts:

*We shall not be "deterred" from assuming the role of the nation's moral compass and advocating for social justice, religious freedom and human rights. Simultaneously, we pledge our dedication to remain trustworthy and effective tools for fostering a culture of conversation, conciliation, equity, harmony, progress, reverence for diverse perspectives, and tranquility in Zambia.<sup>61</sup>*

The Catholic Church's role is to strive for perfection in the realm of political order, with a focus on ensuring justice, religious freedom and human rights within the political sphere. The Catholic Church offers guidance on political matters, particularly when politics encroaches on matters of justice, religious freedom and societal rights. However, it is important to maintain a clear

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<sup>59</sup> Father Mwansa, Lusaka, interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2017

<sup>60</sup> Father Chomba, interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2017

<sup>61</sup> Father Chomba, interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2017

separation between these two realms (1995: 62). In the Zambian context, the church-state relationship became entangled with issues of justice and rights, as certain churches received preferential treatment from Mr. Chiluba's government, while others were disregarded. The third model aligns with the Catholic Church's stance on the church-state relationship.

The 'New Catholic Encyclopedia' recognizes that both the church and the state are distinct perfect societies, each with different responsibilities aimed at advancing the common good, in line with the broader needs of humanity and the overarching principles of life. Both the church and the state possess the legal competence to provide all necessary and sufficient means to achieve their respective goals. The state's ethical justification is evident, just as the church's basis is derived from the theology of Christian Revelation (Marthaler et al. 2003: 100).

According to the Catholic priest:

*The Catholic Church has consistently opposed the idea of a close relationship between the church and the state. To illustrate this, shortly after Zambia was declared a Christian nation, we witnessed many pastors from Pentecostal churches actively seeking political positions, and Chiluba, in response, incorporated some of them into government roles. To me, this marked the zenith of church-state relations. I distinctly remember how the inclusion of specific pastors and bishops in the government led to disapproval among those who were excluded, leaving them feeling disillusioned despite their prior support for Chiluba and his political party. Chiluba's endeavors to blend the state with the church, firstly through political appointments and secondly by providing certain pastors with financial resources and land, were, in my view, the epitome of bribery and corruption. This represented the convergence of a segment of the Christian church with the government during Chiluba's presidency.*

*I firmly believe that such practices emerged from Chiluba's deliberate efforts to exert state influence over the church. This is precisely why the Catholic Church has consistently argued against the church-state relationship because it corrodes the moral integrity of church leadership when material gain from the state becomes a driving force.<sup>62</sup>*

To comprehend the dynamics of the church-state relationship, it is essential to foster a cooperative spirit rooted in mutual independence and self-governance. This approach would enable the church to maintain the necessary freedom to fulfill its prophetic role as the nation's moral compass, as

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<sup>62</sup> Father Kaoma, Lusaka, interviewed on 6<sup>th</sup> November 2017

advocated by Bonhoeffer (1955: 351). The stance endorsed by the social documents of the Second Vatican Council emphasizes that the church should engage with universal principles such as human rights, religious freedom, and justice. At this level, the church retains the liberty to make moral judgments, even on issues related to political governance. The church is not expected to align itself with any particular political system or party (GS 76).

Participation in politics is the domain of individual Christians who may hold diverse political affiliations. Hence, laypeople are encouraged to be active in politics, particularly in an environment where the church and state are separate, and the church bears the moral responsibility of being the nation's ethical compass. The church has a mission to both "proclaim" the "Good News" and "condemn" violations of human rights (Komakoma, 2003: 8). The Catholic Church also emphasizes the importance of maintaining a healthy separation between church and state. Civil authorities have the role of promoting the common good in the temporal order and must acknowledge and support the religious life of their citizens (Nussbaum, 2012: 20).

If the state exercises control over or restricts religious activities, it can be argued that it has exceeded the bounds of its authority (Flannery, 1975: 705). This is why the Catholic bishops were not enthusiastic about the declaration of Zambia as a 'Christian state' by the new MMD government in December 1991. In "The Future Is Ours" (1992), they reminded the people that "no nation becomes Christian through proclamation but through actions" (Komakoma, 2003: 8). In conclusion, our interpretation suggests that Bieringer's future-oriented hermeneutics, stemming from the three dimensions of the text, indicates that texts from past church-state models and pastoral documents have enduring significance in the present and future, as they actively shape the world they describe (Bieringer, 2010: 14).

## **5.6. The State's Influence on the Church's Political Role**

The politicization of the church and state concealed *nuanced* agendas within the Christian state declaration. The government's approach was designed to align itself with the church to secure ongoing political support. Mr. Chiluba's actions were presented as efforts to grant the church a pivotal role in influencing effective governance. However, the underlying objective behind the appointment of certain church leaders to ministerial positions was to establish conditions

conducive to orderly governance and collective action (Stoker, 1998: 17). In the social document, *Pacem et Terris*, this inclusion has been categorized as a political right limited to Pentecostal Church leaders (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 143). Chiluba's government's approach cannot be characterized as inclusive of political rights, as the majority of other church leaders were excluded from government appointments.

The argument that political leaders often instrumentalize the church and society is exemplified by the events following the declaration in Zambia (Bonino, 1983:11). As a consequence of the state's politicization of the church, its role as the advocate for the oppressed diminished, as some churches failed to address human rights issues due to their weakened position in society. They no longer represented the people but supported Chiluba's government. It's worth noting that the politicization of the church by the state did not originate during Chiluba's tenure; it also occurred during Kaunda's presidency. Consequently, the religious institution has been susceptible to political inclusion in strategic ministerial positions (Gifford, 1998: 183).

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the ideology of a Christian state did not establish favorable conditions for orderly governance and collective action, which could have enhanced citizens' rights to actively participate in public politics. This, in turn, would have contributed to the common good of the people (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 143).

### **5.7. Examining Zambia as a Theocratic State**

Chiluba aspired to transform Zambia into a theocracy, seeking to align the nation with the State of Israel, a people chosen by God. Mr. Chiluba took the step of reestablishing diplomatic relations with Israel in pursuit of this vision. The goal was to introduce "Christian Zionism" into the discourse of religion in Zambia, drawing from the influence of this belief system rooted in Biblical texts. Chiluba's approach was heavily influenced by these texts, which led him to follow a predetermined sequence, particularly when interpreting ancient biblical texts that explained why God had singled out the nation of Israel as His first-born son. Mr. Chiluba engaged in a dialogue with the Old Testament text and actively reinterpreted past events, applying a future dimension of biblical texts to the Zambian context. This implied that Zambians should follow the biblical narrative similarly to the Israelites (Matz, n.d.:128).

The declaration of Zambia as a Christian state marked the initial phase of Christian Zionism, followed by the politicization of the church by the state.

A Catholic source remarked:

*I can affirm that during Chiluba's time as the President of the Republic, it was quite evident that we had transformed into what could be described as a theocratic state. The prevalence of Pentecostals was palpable across various media platforms. To illustrate, television broadcasts were largely inundated with Pentecostal preachers and music, and even in the print media landscape of that era, which mainly comprised newspapers and magazines, Pentecostal influences held a dominant position.<sup>63</sup>*

The case of Israel as a theocratic state differs significantly from the intention to establish Zambia as one. In the case of Israel, it was God who initiated the process of making them His "chosen people" (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 4). Consequently, the State of Israel is regarded as the "people of God" in religious, political, and cultural terms (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 4). Israel's status as a chosen nation existed during a time when other religious practices, notably idolatry, were prevalent. The Old Testament documents numerous instances of idol worship. Israel's religious system was constitutionally binding for both native Israelis and foreigners living among them (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 4). It is in this context that other religious organizations practiced their faith, and eventually, the Israelites transitioned away from theocracy and sought to have a king.

God granted their request for a king, and the theocratic system continued alongside the monarchy. Saul became the first king, but when he disobeyed God by taking on the role of a priest, he was replaced by David, anointed as the new king (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 4). Kapolyo further asserts that "culturally, the lives of the Israelites were regulated by the Word of God through their Priests and Prophets, with no other laws or constitution apart from the Torah and Prophets" (Kapolyo, 1997: 32). The exclusivity God desired for the nation of Israel reflected a norm that was yet to be realized, thus becoming the "normativity of the future." This term juxtaposes "normativity" and "future" deliberately to create dialectic tension, inviting an assessment of these

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<sup>63</sup> Mrs. Chirwa was interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

terms. The former gains dynamism from the latter, while the latter is anchored by the firmness of the former (Bieringer 2010: 14).

According to Muwowo and Buitendag (2010), the Old Testament served as a model of a nation with unique features that Zambia aspired to but was unrepeatable by any other nation on Earth. Zambia was not the State of Israel, and President Chiluba could not initiate Zambia as God's own. It was God who initiated a theocratic state. Furthermore, the relationship between the State of Israel and God was shaped by culture, the political system, and forms of government. Importantly, Israel's symbols held paramount significance for the people of God. In contrast, Zambian Christian statehood lacked such symbols to declare itself a 'Christian state' (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 5). Clowney (1998: 109) observes: "no state, no freedom fighters today can lay claim to Israel's theocratic calling as warriors of God's covenant." The challenge, therefore, is to look for a biblical model that can shape the spirit of Christian statehood in Zambia.

In the New Testament, a closer examination of Jesus' teachings reveals his emphasis on the Kingdom of God as imminent (Mark 1:15), not one that already existed (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 4). His concept of the rule of God's Kingdom was expressed through the liberation of people from various forms of captivity, including the expulsion of demons (Luke 4:18–19; 11:20). By delivering people in this manner, Christ was recognized as the expected Messiah (Mk 8:29–30), a title associated with militaristic and political aspirations (2010: 4). Muwowo and Buitendag further argue that "Jesus, however, kept his messianic identity as depicted in the Gospel according to Mark, to himself" (2010: 4). In all his interactions, Jesus did not convey the impression that the Kingdom of God and the Roman government were in conflict. His view implied that what belonged to God was to be attributed to God, and what belonged to Caesar was to be attributed to Caesar (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 4).

Jesus correctly asserted that there was no inherent conflict between earthly and spiritual authorities, unlike the contemporary Zambian situation where the realm of politics sought to absorb that of the church. Jesus' primary message was that the Kingdom of God and human manifestations coexisted while belonging to different realms. Throughout his teachings, he neither endorsed nor supported the violent means by which the Zealots intended to inaugurate the

Kingdom of God through deception (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 5). The concept of a Christian state was imposed on Zambia based on Mr. Chiluba's religious convictions, supported by politicians such as Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda (Vice President) and pastors like Nevers Mumba and many others who defended the declaration without considering the cultural determinations of the people. These desires by politicians and some church leaders contradicted the views of Jesus, who spoke of the Kingdom of God as a future event that was already present in his person and ministry (Lk 17:20–21) (2010: 5). Jesus, the Son of God, viewed the Kingdom of God not as a future event but as a present reality, thanks to God's grace extended to humanity (Klappert 1976: 388; Moltmann 1999: 77–85). Therefore, no modern democratic state can equate itself with the Kingdom of God, as it is only after the fulfillment of righteousness that Christ will exercise political authority over all the kingdoms of the earth (Mt 4:8; 28:18) (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 5).

In Romans 13:1–7 and 1 Peter 2:13–17, the New Testament presents a different perspective regarding the relationship between Christians and the state. Apostles Paul and Peter teach that Christians are obligated to obey the earthly authorities placed in government over them (2010: 5). These authorities, who are not clergy, are considered the servants and ministers of God. The Apostles did not support tyrannical rule; instead, they emphasized that governments are instituted by God and should govern justly and fairly (Muwowo and Buidendag, 2010: 5). Bonhoeffer's Church-State model reinforces this idea by suggesting that when those in authority command what God forbids or forbid what God commands, Christians must disobey such commands (Act 4:19; see also Stott 1994:340).

In Zambia, the Catholic Church followed its duty, as described earlier, by criticizing the Christian state. The church argued that the declaration should have been preceded by consideration of the cultural determinations of the people, which would have identified Zambian cultural symbols that would align with the Word of God and be reflected through deeds, which were lacking in the Christian state declaration (Henriot, 1998: 1, and Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 1). However, such disobedience was not intended to undermine the concept of good governance, which might lead to chaos and disorder, inviting reprisals from the government of the day (Stoker, 1998: 19).

The New Testament recognizes that the Christian's attitude toward the state should be informed by their faith and the inherent values. Government should be determined by the culture of the people and Christianity. Christians possess cultural allegiances, as Martin Luther states: "the wicked will always outnumber the good" (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 5). Such thinking poses a challenge in the Zambian context. The New Testament does not prescribe a specific form of Christian government. Christians may seek to instill Kingdom values in governments, but the form of government must align with culturally determined virtues (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 1).

Although God holds ultimate authority over all the kingdoms of the world, it is culture that ultimately determines the form of government (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 5). This hierarchy of power is reflected in Jesus' response to Pontius Pilate, stating, 'you would have no power over me if it were not given to you from above' (John 19:11). Paul summarizes this concept, saying, "all authority comes from God" (Romans 13). Government is a gift from God to human society, and it should be valued and managed within specific cultural contexts, such as Zambia. God's concern for justice, the rule of law, the value of human life, and other matters should be implemented by the government (O'Brien and Shannon, 2004: 143). When a president overextends their mandate, God may intervene directly to alleviate the suffering of the people to prevent loss of life. However, God does not primarily focus on ensuring that governments reflect culturally determined values or replace them with Christian values, as this would lead to Christians living in a cultural vacuum. Government, like any other aspect of society, is a product of culture (Muwowo and Buitendag, 2010: 5).

## **5.8. Summary**

The objective of this chapter was to explore the early interactions between the church and the state in Zambia following the declaration of a Christian state. All research participants responded to the research questions. During Mr. Chiluba's government, there was a notable alignment with the majority of Pentecostal Churches, with bishops and senior leaders being appointed to ministerial positions.

Bonhoeffer's church-state model and the separation of the church-state relations concept, combined with the Empathetic Dialogical Method, proved relevant and suitable for examining the

church-state interaction in Zambia. These frameworks empowered the church to engage in discussions, critique, and advise the government when it misused its authority over citizens. Luther regarded the state as a necessary institution in a sinful world, leading to the determination that church-state models were inappropriate. In contrast, the Catholic Church asserted that the state should be held solely responsible for meeting the immediate needs of humanity and that the church should govern the state according to Calvin's model.

According to Bonhoeffer's perspective, both the church and the state were ordained by divine authority for the welfare of the people. Consequently, the assessment of the state should focus not on who holds office but on the sanctity of the office itself (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 334). In the context of Zambia, church-state relations have continued to stress the importance of having a religious ministry, which some consider unnecessary because not all religions in Zambia benefit from its activities.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE RESPONSES TO THE CHRISTIAN STATE DECLARATION**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

The preceding chapter delved into the reactions to the church-state relationship in Zambia following the official Christian state declaration. Two different models, together with the framework of the separation of church-state relation, were employed to analyze the nature of the relationship between the church and the state during Mr. Chiluba's presidency. The goal of this chapter is to explore the reactions of the Catholic Church to the Christian state declaration. Drawing on oral interviews and secondary sources, we will critically assess the responses from clergy and women. We will employ Gadamer's hermeneutical theory regarding the "fusion of horizons" and incorporate Bieringer's notion of the "normativity of the future" as the underlying conceptual framework within our interpretive paradigm, which utilizes specific criteria for evaluating research findings. The objective of this chapter is to furnish a detailed narrative of events and derive conclusions from them.

Moreover, we will also incorporate responses from various Pentecostal and other churches, as well as insights from volunteers. The perspectives of women from different religious backgrounds will be considered as well. This chapter is organized into five sections. The first section outlines the reactions of the Catholic Church to the declaration, highlighting the influence of their social doctrines and social teachings on their acceptance or rejection of the Christian state declaration. The second section focuses on the responses from Pentecostal pastors, along with input from ordinary Zambians. The third section delves into the reactions to Mr. Chiluba's Christian state declaration.

#### **6.2. Responses to the Christian State Declaration**

##### **6.2.1. Responses to the Declaration from the Catholic Church**

As we embark on the examination of responses provided by research participants concerning the Christian state declaration and the Catholic social teaching, our findings will encompass the

synthesis of preexisting literature and the feedback collected from the research participants. This involves a meticulous scrutiny of the findings in conjunction with the established body of knowledge, a process aptly referred to as "enfolding literature" (Eisenhardt, 1989).

The texts presented in this section extend beyond the confines of their original authors or the specific contexts in which they were initially articulated. Instead, they possess the potential to transcend their original settings and remain relevant to people across time and space (Bieringer, 2010:11). Therefore, it is crucial to recognize that each era must interpret a transmitted text in a manner unique to its own circumstances because the text is an integral part of a broader tradition whose content holds significance for that specific period, contributing to its self-understanding (Gadamer, 1967: 296).

All the interviews conducted are treated as texts, and their interpretation is connected to the wider tradition of oral interviews. Thus, the Catholic Church's opposition to the declaration dates back to 1992 and has persisted, with continued expressions of dissent against the declaration up to the present day.

As per Father Kaoma:<sup>64</sup>

*Back in 1991, when the late President Frederick Chiluba officially declared Zambia as a Christian nation on December 29, I found myself in the seminary at Dominican Major Seminary in Lusaka. Despite my seminary studies, I vividly recall the nation's response to this significant declaration, as I was actively engaged with the church and training to become a Catholic priest at the time.*

*The reactions to Zambia's declaration as a Christian nation were quite diverse, with different religious leaders offering mixed responses. Most notably, many Evangelical and Pentecostal pastors welcomed the declaration, while those of us in the Catholic Church and some leaders from Protestant Churches expressed strong reservations. Our primary concern was the lack of consultation or invitation extended to us, or to any civil or religious organizations for that matter.*

*It was in early 1992, around February, that the Bishops from the Catholic Church, acting through the then ZEC, convened to thoroughly examine the implications of this declaration. After careful consideration, they issued a pastoral statement in which they asserted that there was no compelling reason to transform the country into a Christian nation. They also pointed out that such a move appeared to be*

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<sup>64</sup> Most of the participants requested for the names to be hidden, thus, I have resorted to using a pseudonym for the sake of confidentiality.

*discriminatory, particularly against churches that did not adhere to Pentecostal beliefs, as well as non-Christian religions, and it raised concerns about its compatibility with democratic principles.*<sup>65</sup>

When the researcher inquired about the primary reasons behind Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia as a Christian state, another Catholic priest provided the following response:

*There were several factors that motivated Chiluba to make the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Many people have assumed that his decision was influenced by the substantial number of votes he received from Christians during the general election of 1991. However, it's crucial to remember that Zambia has a deep-rooted connection with Christianity. The majority of Zambians identify as Christians, whether it's a nominal affiliation or a wholehearted dedication to the faith. Additionally, there are members of other religious communities that have been present in Zambia for many years, even before gaining independence.*

*To adequately address your question, I believe Chiluba's personal convictions played a significant role in motivating him to dedicate the country to God. His faith, particularly his transformation as a "born-again" Christian, was a pivotal influence on his decision to declare Zambia as a Christian nation. It became apparent that his deep-seated convictions and beliefs led him to perceive that Zambia was shifting away from its Christian heritage, particularly under the leadership of Kaunda, who seemed to be embracing mystical religions from India.*

*Nevertheless, irrespective of the motivations or reasons behind the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, our stance as the Catholic Church has consistently been that there was no necessity to formalize the country's religious identity. This is because Zambia already had a profound inclination towards Christianity, which was introduced to the nation by various individuals, including David Livingstone, and various missionaries from Western churches, organizations, and denominations. The dominant presence of Christianity in the country was self-evident and did not necessitate a formal declaration.*<sup>66</sup>

When a Catholic sister was asked about the necessity of the Christian state declaration, given that Zambia already had a well-established Christian presence through the work of missionaries, her response was as follows:

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<sup>65</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 6<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>66</sup> Father Chiwisa, Lusaka, interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2017

*Honestly, I couldn't quite see the need for declaring the country as a Christian nation. The groundwork for Christianity had already been laid both before and after Zambia's independence, and we witnessed how President Kaunda embraced Christianity to the extent that it became an integral part of his government. Therefore, the redeclaration made by President Chiluba didn't carry significant weight for me. Essentially, he was reaffirming what was already deeply ingrained in the nation's identity. There was nothing particularly novel about Zambia being identified as a Christian nation; it had already embodied that spirit. This, perhaps, contributed to the controversy surrounding the issue, with many mainstream churches taking a stand against it. For these churches, Christianity had long established itself as the fundamental underpinning of the nation, effectively serving as its moral compass.<sup>67</sup>*

The response from a Catholic woman who worked as a bookkeeper at ZEC was as follows:

*When Zambia was declared a Christian nation, I must admit I was initially quite perplexed by the announcement. I didn't fully comprehend the implications of the country being labeled a Christian nation, so I decided to have a discussion with one of the Catholic priests to gain a clearer understanding of what the declaration meant. Interestingly, it wasn't long before the Catholic Church's official position on the Christian nation status was made public, and as a member of the church, I aligned myself with our church's stance.*

*It's unfortunate that, over the years, those who seemed to support the declaration haven't made concerted efforts to elucidate the meaning of Zambia's Christian nation status or what benefits and expectations it holds for the Zambian people. I've grappled with the ambivalence of my church's position on whether to support the declaration or not, but in due course, I've come to accept Zambia's status as a Christian state. It appears to have fostered a sense of unity, albeit somewhat tenuous, among various churches, particularly through the mother bodies.<sup>68</sup>*

Additionally, another Catholic sister expressed her perspective:

*I tend to believe that the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation had more of a political undertone. Let me elucidate. It's a well-known fact that Chiluba secured his victory in the 1990 general elections due to the extensive support he received from numerous Christians. When I mention "many Christians," I'm referring to a significant portion of the churches and Christian organizations. This was largely because people had started to perceive that Kaunda had distanced himself from Christianity and openly associated with Indian Gurus who aimed to transform the*

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<sup>67</sup> Sister Namakau interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> April 2020

<sup>68</sup> Mrs. Musonda was interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

*country into a "Heaven on Earth." I distinctly recall these new ventures of Kaunda being televised on Zambian Television.*

*To a considerable extent, this shift in Kaunda's alignment may have played a role in his electoral defeat when he was challenged by Mr. Frederick Chiluba. After Chiluba's victory, he was determined to convey that he was unwavering in his commitment to Christianity. In an effort to garner political support, he declared the nation as a Christian one. This is why I contend that the declaration had a primarily political motivation. By making Zambia a Christian nation, Chiluba, in a way, secured his position in political power for as long as he desired.<sup>69</sup>*

Father Chiwisa emphasized that Chiluba's conversion to Pentecostalism played a significant role in motivating him to declare Zambia as a Christian nation. Father Chiwisa's remarks are as follows:

*Certainly, you should take into account that in Pentecostal Churches, the message of prosperity gospel has always been prevalent. I believe that these teachings from Pentecostal Churches somehow influenced Chiluba's decision to proclaim the country as a Christian nation. On a religious level, I am of the opinion that Chiluba's eagerness to make the nation Christian was driven by the severe economic downturn and the prevalence of the prosperity gospel. It seemed to convict Chiluba that by dedicating the country to God, he could, in some mystical manner, revitalize the Zambian economy, which was struggling due to certain policies implemented during Kaunda's administrations, such as nationalization. As the nation transitioned into a new era of democracy, Chiluba firmly believed, driven by the prosperity gospel, that divine intervention would lead to the nation's prosperity.<sup>70</sup>*

Certainly, it is undeniable that the perceived economic deterioration during President Kaunda's tenure served as a rationale and driving force behind the decision to declare Zambia a Christian nation. There was a strong belief that this declaration would lead to divine intervention, healing, and economic prosperity for the nation. However, this optimistic outlook did not align with the reality, as one informant observed:

*Without a doubt, during Chiluba's Presidency, the Zambian economy did not witness any improvement. Instead, what became glaringly evident was the rampant prevalence of bribery and corruption within various government ministries and departments. As the church, we took a stand to denounce these detrimental vices that were eating away at our nation. Chiluba's administration has gone down in history as one of the most corrupt governments since the*

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<sup>69</sup> Sister Nakazwe interviewed on 14<sup>th</sup> March 2020

<sup>70</sup> Father Chiwisa, Lusaka, interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2017

*inception of the republic. Following Chiluba's Presidency, we were confronted with allegations of mismanagement of public funds and resources.<sup>71</sup>*

Pastor Nachali, a member of the Pentecostal Church in Lusaka, expressed her disagreement with the informant mentioned earlier. She presented her viewpoint as follows:

*As a Pentecostal Church member, I wholeheartedly supported the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. I believe this action by the President brought our country closer to God. It served as a wake-up call, reminding us that we had, for a significant period, turned away from the path of the Lord and engaged in practices contrary to God's will, such as witchcraft, unbelief, jealousy, and greed. All these actions were in opposition to God. Therefore, the President's decision to dedicate the country to God was a way of reaffirming our need for God's guidance for our nation to prosper. Indeed, we have witnessed the manifestation of this prosperity.<sup>72</sup>*

Upon further inquiry regarding the perceived prosperity during President Chiluba's tenure, the informant provided the following response:

*The sense of prosperity was not out of reach during that time. For the first time, individuals had the opportunity to own their houses. We also enjoyed easier access to foreign currency, a stark contrast to the restrictions imposed during Kaunda's presidency when even possessing a small amount, like \$200, could lead to detention and questioning about the source of the money. Additionally, Zambians embraced a more business-oriented mindset and started traveling abroad to procure goods for trade. These developments brought about numerous positive changes. It's also worth noting that President Chiluba's declaration had a significant impact in curbing the overwhelming influence of Pentecostalism that had permeated various aspects of Zambian society.<sup>73</sup>*

Sister Dorothy holds a contrasting perspective to Pastor Nachali. From her standpoint:

*Zambians experienced a significant decline in their living standards due to the widespread bribery and corruption that plagued Chiluba's government. The promises made in the declaration of economic prosperity for the country never materialized. Instead, politicians enriched themselves by embezzling state funds. Furthermore, poor road infrastructure in rural areas made it difficult for agricultural produce to reach urban centers, exacerbating the situation. The closure of many state-owned companies resulted in massive job losses and soaring*

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<sup>71</sup> Father Chiwisa, Lusaka, interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>72</sup> Pastor Nachali, interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Pastor Sichali.

*unemployment levels, making it increasingly challenging for Zambians to secure employment.*

*In my opinion, Chiluba's promises in his declaration remained unfulfilled. As he sought re-election for a second term, he was at risk of losing to Kaunda because he had failed to deliver on the pledges made during the 1991 general elections and in the declaration, particularly the assurance that the country would prosper once it turned to God. To secure his victory in the 1996 general elections, he resorted to giving away council houses to current tenants. By the time he left the presidency in 2001, the living conditions of Zambians had deteriorated significantly compared to when Chiluba won the elections against President Kaunda.<sup>74</sup>*

Due to the extensive embezzlement of state funds during Chiluba's political tenure, subsequent governments have encountered difficulties in revitalizing Zambia's economy. One informant noted:

*To some extent, yes, but even the successive governments have faced challenges in their efforts to rejuvenate the Zambian economy. The damage appears to have been quite profound, and I think it will take some time for us to make a full recovery.<sup>75</sup>*

The preceding discussion illustrates Gadamer's (1985: 311) principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte* or the history of effect. This is because the oral interviews, now considered as textual sources, must be seen as factual accounts influenced by historical factors, specifically historically shaped events. The historical factors, in this case, pertain to events that have highlighted Zambia's ongoing economic development challenges. This conclusion has been consistently investigated by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) through the Basic Need Basket (BNB) surveys. These surveys have provided valuable insights for both non-governmental and governmental organizations to monitor economic trends and performance (Chiti, 2011: 5).

Through research conducted by one of the organizations within the Roman Catholic Church's structure, the church has gained experience in shaping its perspectives on economic challenges and socio-political issues, including the declaration. This experience has evolved from times when the Catholic Church found itself supporting oppressive governments to moments when the Church served as the advocate for the people in opposition to state oppression. In Zambia, this experience

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<sup>74</sup> Sister Dorothy was interviewed on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

<sup>75</sup> Father Chibuye, Lusaka, interviewed on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2017

led the Roman Catholic Church to express strong dissent, and its response to the declaration horizon was articulated through the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) via the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB).

The Catholic informant explained that when Chiluba secured his election victory, he promptly declared Zambia a Christian nation:

*At first, our church welcomed this declaration, considering it a positive development. However, we felt compelled to revisit our church's social teachings and harken back to the Catholic Church's stance on religious freedom. We also engaged in a thorough theological examination of our position on issues related to justice and peace, as well as the necessary processes for shaping political policy decisions. Consequently, we issued a Pastoral statement. Although I can't recall the exact title of the statement, I distinctly remember that it conveyed our Catholic Church's viewpoint. Through our bishops within the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), we contended that a country couldn't truly become Christian through mere political pronouncements; rather, such a transformation required concrete actions. This has remained our steadfast stance on the declaration, consistently upheld since Chiluba designated the nation as a Christian state.<sup>76</sup>*

It's important to highlight that the Catholic ecclesiastical organizations dedicated considerable time to scrutinize the declaration and ultimately arrived at the verdict that Zambia could not attain Christian status solely through declaration, but rather through tangible actions (Press Statement, January 16, 1992, Lusaka). The Pastoral Statement issued by the Roman Catholic Church emphasized their apprehensions regarding the imperative to maintain the nation's unity, as the declaration had caused divisions. Furthermore, the Conference of Catholic Bishops took the stance that: *A declaration of this nature might be exploited for purely political purposes, potentially tarnishing the reputation of Christianity.<sup>77</sup>*

A Catholic bishop stated the following:

*I believe that the declaration has not been welcomed by every Zambian because of the variety of religions in Zambia. And, if you recall, it brought about a lot of divisions among many churches, as the lines were drawn separating most of the mainline churches from most of the Pentecostal Churches. It is at this time, that our social teaching has assisted the church to respond and even criticize the declaration. The most important encyclicals that were applied when dealing with*

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<sup>76</sup> Bishop Sakala, Interviewed on 7<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>77</sup> Bishop Zulu, Lusaka, Interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2017

*the declaration, among the ones you have listed, are mainly Mater et Magistra, Pacem in Terris, and Dignatitit Humanae that mostly emerged during the Second Vatican Council. If you have studied them carefully, they deal with issues of freedom, be it religious, political, economic, or individual.*<sup>78</sup>

Catholic bishops noted as follows:

*First, you must understand that it was before Vatican II that the Catholic Church acknowledged human rights and their duties. During the Second Council, they agreed upon religious freedom and accepted that the fast-changing world must observe human interest first, the church changed from one that was aloof to the world to a church that began supporting certain vices that advance human endeavors.*<sup>79</sup>

A Catholic sister noted that:

*We have the Catholic Church, we are very particular with issues of religious freedom, justice and peace, and human rights. This has been the basis of the Catholic message to the world since the Second Vatican Council. But, when Zambia was made a Christian nation, our main concerns were that, 'how will the government able to guarantee these freedoms and rights if the country became a Christian nation?' that is the way we were against the declaration because Zambia was a multi-religious state.*<sup>80</sup>

However, President Chiluba attempted to alleviate concerns raised by the Catholic bishops in a television interview. He affirmed his commitment to the freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, and freedom of expression within an atmosphere of Christian love, with an emphasis on the exclusion of persecution against minority groups. Regrettably, his statements lacked credibility (Chiluba, 1997: 2). Despite the President's assurances and the protections outlined in the Zambian Constitution's Bill of Rights, which uphold the right to freedom of conscience and religion, the mere declaration of Zambia as a Christian state had the potential to overshadow these constitutional safeguards. Sister Bridget pointed out:

*The erosion of various rights, as outlined in our Zambian Constitution, was immediately noticeable during President Chiluba's first term. We began to observe the banning of programs on national television for religious groups such as Muslims and Hindus. Although the government eventually intervened, the precedent had already been set. While not on a large scale, we could sense that non-Christian religious groups were being subtly segregated and stigmatized. This*

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<sup>78</sup> Bishop Chirwa interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>79</sup> Bishop Sakala interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Sister Bridget, date: 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

*led us to support the Catholic Church's stance against the declaration, as it posed a threat to religious freedoms and freedom of worship.*<sup>81</sup>

This study contends that the undemocratic behavior displayed by the president violated the principles of Catholic social teaching as outlined in *Dignatatis Humanae*. This teaching emphasizes that all individuals possess the right to religious liberty, a right rooted in the inherent dignity of each human being, and that everyone should be free to seek the truth without coercion (DH 2). The developments in Zambia following the declaration can be understood through Gadamer's concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, which explores the historical effects of a tradition when it is removed from the border between history and tradition, allowing it to be seen in its purest form with its associated meaning (Gadamer, 1985: 311). In this case, one of the meanings identified is the undemocratic behaviors exhibited by President Chiluba.

While the declaration was largely embraced by Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches, concerns were raised primarily by non-Christians. For instance, Professor Venkatesh Seshamani described the immediate aftermath of Chiluba's declaration, noting attempts to ban Islamic programs from television and radio. Additionally, the destruction of the Hindu Temple and the Islamic Mosque in Livingstone was a notable incident (in Kyambalesa, 2015: 1). Some Members of Parliament even proposed legislation to restrict the construction of Mosques and the growth of Islam, citing Zambia as a Christian state guided by the Ten Commandments (Kyambalesa, 2015: 1). Such statements from politicians implied the imposition of Christianity on the entire nation, potentially leading to Christian-Muslim tensions. As a result, it was emphasized that the Republican Constitution should remain a neutral document, respecting the beliefs of all citizens, whether they are atheists, agnostics, or adherents of various religions (Kyambalesa, 2015: 1).

The declaration exists within the fusion of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*), where the horizons of the Christian and the declaration text constantly interact and evolve. However, it becomes evident that achieving transformation in both the past and the present was challenging. The declaration's constitutional status for Christianity could potentially make non-Christian citizens feel like second-class citizens. As Professor Venkatesh Seshamani argued, this could foster a sense

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<sup>81</sup> Sister Bridget was interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

of religious superiority among Christians, leading them to view non-Christians as lost souls (Kyambalesa, 2015: 1).

In light of these developments, the Catholic Church called upon President Chiluba and his government to ensure that the provisions and guarantees of the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia were upheld, and that the separation between the Church and the State would be maintained (Komakoma, 2003: 265). The ZCCB expressed a strong inclination toward the separation of the church-state relations, asserting that the church has a significant role in addressing the welfare of the people and that the state should heed the wisdom of the church (Macksey 1912: 1-2).

Above all, the Roman Catholic Church, through the Episcopal Conference of Bishops, pledged to provide constructive criticism to the state when necessary, as it believed that Christian principles contributed to the healthy development of the nation (Press Statement on the Declaration, 1992: 3). They demanded clear guarantees that the declaration would not compromise the freedom of conscience and worship (Press Statement on the Declaration, 1992: 3). The religious leaders were open to cooperating with the government on the declaration, provided that the rights of those practicing other religions were constitutionally respected. They indicated that they would endorse the President's declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation if this condition was met (Press Statement on the Declaration, 1992: 3). When asked if the Catholic Church had indeed endorsed the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, Sister Sikazwe responded as follows:

*What I recall is that the Catholic Church has not wholeheartedly embraced Zambia's declaration as a Christian state. This is evident in the church's lack of enthusiasm when participating in government-organized events meant to commemorate this declaration. It suggests that the Catholic Church has not fully endorsed the declaration.*<sup>82</sup>

The Zambian Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB) faced significant challenges in accepting and endorsing the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. The ZCCB had consistently raised objections to the hurried introduction of this declaration, citing its lack of proper preparation and

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<sup>82</sup> Interviewed on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2020

consultation. Their concerns were further compounded by worries about the potential impact of the declaration on religious freedom and church-state relations (Henriot, 2000: 4). In this context, the declaration horizon is a dynamic and ever-shifting perspective. It cannot remain static because the distinctive nature of the declaration text continually thrusts it into the reader's present, offering both relief and an opportunity for transformation in both the past and the present (Clark, 2004: 112).

About a month later, following the issuance of a press statement by ecumenical organizations, the ZCCB, representing the Roman Catholic Church, released a pastoral letter. In this letter, they argued that a nation's Christianity should not be determined merely by a declaration but by its actions (de Jong, 1992: 3). Since then, the Catholic Church has steadfastly adhered to its stance on the Christian state declaration. The pastoral letter emphasized that Zambia could only be considered a "Christian nation" if Zambian Christians demonstrated a life of love and mutual respect, dedication, honesty, hard work, justice, and concern for the poor. These qualities, the letter affirmed, would reflect the Christian character of the nation (Episcopal Conference of Zambia, 1992: 1).

An informant made the following observation:

*Historical evidence indicates that, starting in 1991, Christianity has become increasingly entangled in political matters, resulting in negative consequences for the faith.*<sup>83</sup>

Komakoma and the former Executive Secretary of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) pointed out in 1998 that MMD leaders, who had advocated for Zambia to become a Christian state, had acquired wealth through questionable means and had neglected the welfare of ordinary citizens (Ecumenical News International, 1998: 1). During the period under President Chiluba's administration, the government was marked by a pursuit of wealth, power, and privileges by its ministers, while the rest of the country witnessed deteriorating social indicators, high poverty rates, a widening wealth gap, pervasive corruption, and a sharp increase in crime (Ecumenical News International, 1998: 1).

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<sup>83</sup> Mr. Chowa, Lusaka, interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017

Regrettably, corrupt practices have continued in subsequent governments. The extravagant lifestyle of certain government ministers contradicted the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state (Ecumenical News International, 1998: 1). The stance of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia was that it needed to maintain its independence from political party influence and fulfill its role in providing moral guidance to the nation. The separation of powers between the Church and the State should be demonstrated through actions, not just words (Komakoma, 1997: 16). This aligns with the separation of the church-state relations that assert the Catholic Church's authority over the state when it comes to the well-being of individuals. "The Catholic Church has the right to guide its followers wherever they may be, defining moral rights and wrongs, limiting any actions that could jeopardize their eternal well-being..." even though "the state governs its citizens in all matters not superseded by higher moral authority" (Macksey 1912:1-2).

Most of the Pentecostal Churches that supported the Christian state declaration felt politically empowered and considered themselves as true Christians, while those critical of the Christian state declaration were viewed as adversaries of Chiluba's government. An informant observed:

*The declaration became the focal point of the MMD campaign, which generated a great deal of enthusiasm within the church. People were so emotionally invested that they attended church wearing MMD T-shirts discreetly under their clothing to express their support. This fervor among Pentecostal Christians created significant pressure to make the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation a reality. Chiluba had already made this promise to the Pentecostal Churches, which is why he openly shared his intention to declare Zambia as a Christian nation. As a result, many of us voted for the MMD because we aligned with their vision of declaring Zambia a Christian nation. Notably, individuals like Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda attended prayer meetings and church services, showcasing their unwavering commitment to this cause.<sup>84</sup>*

When the researcher inquired about the informant's knowledge of events in other non-Pentecostal Churches, the informant responded as follows:

*I don't have direct knowledge of what was happening in the mainline churches. However, based on newspaper reports, it appeared that they were not very supportive of the idea of declaring Zambia as a Christian nation. I believe that Chiluba and Miyanda may not have engaged with them as extensively as they did with the Pentecostals and similar groups. Nonetheless, from my personal*

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<sup>84</sup> Mr. Towani, PMB, Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

*interactions with Chiluba, which included standing on the pulpit and attending prayer meetings, it was evident that he had a strong connection with God. He had dedicated his life to God, and I have clear recollections of my elder sister discussing Chiluba and his journey of faith. She would talk about how he surrendered his life to God while he was imprisoned during Kaunda's era. It was during his time in prison that he learned the importance of prayer. These were some of the testimonies that Chiluba shared at the Northmead Assemblies of God.<sup>85</sup>*

The informant's response validates the assumptions of the study, indicating that President Chiluba primarily consulted with Pentecostal Churches and their leaders, neglecting civil society and religious organizations such as ZCCB and CCZ. This approach led to a division within the church, where a specific section, considered the religious right, continues to support the declaration, while the religious left, notably represented by the Catholic Church, remains critical of it. Consequently, more than two decades later, the church's leadership remains divided on this issue. Evangelical and Pentecostal pastors endorse the clause, while the Catholic bishops advocate for its exclusion from the Republican Constitution. Interestingly, when Lusaka Times reported on the Bishops' objections recently, the reactions from the public were mixed. Below is an observation from the Secretary of CCJP, who collaborates closely with ZCCB:

*The Catholic bishops in Zambia have consistently objected to the proposal of officially designating Zambia as "a Christian nation" in the constitution's preamble. Their stance is rooted in the belief that the values and principles of Christianity cannot be genuinely upheld through a mere declaration.<sup>86</sup>*

*The Roman Catholic Church's opposition to the declaration stems from the recognition that Zambia is a religiously diverse nation. This diversity was acknowledged in the initial draft of the Technical Committee's preamble. To assert that Zambia is a Christian nation would be in direct conflict with this diversity.<sup>87</sup>*

When Father Moonga was questioned about the Catholic Church's stance and Bishop Kaoma's views, he concurred by stating:

*I echo the Bishops' apprehensions regarding the inclusion of the 'Christian nation' clause in the proposed constitution. Zambia is not a theocracy, where religious principles dictate national laws. Although over 80% of Zambians may identify as Christians, this should not serve as the basis for declaring our nation as Christian.*

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<sup>85</sup> Mr. Towani, PMB, Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>86</sup> Father Mulenga, interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> October 2017

<sup>87</sup> Father Mulenga, interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> October 2017

*Our commitment to liberal democracy implies a recognition of religious freedom as legally defined and safeguarded, in line with our Social Teachings.*<sup>88</sup>

Additional viewpoints expressed by the Catholic clergy highlighted the following:

*By embedding a 'Christian nation' clause in our Constitution, we are establishing an inaccurate precedent for the generations to come. Historical evidence from church history demonstrates that the demographics of Christian populations have always been subject to change. Just as Christianity once predominated in North Africa but is now a minority there, we must acknowledge that the Christian majority in Zambia may not endure indefinitely. Furthermore, the fact that all our past Presidents have been Christians should not be misconstrued as a perpetual pattern. The 1994 election of Bakili Muluzi in Malawi serves as a clear example that a non-Christian, in this case, a Muslim, can assume the role of President. Would it be fair for such a President to employ his authority to declare the nation an Islamic state, governed by Islamic principles? Most of us would perceive such an action as undemocratic and unjust. Yet, this is essentially how the declaration was made when Chiluba proclaimed that Zambia would be guided by "biblical principles".*<sup>89</sup>

There are significant grounds for the Catholic Church's opposition to the notion of declaring Zambia a Christian state, as articulated by a bishop who raised the following concern:

*Even if we were to embrace the idea that Zambia is a Christian nation and should be guided by 'biblical principles' or the Ten Commandments, there remains a fundamental question: Whose biblical principles or Ten Commandments should serve as the basis? This issue arises due to the disparities in perspectives between Roman Catholic and Evangelical/Pentecostal leaders, underscoring the fundamental differences existing among various religious denominations.*<sup>90</sup>

The bishop further illustrates this point with the following example:

*Consider, for instance, the topic of women's rights. While the United Church of Zambia and certain Pentecostal Churches ordain women as pastors, the Anglican Church in Zambia and the Roman Catholic Church do not follow this practice. Some might argue that the conservative interpretation of St. Paul's teachings, which suggest that women should learn in silence (1 Timothy 2:11; 1 Corinthians 14:34), should be upheld. Although I do not endorse such views, I acknowledge that many churches hold similar beliefs. Now, envision these differing views serving as the basis for determining women's constitutional rights. Another thought-provoking*

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<sup>88</sup> Interviewed in Monze, on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>89</sup> Interviewed Father Chilufya, Lusaka, on 6<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>90</sup> Bishop Hamusonde, interviewed in Lusaka, 20<sup>th</sup> November 2017

*example pertains to the consumption of alcohol and smoking. Should we legislate these behaviors merely based on my personal belief that they are wrong? In a theocratic system, the answer would be affirmative, but in a democracy, it would be negative!*<sup>91</sup>

The previous responses highlight the doctrinal discrepancies among churches in Zambia and emphasize the importance of returning to secularism, where all religions can practice their faith without fear of coercion from the dominant religious groups. It is in a pluralistic society that these differences in religious doctrine can be accommodated, unlike in a situation where the state designates one religion as the nation's official faith. These are some of the divisive issues that the Zambian church continues to grapple with, even in the presence of ecumenical relations among organizations like ZCCB, CCZ, and EFZ.

These responses underline the ongoing division within the Zambian church regarding the declaration and its incorporation into the Republican Constitution, which should represent all citizens, regardless of their religious beliefs. Moreover, when the researcher posed questions about the meaning of being a Christian nation and the potential hypocrisy of defending this status while sin remains prevalent, a Catholic priest provided the following thought-provoking response:

*Our politicians exhibit corruption on par with those in Congo or Nigeria. Insults, tribalism, and graft are pervasive throughout the country. Citizens are perishing due to inadequate healthcare, while politicians and, to some degree, pastors, are accumulating substantial wealth through various privileges. Amidst this backdrop of sinful behavior, the refrain "Zambia is a Christian nation" is voiced by both politicians and ordinary citizens.*<sup>92</sup>

Father Chiti further asserted:

*While we may commence parliamentary sessions with prayers, take oaths holding bibles, and occasionally gather for ecumenical services at venues like the Anglican Cathedral of Holy Cross and State House, to which all politicians and party supporters are welcome, these actions, while commendable, do not, in themselves, render our nation truly Christian. True Christianity is realized only when we individually and collectively acknowledge the lordship of Jesus Christ in our lives,*

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<sup>91</sup> Bishop Hamusonde, Lusaka, 20<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>92</sup> Father served as the director of JCTR and is the chairperson of Grand Coalition

*as it is through this personal commitment that the Lord Himself makes us Christians.*<sup>93</sup>

In light of the aforementioned response from the Catholic priest, which highlights the challenges arising from the declaration, the Roman Catholic Church maintains its strong stance that Zambia should be a secular state, promoting religious liberty as outlined in the conciliar document *Dignitatis Humanae* of 1965. The rationale behind the Catholic Church's position is largely rooted in its hermeneutical context, deeply influenced by Hans-Georg Gadamer's principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, or the history of effect. To grasp the Catholic Church's viewpoint, it's essential to consider Gadamer's perspective. He emphasizes that the history of effect is not something entirely novel; its uniqueness lies in the effort required to investigate the history of effect every time a piece of tradition, such as *Dignitatis Humanae*, is taken from the boundary region between history and tradition, enabling it to be comprehended purely within its own context and with its associated meanings (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

As evident in most encyclicals produced during and after the Second Vatican Council, through the principle of history of effect or *Wirkungsgeschichte*, certain principles have been actualized, including human rights and dignity, peace and justice, freedom of conscience, political rights, and the state's role in safeguarding these rights. This approach aims to prevent the discrimination or victimization of any religion within Zambia. The Catholic Church's stance against the declaration aligns with its mission, as advocated in encyclicals like *Octogesima Adveniens*, which was directly addressed to Catholic adherents, urging them to integrate a stronger sense of Christian responsibility into all aspects of their lives. The objective of this encyclical was to put into practical effect the guidelines provided in its encyclicals (OA 1). Similarly, with *Solicitudo Rei Socialis*, the emphasis was placed on participation that fosters social relationships, enhances community spirit, and promotes social solidarity (SRS 5).

During an interview, one dedicated Catholic member interjected with the following insights:

*Christianity cannot be forcibly imposed on the state or individuals; it is a matter of personal faith and a way of life. In light of this, I hold the view that constitutionally declaring Zambia a Christian nation is not appropriate. It is entirely within the*

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<sup>93</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017

*rights of bishops to voice their opposition to the declaration clause for secular reasons.*<sup>94</sup>

It appears that the individuals mentioned above align with the principles outlined in the encyclical *Dignitatis Humanae*, which asserts that "no one should be compelled to accept or embrace Christianity" (DH 4). According to these principles, an individual should have the freedom to make this choice, as enshrined in the Zambian Bill of Rights and the Catholic social teaching. The declaration continues to elicit diverse reactions, with the Roman Catholic Church remaining steadfast in its opposition to it. Consequently, the Catholic Church's rejection of the idea of Zambia being perpetually designated a Christian state has led to negative sentiments directed at the church. For instance, in an online news publication, *Lusaka Times*, it was reported that the Christian Coalition has alleged a scheme where some individuals are planning to petition for the removal of the clause declaring Zambia as a Christian nation from the Zambian Constitution. In this article, the Coalition President, Dr. Charles Mwape, made the following statements:

The belief is that Zambia will always maintain its status as a Christian nation due to a covenant with God. Consequently, Christians are determined to defend the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Some suggest that, rather than having it in the preamble, Zambia's status as a Christian nation should be moved to a specific article within the constitution (*Lusaka Times*, Online, 2012).<sup>95</sup>

This position by Dr. Mwape does not offer any solution to the challenges that have come about as the result of adding the declaration in the preamble of the Constitution. Nevertheless, to remove the declaration from the preamble into an article within the Zambian Constitutions aggravates the position of the Catholic Church that has challenged the declaration to be enshrined in the Constitution since 1996. However, as already established in the study, such a move would require

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<sup>94</sup> Mr. Tembo, Lusaka, interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>95</sup> Concerns arise from the President's mismanagement of the country, particularly due to the unilateral declaration of it as a Christian state. Firstly, this declaration deviated from established policy-making procedures, which typically involve multiple stages, including party, department, and parliamentary reviews, as well as other participatory processes. In this case, it was unilaterally declared with the support of a select few friends and Pentecostals, representing a mismanagement of the state and a breach of established protocols. Chiluba could have faced impeachment for this violation of due process. Secondly, the declaration fostered division within the nation, setting those who supported it for personal reasons against the rest of the population, which grappled with the implications of the declaration. Once again, Chiluba's actions could have justified impeachment for these instances of misgovernance (Cheyeka 2014a: 30).

a referendum which would ensure that every citizen participates in the amendment of the Constitution. To this end, Dr. Mwape says:

... the partial amendment of the constitution should be supported by all genuine Zambians citing that they agree with the National Restoration Party and the Young African Leader's Initiative (YALI) that the country does not have resources to hold a referendum ... the contents of the draft constitution are safe, there is no need to worry about the partial amendment as the only fear is tempering with the contents" The constitution-making process is beyond political campaigns and thus must not be politicized but be taken seriously. Zambians should be honest with themselves and support the partial amendment of the constitution if they want a constitution (*Lusaka Times*, Online, 2012).

The insights provided by Dr. Mwape reflect the church's stance on the declaration. This situation could be seen as paradoxical, as the MMD, which had previously opposed the concept of a "One-Party-State," was now advocating for and implementing a "One-Faith-State." This shift in position appeared contradictory. The underlying assumption here is that President Chiluba may have harbored undisclosed intentions of transforming Zambia into a Christian nation, thereby deviating from the society's pluralistic ethos and the principles of good governance as outlined in the Roman Catholic social teaching, particularly in *Dignitatis Humanae*.<sup>96</sup>

While Chiluba had criticized Kaunda's party for establishing a One-Party-State, the MMD had effectively become a single political party advocating for a "Christian state." This shift amounted to merely exchanging one ideology for another without addressing the underlying social issues that had persisted during Kaunda's presidency (Njovu, 2002: 58).

To further complicate matters, when the MMD started facing criticism for its unethical and immoral behavior in government, it altered its stance, contending that "it was incorrect to ascribe ethical connotations to public affairs conduct as indicated in the declaration that Zambia was a Christian nation that is tolerant of other religions" (Njovu, 2002: 58). This backtrack from their earlier position aimed to dilute the significance of the declaration by suggesting that only the

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<sup>96</sup> See chapter three for a detailed discussion on *Dignitatis Humanae*.

political leadership could provide an official interpretation of the Christian state, arguing that this was the party's prerogative and not the state (Njovu, 2002: 58).

This perspective is inherently contradictory, particularly when taking into account the inclusion of the Christian state declaration in the Constitution. Such a contradiction poses a challenge to the principles of an open society, as elucidated in Catholic social teaching. If the declaration were merely a party position rather than a state's position, it would explain the MMD's attempts to curtail a national debate on such a crucial matter. However, once the declaration was enshrined in the Constitution, it became the people's right to discuss the law, as the Constitution belongs to the people, not just one political party (Phiri, 2003: 408).

The church community should conduct its affairs in a non-discriminatory manner and align itself with Christian faith. The situation also contradicted Chiluba's professed understanding of democracy, as argued in his book (Phiri, 2003: 408). It further reveals a deceptive political agenda as the operating method of the President and his political party, the MMD.

A significant point of contention that the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia vehemently criticized, both before and after the declaration, was the lack of consultation with major churches, civil organizations, and the citizens by Chiluba. The declaration's process was heavily dominated by Pentecostal and Charismatic members, as per the informant's account:

*...certain bishops were involved<sup>97</sup> ...some bishops were extended invitations, but I noticed that Bishop Ngambi wasn't engaging with politicians to a significant extent. However, as Chiluba assumed the presidency, a shift occurred, with many bishops aligning themselves with him. Their motivations varied – some were driven by genuine religious devotion and a desire to support the President, while others had ulterior motives, seeking personal gains from their association with Chiluba. Multiple factors came into play in this regard.<sup>98</sup> ...established the Religious Desk to handle religious affairs, and then at some point, it's a bit hazy whether it was before or after this, they made a commitment to begin allocating land to pastors<sup>99</sup> ...to construct churches. Consequently, numerous pastors eagerly pursued this opportunity. One individual who grew particularly close to Chiluba was Bishop Sixtus Chiluba. He even went to the extent of altering his name to Moses Chiluba.*

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<sup>97</sup> From Pentecostal Churches.

<sup>98</sup> President Chiluba and the MMD government.

<sup>99</sup> Most of the pastors who benefitted from pieces of land came from the Pentecostal Churches.

*I recall that during certain meetings, he would mention his friendship with President Chiluba. It's worth noting that although they may have hailed from the same clan, they weren't related by blood. However, he was among the individuals who actively campaigned from the pulpit.<sup>100</sup>*

The earlier account illustrates President Chiluba's preferential treatment of church leaders from the Pentecostal faith, extending to them gifts in the form of land and money. This form of consultation with only one segment of the church had adverse consequences for other religious groups, including mainline churches, Islam, Hindus, adherents of African Traditional Religion (ATR), civil organizations, and citizens. Such actions contradicted the principles of democracy, which promote the involvement of politicians in consulting with all interest groups across the nation (Chiluba, 1995: 4-5). Below are responses to the absence of consultation by President Chiluba during and after the Christian state declaration:

*We, in the Catholic Church, have made efforts to comprehend why the President chose not to engage with us. It could be that, perhaps, it was within his rights as a Republican President to make the country Christian without consulting or inviting churches like the Catholic Church and others. Although we, as the Catholic Church, initially accepted the declaration, we later withdrew our support, citing the reasons why we could not endorse Zambia as a Christian nation.<sup>101</sup>*

Bishop Nkole expressed the Catholic Church's belief that there was no need to declare the country as a Christian nation. Instead, he argued that a country's Christian identity could only be validated through actions, emphasizing the simplicity of this perspective.<sup>102</sup> When further questioned about his reference to "through deeds" as synonymous with "through works," he elaborated:

*That's exactly what I meant. What good is faith without corresponding actions? If I can't extend kindness to my fellow brothers and sisters, then what worth does my faith hold? Nevertheless, when I demonstrate kindness and benevolence towards my fellow human beings, I'm essentially embodying the essence of Christianity. After all, Jesus once conveyed, 'whatever you do for the least of my brothers, you do for me.' This forms the foundation of the deeds that the Catholic Church in Zambia places great emphasis on. Without deeds, there can be no genuine Christianity or faith, for that matter.<sup>103</sup>*

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<sup>100</sup> Mr. Towani, PMB, interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>101</sup> Bishop Nkole, Lusaka, interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>102</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 20<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>103</sup> Bishop Nkole, Lusaka, interviewed on 20<sup>th</sup> November 2017

It is essential to emphasize that the Catholic Church grounds its faith on the socio-praxis aspect of its theology, as extensively discussed in the preceding chapter of this study. In light of this, we can affirm that the theological and social praxis elements within Catholicism, as embedded in its social teaching, have predisposed the Catholic Church in Zambia to react negatively to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. This perspective finds support in Father Lungu's response:

*Yes! (emphatic), what tangible benefits have resulted from the declaration for the ordinary Zambian? To be more assertive, Chiluba, as we highlighted earlier, stands out as the most corrupt President to govern the country since independence. I believe this is a point that many other churches may have overlooked. Let me clarify that there's nothing inherently wrong with Pentecostalism, but occasionally, some of the messages emanating from these churches raise valid concerns. Furthermore, I haven't encountered dissenting voices from our Pentecostal brethren. Although it may appear that the majority of Pentecostal church members have embraced the declaration, I suspect there may be many who have not, but conducting a comprehensive study is necessary to confirm this.<sup>104</sup>*

The Christian state declaration, in fact, has failed to bring about significant benefits for the majority of Zambians. Rampant issues like bribery, corruption, and mismanagement of public funds during Chiluba's presidency left many ordinary citizens in dire straits. As highlighted by van Donge (2018: 75), in June 2000, the Chiluba administration initiated an audit by accountants to investigate the matter, revealing fraudulent activities totaling US\$70 million. The impetus for this audit came from pressure exerted by the IMF and World Bank and received financial backing from the European Union.

### **6.3. Reactions from the Catholic Church guided by *Dignitatis Humanae* and *Octogesima Adveniens***

This section will delve into the responses stemming from the Catholic Church, informed by its social teaching. In this examination, we will juxtapose the responses with the conciliar document *Dignitatis Humanae* and the encyclical *Octogesima Adveniens*. These selections have been made based on the richness of their content.

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<sup>104</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2017

Adhering to Bieringer's hermeneutical framework, known as the Normativity of the Future, we approach this section recognizing these texts as functioning within three realms: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text (Bieringer, 2010: 14). These themes transcend numerous Catholic encyclicals and conciliar documents.

The subsequent responses synthesize the core principles in the following manner:

*Undoubtedly, the declaration posed a potential threat to religious freedom in Zambia. The Catholic Bishops promptly highlighted this peril, as our social teaching underscores the importance of being responsible toward our fellow human beings. By identifying the potential risks associated with the declaration's impact on society, the Church was, in essence, advocating for justice and, to a significant extent, peace.*<sup>105</sup>

Another Catholic priest interjected with the following observation:

*Throughout these discussions, the paramount concern should have been the preservation of peace and religious freedom, including social justice, which ought to precede and follow the declaration. This was one of the key motivations for the Catholic Church to contest the process by which President Chiluba imposed the declaration on the nation. In my view, Chiluba should have taken the time to engage with the Zambian people through their representatives, including the various churches, church organizations, religious leaders, civil society, and even his entire cabinet, extending to his party's Members of Parliament in the House. After all, his party, the MMD, held the majority of seats. Had Chiluba followed such a process, the Christian nation status would have genuinely represented the interests of the Zambian people and been accepted without any doubt. The current acceptance remains tainted with confusion and division, even years after Chiluba's presidency has ended.*<sup>106</sup>

Another informant elaborated:

*In my perspective, the declaration reminds me of what transpired when Kaunda enforced his humanism philosophy on the populace. I recall how even his cabinet and ministers merely paid lip service to this philosophy, and when it was challenged by the emergence of multi-partyism and the embrace of democracy, it swiftly disintegrated. A similar fate might await the declaration because it remains a contentious issue, with not all Zambians subscribing to it. Whenever it resurfaces in public discourse, it invariably elicits mixed reactions, underscoring the fact that not all Zambians have embraced the declaration. Nonetheless, there is a persistent clamor from certain church leaders who appear to have a vested*

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<sup>105</sup> Father Musonda, Monze, interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> January 2018

<sup>106</sup> Father Chomba, Lusaka, interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> January 2018

*interest in upholding the continuous recognition of the country as a Christian nation.*<sup>107</sup>

The Catholic Church's response to the declaration has consistently been informed by the principles outlined in its social teaching. The core message against the declaration has revolved around this central theme. As conveyed by one informant:

*It would be misguided to assume that Christianity will forever maintain its dominant position in the future. Our forthcoming generations may opt to challenge the declaration in favor of religious freedom and secularism. While this is yet to unfold, it remains the duty of the Catholic Church to persist as the solitary voice expressing concerns about the potential negative ramifications of the declaration. We must acknowledge that Zambia cannot indefinitely adhere to the declaration, disregarding the reality that the country exists in a modern world that champions values such as human rights, justice, peace, and freedom in all its dimensions. These aspects collectively promote the common good, and this has formed the foundation of the Catholic Church's ongoing resistance to the declaration.*<sup>108</sup>

These responses are noteworthy and illustrate how the Catholic Church has leveraged its social teaching to persistently advocate for a return to a secular state in the country. The declaration remains a subject of ongoing debate, evoking varied reactions whenever it resurfaces in public discourse. Furthermore, the Roman Catholic Church has remained steadfast in its efforts to contest the Christian state's designation.

## **6.4. Responses Favoring the Declaration of a Christian State**

### **6.4.1. The Stance of Pentecostal Churches Regarding the Declaration**

The study would be incomplete without considering the responses from Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches, which are essential to understand their stance on the declaration. President Chiluba, not being a member of the Catholic Church, didn't adhere to its social teachings. To comprehend what might have driven Chiluba to declare Zambia a Christian state, it's vital to explore certain influences associated with the rise of Pentecostalism. This influence is often expressed as the "prosperity gospel," which, according to Gifford, found its roots primarily in American Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches (Gifford, 1995: 7). This trend began as follows:

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<sup>107</sup> Father Moonga, Monze, interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>108</sup> Deacon Mwenso, Lusaka, interviewed on 17<sup>th</sup> January 2018

*...Starting from 1948, there was a misinterpretation of certain Scriptures that gave rise to the message of prosperity. This misinterpretation placed a heavy emphasis on prosperity rather than the character of Christ. Many messages preached from the pulpit focused on prosperity rather than nurturing the fruits of the Spirit in one's personal life. The emphasis shifted in this direction due to the misinterpretation of Scriptures, particularly the verse that states, 'I pray that you may prosper in all things and be in health, just as your soul prospers.' This misinterpretation led to the birth of the prosperity gospel, which gained momentum around the late 1940s and significantly impacted church life..<sup>109</sup>*

The widespread propagation of the prosperity gospel by numerous Pentecostal Churches has garnered a significant following in Zambia. Nonetheless, Pastor Nyerenda points out that:

*People tend to become disillusioned when they realize that things don't always align with their expectations, even if they pray fervently. The primary focus should be on cultivating the fruits of the spirit, as these fruits are indicative of one's character.<sup>110</sup>*

The President was heavily influenced by this message, especially after his conversion to Pentecostalism in the 1980s. When he assumed the Presidency of Zambia in 1991, Chiluba viewed the declaration as a sacred Covenant with God. He envisioned a nation that would reflect God's Kingdom on Earth and believed he would govern it with God's righteousness and justice. Lawrence Temfwe conducted an analysis of the declaration, examining Chiluba's statements during his presidency and likening it to the "Sinaitic Covenant in the Pentateuch" (Temfwe, 1999: 5).

In addition to Chiluba's reference to 2 Chronicles 7:14, Temfwe studied Chiluba's sentiments expressed in a radio broadcast on October 28, 1998, following a failed coup attempt. During this broadcast, President Chiluba proclaimed: "Those who have gathered against us will be defeated on our behalf, and no weapon formed against us shall prosper (Isaiah 54:17). The Lord God of Glory will guide this nation. Jesus, our rock, will continue to strengthen us. We shall remain steadfast, and victory is assured in Jesus' name" (ZNBC Radio Broadcast, 1998).

Moreover, Temfwe interpreted this as an instance where "Chiluba correlated the message of the Kingdom of God with political matters, thus legitimizing his political leadership" (Temfwe, 1999:

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<sup>109</sup> Pastor Nyerenda, Lusaka, interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>110</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

5). In the radio broadcast mentioned earlier, Chiluba's reference to Isaiah 54:17, a passage about God's relationship with Israel and the Gentiles, essentially elevated Zambia to the same status as Israel, as the 'chosen nation' (Temfwe, 1999: 5).

Pastor Sichali of the Pentecostal Church expressed:

*The year 1991 marked a significant milestone for Zambia as we welcomed a President who fearlessly stood up and declared our nation a Christian state. This was a pivotal moment for Zambia, as every subsequent decision would be influenced by the Biblical principles that had now become an integral part of our government's framework.*<sup>111</sup>

Another instance of Chiluba's commitment to the Sinaitic Covenant was evident in his invitation to the clergy to pray for Israel at the State House. He rationalized this by referencing the biblical principle that "all who curse Abraham will be cursed; all who bless him will be blessed" (Wangwe, 1996: 6). According to Phiri, Chiluba held strong beliefs in the blessings associated with honoring the nation of Israel. Therefore, one of his priorities upon taking office as President was to close down the Iranian and Iraqi embassies and reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel, a move that had been severed during President Kaunda's rule. This stance on "Christian Zionism" became a prominent part of public discourse in Zambia (Phiri, 2003: 409).

It can be argued that the declaration horizon unintentionally gave rise to "Christian Zionism," which has continued as a tradition passed down from one generation to the next. Gadamer's concept of a constant process of mediation, where societal tradition is perpetuated through linguistics, is relevant here (Gadamer, 1985: 282). The perspective of Christian Zionism is supported by televangelist Nevers Mumba, who stated:

"For several years, Zambia has been poking her finger into the eye of God by cursing Israel in both word and attitude, and we are reaping the curse on our nation. God's word is final. By being against Israel, we are standing up against God and his will. Zechariah 2:8 says 'for he who touches you (Israel) touches the apple of my eye.' Therefore, it's no wonder there has been a lack of progress" (Times of Zambia, October 13, 1991: 5).

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<sup>111</sup> Interviewed on the 17<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

Christian Zionism was introduced to Zambia through President Chiluba's government, with support from religious leaders like Nevers Mumba. Chiluba embraced this form of Christianity, which was rooted in Christian Zionism and influenced by the prosperity gospel. In pursuit of his political objectives, he invited American evangelist Ernest Angley to Zambia, who endorsed President Chiluba as one "chosen by God" and ordained by God to lead the nation (Njovu, 2002: 59).

Another American evangelist, Benny Hinn, also visited Zambia and pledged to raise money and campaign for President Chiluba's re-election (Njovu, 2002: 59). Religious conservatives, both inside and outside Zambia, threw their support behind Chiluba, seeing him as the best vehicle to spread their particular brand of Christianity that combined Christian Zionism and the prosperity gospel. Chiluba cultivated this form of Christianity to maintain his politically conservative base. It's worth noting that the declaration created divisions among various church groups, both internally and externally (Njovu, 2002: 60). This situation aligns with Calvin's Church-State model, where civil and spiritual authority worked closely together, with both deriving their authority from God, aiming to build the kingdom of God (McLellan, 1997: 47). In Chiluba's case, his motivations appeared to be more material gain than spiritual, as one Pentecostal informant observed:

*If I possess the fruits of the Holy Spirit, those fruits become an integral part of my character, shaping my values. However, when the primary focus is on prosperity, the emphasis shifts. When you possess the fruits of God, prosperity naturally follows as a divine blessing. After all, the Bible instructs us to "seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness." The righteousness of God is exemplified by the fruits of the Holy Spirit, representing the just and virtuous aspects of the kingdom. The Bible goes on to state that "all these things will be added unto you." Unfortunately, we have not placed sufficient emphasis on this aspect.<sup>112</sup>*

Many Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches have deviated from Pastor Nyerenda's teachings. Instead of emphasizing the importance of "seeking the Kingdom of God" first, they have steered their gospel message toward personal prosperity. In this context, the declaration has been linked

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<sup>112</sup> Pastor Nyerenda, Lusaka, interviewed 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2017

more to materialism than to spiritualism. It's important to note that the second republican President, Frederick Chiluba, converted to this faith in 1981 while he was in prison serving a sentence after being arrested by Kenneth Kaunda's security apparatus due to his strong opposition to Kaunda's socialist One-Party-State. According to Olsen (2002: 38), Chiluba's conversion was deeply influenced by his reading of the New Testament book of Hebrews Chapter 11. This experience occurred during his imprisonment when a Pastor introduced him to a book titled "From Prison to Praise." As a result, Chiluba described his conversion in the following words: "I knelt on my knees and accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as my savior... I forgave everyone connected with my false arrest... God has proved to me that He alone is in charge of all things" (Chiyeka, 2010: 16).

The Pentecostal brand of Christianity played a significant role in Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia as a Christian state. Phiri argued that the declaration was celebrated in Pentecostal circles, especially the Northmead Assembly of God, as they believed that God's rule was coming to Zambia through Chiluba (Phiri, 2003: 107). According to Mr. T, one of the informants:<sup>113</sup>

*Both Chiluba and Miyanda attended prayer meetings at Northmead Assemblies of God. They regularly participated in all-night prayer sessions and were occasionally invited to address the congregation.*<sup>114</sup>

In addition to seeking advice from Pentecostal Churches regarding the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, both Mr. Frederick Chiluba and Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda leveraged this idea as a campaign tactic to win support and votes from these churches. This approach has become a common practice in Africa, where politicians engage with mega-churches like Northmead Assemblies of God, one of the largest churches in Zambia at the time. A similar strategy was observed during Barack Obama's presidential campaign in the United States.

*This strategy was also observed in the United States, as there were videos circulating during Obama's campaign, where he visited influential bishops. These videos often showed bishops offering prayers for Obama. The same approach was seen in Nigeria, where winning elections often required visits to prominent churches such as Oyedepo, the Redeemed Church (the largest church in Nigeria), Christ Embassy, and Winners Chapel. In Nigeria, once a bishop declared their*

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<sup>113</sup> The interviewee further told me that, *I took pictures on my camera ... I took pictures of Dr. Chiluba and Godfrey Miyanda* (interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018).

<sup>114</sup> Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

*support for a candidate, the entire church would often follow suit. While it might not be publicly declared from the pulpit, the mere presence of the bishop with the presidential candidate was a clear signal to the congregation. Similarly, the MMD realized the importance of maintaining church support and therefore maintained close contact with churches..<sup>115</sup>*

Following the tragic plane accident in Gabon that claimed the lives of the Zambian National Soccer Team while en-route to West Africa, Chiluba seized the opportunity to once again dedicate the nation to God.<sup>116</sup>

A research participant recounted the following memory:

*I have a video on my phone from the time when Chiluba dedicated Zambia to God after the tragic plane crash that claimed the lives of the Zambian National Soccer Team in 1993. This dedication took place at Independence Stadium, and it stands out as a profoundly significant moment. In this instance, Chiluba publicly prayed and shed tears before the nation. I'm not entirely sure, but it seemed like he might have drawn from the prayers of David or Solomon in the Book of Kings.*

*When he earnestly prayed and wept while dedicating the nation to God, it left a lasting impact. People in the audience were mourning and shedding tears as well. Looking back, I find it significant, especially because I had been a supporter of Chiluba and the MMD, helping them rise to power. At the time, I knew little about his darker aspects; all I believed was that he was a "born-again" Christian, and supporting him was our duty. That dedication ceremony solidified our unwavering support for him.<sup>117</sup>*

The argument posited here suggests that the declaration and consecration of Zambia to God following the tragic loss of the Zambian National Soccer Team were steeped in the principles of the prosperity gospel. This shift was in response to perceived spiritual harm inflicted during Kaunda's tenure, when non-Christian ideologies were introduced. Pastor Nyerenda recalls the following:

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<sup>115</sup> Our contention is that this marked the emergence of the Christian right, akin to its presence in America, where it has exerted influence and molded the political agenda, particularly under the leadership of Evangelicals. Consequently, one could posit that the Zambian iteration resembled the U.S. Religious right. We posit that Chiluba's motivation for declaring Zambia as a Christian state may have stemmed from a combination of his faith and political ambitions, influenced by evangelicals. These religious leaders might have made enticing promises, including assurances of political prosperity. It is conceivable that Chiluba was swayed by his faith, as taught by the religious right, leading him to make decisions that may not have been grounded in objective governance principles.

<sup>116</sup> Chiluba Praying During Funeral of Zambia National Team in 1993 [Accessed at [dom2novost.ru/watch/QhCoAB8J66](http://dom2novost.ru/watch/QhCoAB8J66)

<sup>117</sup> Mr. T. PMB interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

*During that period, numerous churches convened to collectively beseech God, seeking deliverance from the authoritarian leadership of the time. It's noteworthy that Chiluba, who later assumed leadership of the MMD, was already a "born-again" Christian, deeply influenced by the prevailing Pentecostal movement. His influence within the party and his ability to steer its direction coincided with the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Pentecostalism left a significant mark, extending its reach to the political leadership of the country, exerting a palpable influence during that era.<sup>118</sup>*

Pastor Chimena emphasized that the significant declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation can be traced back to David Livingstone, who initiated it by praying for the land. The informant shared:

*During his final moments, as David Livingstone faced death, he uttered a prayer, expressing his wish not to be laid to rest in his place of birth, but rather, to have his heart remain in Africa. Subsequently, his heart was interred in Zambia, specifically in Chisamba, where a monument stands in his honor. This remarkable man had shed his blood on this very soil in the name of establishing God's presence for the benefit of those chosen by God before us. I believe that whatever endeavors Kaunda and his associates were undertaking would not endure the test of time.<sup>119</sup>*

According to their perspective, Kaunda's humanism was deemed unsuccessful because:

*The groundwork for divine authority had already been set, and it was necessary for God to take the reins of the nation. Consequently, the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, they believed, wasn't unexpected.<sup>120</sup>*

When the researcher inquired with the two Pentecostal pastors about why Chiluba didn't seek the nation's input regarding the decision to transform it into a Christian state, Pastor Chimena responded as follows:

*As per our understanding of what God teaches us in the Scriptures, there is no mention of democracy in the Word of God. The Bible presents a model where God communicates directly with individuals. In this divine framework, a specific individual is entrusted with a vision for a particular mission. In the case of Zambia being declared a Christian nation, that vision was carried by Chiluba.<sup>121</sup>*

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<sup>118</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>119</sup> Pastor Chimena, Lusaka, interviewed on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>120</sup> Pastor Chimena, Lusaka, interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>121</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2017

In simpler terms, what Pastor Chimena is conveying is that when God imparts His visions, they are entrusted to specific individuals. He went on to emphasize:

*When Chiluba carried this vision, he possessed the boldness, strength, vitality, and enthusiasm to declare it, regardless of whether it was to many or a few. God's presence was evident in his actions, and you could observe the impact it had on the nation. While some may have felt disenfranchised because he didn't consult them, it's crucial to recognize that this man took it upon himself. Even when others were hesitant to declare Zambia as a Christian nation or envision it as such, he stood firm in the face of adversaries and declared that this land belongs to God.<sup>122</sup>*

The research findings indicate that Kaunda refrained from declaring the country a Christian state due to his respect for its diverse religious composition. He promoted religious freedom and the freedom of conscience. However, considering the informant's insights, does Kaunda's failure to make such a declaration render him a coward? Based on the values outlined in this study, which encompass principles like religious freedom, human rights, dignity, freedom of conscience, justice, and peace as found in encyclicals and enshrined in the Zambian Constitution's Bill of Rights, this study's stance is that Kaunda upheld the Bill of Rights. This stands in contrast to Chiluba, who, as per the informant, violated these rights as stipulated in the Republican Constitution. Nevertheless, the underlying assumption, as highlighted by the informant, is grounded in the fact that:

*When other prophets of God and other religious leaders who could have received the same vision didn't step forward, Chiluba was in a position of authority. You cannot declare a land a Christian nation if you're merely a councilor, as your voice wouldn't carry much weight. Chiluba, being the President of Zambia, held the authority and anointing required to lead Zambia toward becoming a Christian nation.<sup>123</sup>*

According to the findings, Chiluba's declaration had a polarizing effect. "Supporters of the declaration regarded themselves as genuine Christians, while those who opposed it were perceived as adversaries of the government and, consequently, as pseudo-Christians" (Phiri, 2003: 108). They contended that the procedural aspects of the declaration were less important than prioritizing God above all else. This viewpoint, predominantly held by members of Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches, contradicts the pluralist theory, which posits that all religions ultimately

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<sup>122</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>123</sup> Pastor Chimena, Lusaka, interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

lead to salvation (Idowu, 1970: 93-94 and Mbillah, 2004: 192). Therefore, Pastor Nyerenda interjected with the following statement:

*I believe that those who claim he didn't consult are not well-versed in the history.*<sup>124</sup>

He proceeded to provide an elaborate explanation for why Chiluba refrained from seeking public input:

*In 1991, just two months before Zambia's official declaration as a Christian nation, the cabinet was engrossed in intensive deliberations. Some of these meetings extended well into the late hours, concluding as late as 11 pm. Chiluba was fervently working to persuade his cabinet members that he was committed to proclaiming Zambia as a Christian nation.*<sup>125</sup>

Evidently, during this meeting:

*At that time, Mr. Sata served as one of the ministers in the cabinet, and alongside him were figures like General Miyanda, Vernon Mwaanga, and various others. According to firsthand accounts from individuals who were present in the cabinet, I've conducted interviews with them, and it is clear that only Chiluba and General Miyanda were the individuals who supported the idea of declaring Zambia as a Christian nation within the cabinet. On the night when this proposal was finally embraced by the cabinet, it was approximately midnight when the cabinet members collectively agreed and said, 'Mr. President, you have our approval to declare Zambia as a Christian nation.' This momentous decision likely took place on the 27th or 28th of December 1991, signifying that there was indeed a level of consultation with the cabinet.*<sup>126</sup>

Furthermore:

*Chiluba was at the helm of one of the most influential cabinets of the era, comprising seasoned politicians, some more experienced than him. He had recently transitioned from his role in the trade union, and his cabinet included figures like Arthur Wina, Vernon Mwaanga, and Sikota Wina, all of whom had extensive political backgrounds. Eventually, they reached a consensus, which is why, on the 29th of December 1991, Zambia was officially declared a Christian nation.*<sup>127</sup>

This information provided by Pastor Nyerenda contradicts earlier assumptions made in this study, which suggested that President Chiluba failed to consult his cabinet. However, the study maintains

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<sup>124</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>125</sup> Pastor Nyerenda, Lusaka, interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>126</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>127</sup> Pastor Nyerenda, Lusaka, interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

that it was necessary for the President to initially consult his cabinet before extending the consultation to the general public. By conducting such a comprehensive consultation, the state would have adhered to democratic processes involving public participation. Furthermore, it would have aligned with the principles of political rights as outlined in the encyclical "Pacem in Terris."

Prior to the formation of his cabinet, Chiluba had reached out to pastors from the Charismatic Church, seeking recommendations for potential cabinet members. An informant disclosed:

*I also heard it directly from Chiluba himself during extensive conversations. Before constituting his cabinet, he had invited pastors in Lusaka, stating his intention to form the cabinet and requesting their input on suitable individuals. This occurred when he already had a vision to declare Zambia as a Christian nation, but his cabinet had not yet been assembled. Unfortunately, the pastors did not furnish him with the requested names. Chiluba responded by forming his cabinet independently and then presenting the list to the pastors. He asked for their approval or disapproval of his selections. However, the pastors received the list and failed to provide a response. Consequently, Chiluba took some time to finalize his cabinet after winning the elections because he was initially engaged in consulting the church. Nonetheless, the church eventually distanced itself from him. Faced with this situation, he proceeded to establish his cabinet without their input.<sup>128</sup>*

Not all Pentecostal pastors embraced the declaration, as is evident from the following perspective: There were pastors who firmly believed that declaring Zambia as a Christian nation was an impossibility. Many argued that a nation could not be Christian. However, in the context of declarations, Joshua conveyed a relevant message in the book of Joshua 24:15 when he declared, "Choose for yourselves this day whom you will serve, whether the gods your ancestors served beyond the Euphrates, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land you are living. But as for me and my household, we will serve the Lord." Essentially, Joshua was declaring his family to be devout in their faith. In a family unit, it is traditionally the husband who holds the authority to make declarations for the family, as he is entrusted with a position of leadership:

*Similarly, within a nation, the authority to lead rests with the head of state, often a King or President, who is vested with the power to declare the nation's direction. Therefore, even when critics contend that Chiluba did not consult adequately, it should be noted that he did engage in consultations. Moreover, due to his representative power as the leader of the nation, he possessed the authority to declare Zambia as a Christian nation, taking the nation in the direction he deemed appropriate. Hence, it can be argued that he acted within his legitimate authority.*

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<sup>128</sup> Pastor Nyerenda, Lusaka, interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

*Those who assert otherwise may do so out of ignorance concerning the historical background of how this declaration unfolded.*<sup>129</sup>

In an unexpected turn of events, and in contrast to what the literature in the study had suggested regarding Evangelist Nevers Mumba, Pastor Nyerenda revealed the following:

*Nevers Mumba did not see eye to eye with Chiluba regarding the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. They had numerous disagreements on this matter. However, what's noteworthy is that both of them were seasoned Christians, and they were able to reconcile their differences amicably.*<sup>130</sup>

Previously in the study, it had been suggested that the unfavorable reactions and criticisms of the declaration were primarily attributed to the Catholic Church via the ZCCB and the CCJP. However, in light of the insights provided by the Pentecostal pastor above, it is evident that some pastors, not just from the Catholic Church, rejected the declaration. This reveals that the negative responses to the declaration extended beyond the Roman Catholic Church and included other Christian denominations, notably Pentecostal pastors. This further underscores the fact that the declaration had the effect of dividing the church. Pastor Nyerenda commented:

*This serves to illustrate that the church did not have a unanimous stance on this matter, just as today, the church remains divided in its opinions regarding national issues..*<sup>131</sup>

Based on the responses provided above, it is evident that the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state continues to elicit both criticism and strong support. On one hand, there is substantial backing for the declaration from conservative "born-again" Christians who adamantly assert Zambia's status as a Christian nation. They tend to disregard differing perspectives on the matter. Now, let's delve into the responses from ordinary Zambians regarding this declaration.

## **6.5. Reactions that remain impartial or not definitively expressed**

Reactions to the declaration can be divided into two distinct categories. The first category consists of unreserved support, primarily from what is often referred to as the religious right-wing. This group

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<sup>129</sup> Pastor Nyerenda, Lusaka, interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>130</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>131</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

encompasses Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches, as well as individuals aligned with conservative Christian movements originating in the United States.

Among the members of this religious right-wing, there was a palpable sense of enthusiasm. For instance, in the Pentecostal community, particularly at Northmead Assemblies of God, there was a strong sense of elation. This was attributed to the belief that the divine rule of God was being ushered into Zambia through the presidency of Frederick Chiluba (Gifford, 1998: 198). A representative of this group expressed the following sentiments:

*For me, this development was quite positive. Although I'm not personally involved in politics and maintain a certain distance, I do keep an eye on political events from a distance. I'm not one to actively campaign for any particular candidate. However, as the era of Kaunda was coming to an end, there was a growing desire for a change in government. People were eager for this change, irrespective of who would be leading, even if it meant a challenging choice. I had the opportunity to encounter the late Dr. Chiluba and Brigadier General Miyanda because they used to attend Northmead Assemblies of God. They would participate in all-night prayer meetings and speak to the congregation. I personally met Chiluba at one of these prayer meetings, while Godfrey Miyanda would attend our Sunday church service. They recognized the substantial support they had within the Christian community and leveraged this to engage with Christians.<sup>132</sup>*

After engaging with several Christians, primarily from the Pentecostal Churches, President Chiluba became convinced of the necessity to declare Zambia as a Christian state. An informant shared the following:

*They would visit and interact with Christians who were keen to understand their intentions within the MMD, which piqued the interest of Christians. This was particularly true when Chiluba and his colleagues identified themselves as 'born-again' Christians. Their actions garnered significant attention from me, to the extent that, when the elections approached – I can't recall if it was my first election participation, but regardless, my interest was piqued. The MMD emerged victorious, and Chiluba assumed power. They had made promises during our all-night prayer meetings that they would declare Zambia a Christian nation. This generated tremendous excitement among Christians, especially those who identified as 'born-again' Christians. Chiluba and his colleagues worshiped like 'born-again' Christians and interacted with them at Northmead Assemblies of God, although this wasn't the only church they visited. The anticipation of establishing a Christian nation stirred this atmosphere of excitement. When they eventually took*

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<sup>132</sup> Mr. Towani, PMB, interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

*office and declared Zambia a Christian nation, it felt like a double victory – a triumph for MMD and a symbolic victory for Christians, especially among the Evangelical, Pentecostal, and Full Gospel Churches. From my perspective, it was as though dreams were coming to fruition; it felt like 'born-again' Christians were now in positions of leadership.*<sup>133</sup>

According to secondary sources, there are recorded statements such as: "Zambia has been declared a Christian state. We can only praise the Lord... Sunday, December 29 shall surely go down in the history of the country as the day when the nation of Zambia entered into a Covenant with God" (Times, 12 Jan 1992). In response to such statements, Gifford contends that there are distinct echoes of Old Testament theocratic concepts, rooted in the books of Kings and Chronicles, which draw a connection between a pious ruler and national prosperity (1998: 198). This is because many prominent Pentecostal leaders believed that the declaration symbolized a form of theocracy (Cheyeka, 2016: 159).

*However, there were others who had a different perspective on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Some believed that this meant Zambia was becoming a sovereign Christian country and that only Christianity would be allowed. When they observed that Islam and Hinduism were still thriving, they failed to grasp that the declaration served as a preamble in the Constitution, signifying that the foundational principles of governance would be rooted in Christianity, without necessarily prohibiting other religions. This perspective contrasted with the argument made by some Catholics who believed that the declaration did not suppress other religions, and that they could still operate, apart from the government's stance. This differed from nations where Islam is declared as the sole religion.*<sup>134</sup>

However, not all Zambians shared in the enthusiasm of making Zambia a Christian nation. For instance, one of the individuals interviewed by the researcher expressed his sentiments as follows:

*The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation took me by surprise, and, to be honest, I was somewhat disappointed. As you might already know, I have reservations about this entire matter. I'd like to start by stating that I found it unnecessary to declare Zambia a Christian nation. So, in essence, what I'm trying to convey is that Chiluba and his associates didn't have a compelling reason to declare Zambia a Christian nation at that particular time, unless there were ulterior motives behind the declaration that had little to do with Zambia genuinely becoming a Christian nation.*<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Mr. Towani, PMB, interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> November 2018

<sup>134</sup> Mr. Towani. PMB. Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>135</sup> Mr. Kafumbe. PMB interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

It can be inferred that President Chiluba may have harbored concealed motives beneath the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. This perspective is reinforced by Chiyeka (2016: 160), who suggests that one possible interpretation of Chiluba's declaration was that it was a tactic to encourage Zambians to submit to Chiluba himself, who portrayed himself as a self-proclaimed messiah, drawing parallels with the thirteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans (Cheyeka, 2014b: 5). Chiluba's vision for a Christian nation established at State House was designed to combat witchcraft, bribery, corruption, and foster national prosperity, often depicted in Pentecostal circles as God's blessings (Cheyeka, 2002: 9).

In pursuit of this vision, the then Vice President, Brigadier General Miyanda, urged citizens to adopt a "Christian orientation in all fields, at all levels" (Jenkins, 2011: 187). However, this proposed 'orientation' also implied submission to the Christian state, which, as suggested by Jenkins (2011: 187), had the potential to lead to a deliberate reluctance to acknowledge the shortcomings of the regime and to tolerate official corruption. These arguments emerged after the declaration took place.

In light of the above explanation, it is apparent that various horizons, including those associated with the declaration and biblical perspectives, became intertwined due to personal viewpoints merging with the perspectives found in texts on social teaching or other participants. In this exchange, viewpoints and preconceptions are altered as all participants in the "game of understanding" make themselves "at-risk" in the pursuit of a truth that transcends the knowledge held by any single "player" (Rudolf, 2005: 785).

A second hypothesis is that Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia as a Christian state may have been motivated by the expectation of financial benefits from American Pentecostal religious leaders like Ernest Angley and Ben Hinn. This aligns with the informant's suggestion that there might have been an underlying motive to the declaration..<sup>136</sup>

The informant continues to argue that:

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<sup>136</sup> Mr. K. PMB interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

*Some people have said it was only Zambia that was going to be blessed, 87 percent and above of Zambians are Christians, then, you can as well say that Zambia is already a Christian nation, but we said that it is the only way, it would help Zambians to express themselves as Christians and others have said if Moslems can declare their states as Moslem countries, why shouldn't we, well, and it begins with the last point, we should not look at that as the genesis, as the beginning point, because, we are not following the Moslems, we are Christian, let us remain, Christian, why should we do what Moslems are doing ... let us follow our route.<sup>137</sup>*

The response mentioned can be classified as originating from the critical religious left-wing group. This group comprises individuals and churches associated with the mainline churches from the missionary era. They were excluded from consultation and felt betrayed by Chiluba. Notably, the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia expressed its reservation, stating that "it was not easy to accept and endorse the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation due to the rushed manner in which it was introduced, lacking proper preparation and consultation" (National Mirror, March 25 - 31, 2000).

Furthermore, the bishops were concerned about the potential impact of this declaration on religious freedom and the relationship between the Church and the State (National Mirror, March 25 - 31, 2000). In response, the Catholic Church appealed to its social teaching, asserting that Christianity "is firmly rooted in the dignity of the human person, as understood through human reason and divine revelation, which obliges Christians to exhibit even greater respect for religious freedom" (DH 9).

On the other hand, viewpoints from religious individuals among ordinary Zambians, who are aligned with Pentecostalism, were quite different:

*They aligned themselves more with the Evangelical section of the church. They were excited about Chiluba's rise to power, and what piqued their interest was that I had a personal connection to him through my sister, who had worked with him at one point. She would speak about him, describing him as an eloquent speaker and sharing details of his participation in various meetings. This increased my curiosity about him. Therefore, when he declared Zambia as a Christian nation, it was like the perfect addition to an already appealing picture.<sup>138</sup>*

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<sup>137</sup> Interviewed Mr. K. on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

<sup>138</sup> Mr. T. PMB interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2019

From the preceding discussion, it can be argued that Chiluba's failure to engage with other churches, particularly the Catholic Church, in consultation regarding his intention to declare Zambia a Christian state resulted in:

*Conflict with the Catholic bishops following Zambia's declaration as a Christian nation. The bishops chose to boycott certain meetings and raised several objections. In my perspective, this conflict seemed to be rooted in a power struggle. It appeared that the government had declared the country a Christian nation without consulting the Catholic Church but had engaged Evangelical bishops. It's noteworthy that whenever the government held funerals for politicians, they would take place at the Cathedral. However, when it came to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, the Cathedral Team was not consulted, and instead, the government consulted with Pentecostals. As a result, when the Catholic bishops attempted to raise their concerns and questions, I was fully supportive of the government's actions at the time. I wondered why the Catholic bishops were raising objections, questioning the lack of consultation, and bringing up concerns about other religions. After all, they, too, were Christians. Their motives remained unclear. It seemed that they were opposing and abstaining from participating in the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation simply because they felt excluded..<sup>139</sup>*

Before concluding up this section, it's crucial to delve into the importance of the Christian state declaration, particularly in the context of its underlying role in economic development that justified the necessity of proclaiming Zambia as a Christian state. Consequently, the next section delves into an examination of the declaration's significance

### **6.5.1. Analyzing the Significance of the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian State**

When Zambia was transformed into a Christian state, Chiluba's intent was to introduce new economic reforms across all sectors of society to stimulate development in the country. President Chiluba believed that such efforts would invite God's blessings. However, an informant raised a counterpoint:

*Who said God will only bless you when you declare yourself as a Christian? We have a God who does not discriminate. We have a God who does not say that because someone is a wrongdoer and lives in a certain place, it won't rain there. Rain falls everywhere, for sinners and the virtuous alike, and we all benefit. That's*

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<sup>139</sup> Mr. Sinkamba, Lusaka, interview with on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2018

*the kind of God we have. I remember Michael Sata once said that we didn't need to declare Zambia as a Christian nation. We wouldn't gain any blessings through a mere declaration. It's our actions that define us as a Christian nation, not a declaration. Our actions, doing good works and following the word of God, that's what qualifies us as a Christian nation. It's not just good deeds; it's good deeds combined with obedience to the word of God. I believe that is the foundation of a Christian nation, not loudly proclaiming it like Pharisees from the rooftops. We are a Christian nation! People should see it in the way we live. Even after Chiluba declared Zambia a Christian nation, we saw how corrupt some ministers and the entire government were. We are supposed to be the guiding light and the salt of the nation. People should recognize our Christianity through our actions, not just declarations. Anyone can say anything.*<sup>140</sup>

In spite of President Chiluba's endeavors, societal problems persisted, with high levels of bribery and corruption becoming increasingly evident during his leadership. This situation drew criticism from a prominent journalist who, in his characterization, likened Kaunda's associates to pickpockets, while Chiluba's associates were labeled as outright thieves.<sup>141</sup>

The perspective of a specific informant holds significance in this section, as he observed the following:

*When Chiluba assumed power, I believe he had genuine intentions. The problem he faced was the lack of campaign finances, despite having substantial support. He had the backing of individuals like Sikota Wina and others who provided financial support for his vision. They saw his potential and fame but recognized he lacked the financial means for campaigning. As a result, these supporters surrounded him. However, once he became president, he found it challenging to control these politicians because he now owed them money. This is why, when he decided to adopt a liberal economic approach and initiated the privatization of state-owned companies, which were formerly national assets, it was not done in the right manner. Instead, these politicians were given preferential treatment. During the privatization process, they seized these companies, and they were the primary buyers. Consequently, the assets that were supposed to be distributed among the*

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<sup>140</sup> Mr. Kafumbe. PMB. Interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

<sup>141</sup> Editor. 'Chiluba's Legacy To Zambia,' *UKZAMBIANS* (11/06/11) accessed May 2, 2012, <http://www.ukzambians.co.uk/home/2011/06/18/chilubas-legacy-to-zambia/>; In support of this, a newspaper article written after Chiluba's death by what was named 'a concerned citizen' claimed 'Chiluba did more harm than good to Zambia because while he privatized all state-owned companies, Kaunda initiated companies like Dunlop Limited, Lenco, Zambia Airways, Livingstone Motor Assembly and built numerous houses'. 'Praises on Chiluba,' *The Post*, June 27, 2011, 29; Mainza Chirwa, 'Chiluba's Constitution Has Destroyed Zambia's Image,' *The Post*, May 17, 1996, 7; 'Chiluba's Deception Exposed,' *The Post*, May 22, 1996, 1-2. Another newspaper article stated, 'people's confidence and respect for political leaders is almost non-existent. Ordinary citizens perceive leaders as corrupt robbers'. 'Christian Political Testimony,' *The Post*, November 28, 1996, 6.

*public as shares ended up concentrated in the hands of a few politicians. This was the unfortunate downside - Chiluba initially had good intentions, but it seems he had wolves around him.*<sup>142</sup>

Furthermore, Fred M'membe, the proprietor of the private newspaper known as *The Post* Newspaper, characterized President Chiluba's administration as "the most corrupt regime in the country's history, both colonial and post-independence." He asserted that "a Christian state, if it exists, can never be associated with President Chiluba's corrupt Constitution because he is a deceitful individual" (*The Post*, 1996: 1). Gifford, too, labeled Chiluba's government as "an uncompassionate Christian state," citing the alarming increase in poverty (1998: 199).

Nonetheless, the informant provides additional context to these observations:

*When you consider the economic landscape, it became more open. Previously, we were not allowed to possess American Dollars or other foreign currencies. I recall there was an Indian gentleman who owned numerous taxis, and they operated the route to the University Teaching Hospital (UTH). It was Ticklely who used to share a story that the first time he went to purchase minibusses, he had to attach Dollars to his body. He concealed the money on his person to avoid scrutiny at Lusaka International Airport when leaving the country, and so on.*<sup>143</sup>

Primarily:

*During this period, businesses owned residential properties, and individuals resided in these company-owned houses. Throughout my father's entire career, our family lived in a company-owned house. This situation contributed to the fact that, as Zambians, we did not become accustomed to property ownership. Instead, the prevailing practice was that upon retirement, one would embark on constructing their own property, primarily due to financial constraints at the time.*<sup>144</sup>

All of these developments occurred during the 18-year tenure of President Kaunda. However, when a democratic state was established with Mr. Chiluba as the leader, the economy was opened up, making it more susceptible to bribery and corruption, but it also allowed citizens to engage in various business activities. Mr. T. further notes:

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<sup>142</sup> Mr. T. PMB interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>143</sup> Interview with Mr. T. date: 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>144</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

*Thus, with Chiluba's arrival, the liberalization of the economy benefited the people. He advocated for street vendors to sell their goods and encouraged individuals to pursue their business ventures, even if they only had a small room to start with. This approach, while empowering, had some downsides, such as the proliferation of street vendors, which led to increased urban clutter.*<sup>145</sup>

Regarding property ownership:

*Chiluba took the initiative to facilitate the transfer of municipal council-owned houses to individuals who had resided in them for years. This move significantly opened up the country, and people began importing Japanese cars and engaging in various economic activities. It was a positive step, but there were some downsides. Certain individuals, like Ronald Penza, who had business interests, would manipulate importation regulations. They would alter customs tax laws to benefit themselves and their businesses. While Chiluba had good intentions, some members of his team sought to gain an advantage over ordinary citizens. Nevertheless, his efforts did contribute to substantial economic growth in the country.*<sup>146</sup>

Hence, in a climate of prevailing silence among prominent Pentecostal figures regarding President Chiluba's corrupt practices, Pastor Nevers Mumba boldly broke that silence in 1997. He voiced his concerns about the lack of morality and integrity in politics and subsequently established the National Christian Coalition (NCC) as a political party. This move was aimed at challenging Chiluba's visibly corrupt regime (Cheyeka, 2016: 160). Mumba's stated goal of infusing politics with morality and integrity was not without controversy. Freston (2001) suggested that it might have been a strategic move to position himself as Chiluba's successor in the 2001 elections, as Chiluba would have completed his two terms by then. Mumba had initially attempted to influence government policy by making statements and writing articles in private newspapers about the country's corruption issues, but these efforts had not yielded results (Cheyeka, 2014a: 48-61).

Moreover, criticism of Chiluba's bribery and corruption persisted and even intensified. Non-Pentecostal and Charismatic Church leaders viewed his actions as an attempt to control the Christian community remotely, making the Christian freedoms more privileged than those of non-Christians (National Mirror, 1995: 6). Chiluba seemed oblivious to the fact that his declaration

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<sup>145</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

<sup>146</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

contradicted the principles of democracy, as it inherently favored Christian freedoms over those of non-Christians.<sup>147</sup>

## 6.6. Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to present the responses of research participants to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. The presentation commenced with the responses from the Catholic clergy, which included bishops and priests. These responses were interwoven with the theological foundations of the Catholic Church as embedded in Catholic social teaching. The chapter has also illustrated that Catholic social teaching encompasses socio-praxis elements that have been applied to specific situations, such as the declaration, which continues to be critiqued by the Catholic Church.

We employed Gadamer's hermeneutical theory regarding the "fusion of horizons" and incorporate Bieringer's notion of the "normativity of the future" as the underlying conceptual framework within our interpretive paradigm, which utilizes specific criteria for evaluating research findings.

To provide a comprehensive view of the responses supporting the declaration, it was essential to include the perspective of Pentecostal pastors. This section revealed that Chiluba, a member of the Pentecostal Church, was influenced by the prosperity gospel in his endeavor to establish the country as a Christian state. He invited Christians, particularly from Pentecostal churches like Northmead Assemblies of God, to participate in the declaration ceremony.

The final part of this chapter encompassed neutral responses. The informants offered balanced viewpoints that were neither exclusively in favor nor against the declaration. This diversity of opinions has allowed this study to offer a more profound critique of Zambia as a Christian state.

In summary, the integration of various texts, including oral interviews and secondary sources, has facilitated a fusion where personal perspectives intersect with the perspectives found in texts, like Catholic social teaching and interviews (Gadamer, 1985: 308). The following chapter will explore

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<sup>147</sup> Sheikh Shubai Phiri, the principal spokesperson for the Hajj Islamic Council of Zambia (HICZ), characterized the declaration as 'irrelevant and contradictory to democratic principles,' emphasizing that it failed to acknowledge the supremacy of God. (McDonald Chipenzi, 'HICZ Condemns Christian Nation Declaration,' *The Post*, January 11, 2006, 7).

the role of the declaration in shaping and influencing the principles of democratic governance in Zambia.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
**THE IMPACT OF THE DECLARATION ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE**  
**PRINCIPLES IN ZAMBIA**

**7.1. Introduction**

The previous chapter initiated the presentation of research findings by examining responses to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. This chapter continues to elucidate the research findings by elucidating the declaration's influence on democratic governance principles during Chiluba's presidency. The key inquiry addressed here is: "How did the declaration affect democratic governance principles in Zambia under Chiluba's leadership?" This analysis will be placed in the context of Frederick Chiluba's perspectives on democracy.

Consequently, the primary aim of this chapter is to investigate the impact of the Christian state declaration on Zambia's democratic governance principles during Chiluba's Presidency. The secondary objective is to assess its influence on the nation's economic development. This aspect is vital as economic prosperity was one of the motivating factors behind declaring Zambia a Christian state. The subsequent section will begin by delving into Chiluba's understanding of democracy.

**7.2. President Chiluba's Concept of Democracy**

After the Christian state declaration in 1991, the Conference of the Catholic bishops in February 1992 issued a Pastoral letter called the *Future is ours* where they called for a new culture of democracy to go with the democratic process the country chose to embark on following the 1991 general elections. Further, the Bishops spoke of a “new moral culture of responsibility and a new political and economic culture of accountability” and the need for people to work extra hard to build the new democratic state (Komakoma, 2003: 273). The assumption here is that what the Conference of Catholic bishops were presenting in the Pastoral letter of 1992 was largely influenced by its social teaching. Indeed, when Catholic Bishop was asked if he thought that the social teaching was central in shaping and influencing good democratic governance during Chiluba’s presidency, Bishop Sakala responded as follows:

*First of all, the church had always acknowledged the significant role that our second republican President played in ushering in democracy, which he referred to in his book as a liberal democracy. It was indeed a sigh of relief after ... enduring more than eighteen years of Kaunda's misrule who later decided to adopt a One-Party-State, I'm sure you know the history, you being an academic yourself. Our interpretation of these events that led to the country becoming a democratic state enabled the Catholic Church to re-emphasize certain elements that are constitutive of a democratic state, issues such as, human rights and dignity, religious freedom, peace, and justice ... especially through our encyclicals we earlier mentioned.<sup>148</sup>*

Some of the elements that Bishop Sakala outlines in his response, such as human rights, religious liberty, peace, and justice, are largely considered as the main pillars upon which democracy rests. The Catholic bishops emphasizes other elements that are central in the new democratic culture that Zambian politicians decided to embark on, including hard work, responsibility, accountability, transparency, and the respect of human rights horizons to which the Catholic Church offered itself as the model. Other horizons include governance and democracy that have been identified and according to O'Neill (2007: 64). Therefore, when these elements were misused by Chiluba's government through such vices as bribery and corruption, and maladministration of public finances, the Catholic Bishop observed:

*So, whenever Chiluba was seen to be abusing his political office, the church rose and spoke against the wrong that the President was doing. This is because the right to criticize the state is enshrined in our Republican Constitution, hence, using our social teaching and taking advantage of the "Bill of Rights" that was bestowed on religious institutions such as the Catholic Church, we strongly condemned high levels of bribery, corruption, and maladministration that was enveloping the government. Amazingly, whenever, we issued a Pastoral statement or letter, our position has often been supported by other church bodies such as the Christian Council of Zambia and to a lesser extent, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. Such unison had demonstrated ecumenism among different denominations. Especially among mainline churches such as the Anglican Church, Reformed Church of Zambia, including the Baptist Church. However, there a wonderful correlation between ZCCB and CCZ, especially at the time the country was declared a Christian state.<sup>149</sup>*

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<sup>148</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>149</sup> Bishop Sakala, Lusaka, interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017

When another informant was asked on the issue of democracy and governance during Chiluba's Presidency, she responded as follows:

*For me, um, democracy was sought of a beacon of light for the nation, especially after more than 27 years rule of President Kenneth Kaunda. But, it came with it, ... many challenges that, er, I think the country was not ready for. Remember, er, er, that, er, for 18 years we had been under the one-political rule, then to all of the sudden to introduce democracy, er, was for me, experimental. For instance, privatization which is one of the basic basis of a democratic state, brought a lot of misery to the Zambians, through what was then termed as retrenchment and closure of state parastatal companies such as United Bus Zambia (UBZ), Mines that were previously controlled by the state were sold off, National State Shops such as NIEC closed down, manufacturing industry suffered greatly and eventually disappeared, the railway and PTC<sup>150</sup> all could not survive in the newly liberalized economy, they all died out. These for me, er, um, left Zambians in an economic limbo and many died of depression, as they could no longer fend for their families because the jobs offered by the state were no longer there. In this regard, the introduction of democracy had a huge negative impact on the welfare of many Zambians, who were previously employed by these state parastatals.<sup>151</sup>*

It is now common knowledge in Zambia that despite championing democracy through the MMD and removing Kenneth Kaunda and his one-party-participatory democracy, Chiluba did not necessarily share the concern for democracy, constitutionalism, and Christian ethics (Cheyeka, 2014a: 61). Christian ethics in the context of the study is translated as the inclusiveness of political ethics, which, when combined, becomes Christian political ethics simply because Zambia as a Christian state needed to advance Christian ethics in political practices. Thus, the same political praxis is qualified by the fact of being performed by a Christian, such as Chiluba (Boff, 1978: 368). The above response from the Catholic clergy enables the examination of one component that is central and important to the Roman Catholic Church and has been condensed in its Pastoral letters and statements as the need for democracy and rights. According to Mrs. Chirwa;

*Though governance was enhanced unlike the case was with Kaunda's Presidency, it created room or loopholes for politicians to manipulate and led to high levels of bribery and corruption. In this regard, I have always argued that, though the*

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<sup>150</sup> Post Telecommunication

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Sister Bridget, a Catholic sister, date: 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020

*introduction of democracy to Zambia was a good thing, negative vices emerged that tainted the credibility of the country being a democratic state with good governance. I have always argued that democracy and governance are quite foreign to the African countries, for their origin is for sure foreign. If you have read the book by a Zambia author called Dambisa Moyo and the title of the book is 'Dead Aid', she has argued that Africa is not yet ready for democracy. Dambisa further argues that Africa needs the authoritarian type of governance for it to prosper.*<sup>152</sup>

Despite the negative views about the introduction of democracy to Zambia from the informant, the following section will attempt to discuss certain aspects that are central to a democratic state.

### **7.2.1. The Imperative of Democracy and Individual Rights**

In the context of democracy and rights, these themes repeatedly emerge within the framework of social teaching, particularly in the *Pacem in Terris* and *Dignitatis humanae*. This study interprets democracy as an ideal concept, signifying a form of governance in which "the people" should exercise control over the government ruling them (Diakonia, 2013: 11). In simpler terms, democracy typically operates as a system of government in which policies are determined by the preferences of the actual majority (Diakonia, 2013: 11).

The pastoral statements and letters emphasize the centrality of fostering a culture of service and accountability within the government, as evident in the new political landscape (Komakoma, 2003: 273). During the prolonged period of one-party rule, both public and private sector employees had to adapt to the concept of multi-party democracy, necessitating shifts in attitudes and behaviors (2003: 273). This transformation involved acknowledging the importance of rewarding hard work, eliminating favoritism, curbing privileges for officials, addressing bribery and corruption, and ensuring equitable sharing of austerity measures in times of change. It was crucial to prevent any sense of vengeance or vindictiveness (Komakoma, 2003: 275).

However, as Chiluba's presidency advanced, his vindictiveness towards political opponents became deeply entrenched, even culminating in the imprisonment of the first Republican

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<sup>152</sup> Interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. Komakoma asserts that "democracy is built upon human rights, which are not bestowed by our government but are gifts from our creator" (2003: 273). In the context of this study, as highlighted earlier, Chiluba's actions against the first Republican President, Kaunda, infringed upon his human rights. The Catholic Church condemned Chiluba's violation of human rights, especially his failure to follow the prescribed procedures for Kaunda's imprisonment. One informant expressed these concerns:

*When a country neglects human rights, it paves the way for anarchy to take root, resulting in the disregard for the rule of law that underpins good governance. While Zambia maintained its democratic status, the declaration prompted political leaders like Chiluba to sideline democratic principles that uphold human rights, accountability, and transparency. These principles are not just for their benefit but also for every Zambian who entrusted them with political office through their votes. Instead of upholding these principles, they disregarded good governance, adopting an authoritarian style of rule, with authority solely centralized in the presidency.*

*This is exemplified by Chiluba's manipulation of the Parliament to amend the Zambian Constitution, incorporating the declaration clause without adhering to the democratic processes expected in Zambia. The failure to respect democratic principles and the use of authoritarian methods to impose political declarations, such as the Christian state declaration, have led the Catholic Church to advocate for a return to a secular state where key democratic governance principles can be properly implemented and upheld.<sup>153</sup>*

The Catholic social teaching underscores the pivotal role of these rights and their corresponding responsibilities within human society (DH 2). These principles could have facilitated the establishment of genuine democracy in Zambia by educating citizens about their entitlements and obligations..<sup>154</sup> In this case, it was affirmed that it was the responsibility of the church to oversee the actions of the government and ensure that it upholds the political and economic rights of all individuals (Komakoma, 2003: 273). This aligns with Bonhoeffer's church-state model, which posits, "The state fulfills the designated role of the human character within the domain of the natural and created world. The state represents the pinnacle of development in natural society"

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<sup>153</sup> Mr. Chanda, Lusaka, interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

<sup>154</sup> "Currently, we witness a rising influence of the democratic ideal, albeit not without encountering resistance, coupled with an increased emphasis on and commitment to human rights. As a result, it is crucial for nations undergoing system restructuring to establish a genuine and robust foundation for democracy by explicitly acknowledging these rights." (John Paul II, *One Hundred Years*, No, 47).

(Bonhoeffer, 1955: 333). Subsequently, the following section delves into Chiluba's interpretation of democracy.

### 7.3. Chiluba's Interpretation of Democracy

To thoroughly assess how the declaration influenced the democratic principles of governance, it is crucial to delve into Chiluba's perspective on democracy. For this purpose, Chiluba's book titled "Democracy: The Challenge of Change" (1995) will serve as our guide to comprehend his conception of democracy.

Chiluba embarked on redefining the democracy horizon, parsing it into distinct components. He initiates this process by characterizing democracy and posits that "democracy values every person as a rational moral unit, and recognizes the right to, and capacity for, a measure of self-government" (Chiluba, 1995: 5).

Clark (2004:112) argues that the process of recording history involves a merging of horizons (referred to as *Horizontverschmelzung*), which encompasses the horizons of democracy and governance held by the historian and those of the past. These horizons are in a constant state of evolution, rather than being static. The texts within the realms of democracy and governance, marked by their distinctive nature, come to life in the presence of the reader, thus exerting a transformative influence on both the past and the present.

This lens, the fusion of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*), represents an epistemological perspective situated within an interpretive framework that posits that human actors shape their understanding of reality through the emergence of horizons (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 34). In this way, we can elucidate phenomena from the standpoint of the participants, rather than that of an impartial observer, giving precedence to a subjective viewpoint in the comprehension of the world. On an axiological level, the interpretive paradigm places a greater emphasis on relevance as opposed to rigor (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 34).

In his characterization of democracy and government, Chiluba acknowledges the notion of the supremacy of the people. He contends that "democratic government [horizons] is the creation of the people and thus recognizes their supremacy to its existence" (Chiluba, 1995: 4). In simpler terms, every decision made by the people must be inclusive of their input. To ensure good

governance, it is imperative to uphold the people's supremacy, and their consent is the sole legitimate basis for political authority. The democracy horizon stipulates that the consent of the people is the foundation for the establishment of a government by the people (Chiluba, 1995: 4).

Considering the insights gained from the examination of *Dignitatis Humanae* on liberty (DH 2), Chiluba's perspective on liberty is delineated. He posits that "liberty is not license; instead, it is the state of being free from constraints and violence imposed by others, and it cannot exist without the presence of law" (1995: 4).

One can argue that fundamental issues concerning liberty, which form the bedrock of Zambia's legal system, became precarious following the declaration. Non-Christian religious groups encountered violence and were susceptible to conversion into the prevailing religion, Christianity. As noted by a Catholic member, these transformations and challenges to religious freedom were particularly pronounced:

*While we certainly celebrated the advent of democracy, it was accompanied by a surge in tensions and mistrust, particularly among diverse religious factions, especially in the aftermath of Zambia being declared a Christian nation. This was primarily due to a noticeable shift in the attitudes of Christians who started to perceive themselves as superior to non-Christian groups, including Muslims, Hindus, and others. It became increasingly evident that tensions were on the rise among these religious groups, and a prevailing atmosphere of mistrust prevailed during this period.*<sup>155</sup>

This context unfolded within a framework that purported to uphold freedom of conscience, as reflected in *Dignitatis Humanae*, which recognizes "freedom from coercion in religious matters as a right when individuals act within the community" (DH 2).

Ironically, what transpired following Chiluba's declaration contradicted the principles he eloquently emphasized in his book when referencing John Locke (1632-1704). Chiluba maintained that the principle of consent serves as the theoretical foundation and justification for democratic governance, and the foremost characteristic of government is the rule of law. He quoted John Locke, describing it as "not so much a limitation as the direction of a free and intelligent agent

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<sup>155</sup> Betty was interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

toward his interests." According to Locke's philosophy, the law doesn't infringe but rather supports individual liberty, a fundamental tenet of liberalism (Chiluba, 1995: 4).

Chiluba's philosophical comprehension of liberal democracy was evidently influenced by John Locke, as Roberts suggests, "Chiluba's 'philosophy' can be situated within the context of 'born-again-ism' in Africa. It is also true that Pentecostal Christianity significantly shaped Chiluba's politics" (1994: 137). Therefore, whether one considers ancient, modern, or post-modern philosophies, philosophers have continually pondered questions related to society and human nature. One modern philosopher to whom Chiluba made specific references is John Locke. This alignment can be attributed to the historical consciousness (*Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtseine*) that significantly contributed to Chiluba's understanding of John Locke's perspectives. In this hermeneutical context, the consciousness of an individual is profoundly influenced by historical factors, in this case, John Locke's interpretation of the rule of law, embedded within history (Gadamer, 1985: 311). John Locke maintained the viewpoint that:

... human nature was inherently good and that individuals had the capacity to discern moral values through the exercise of reason. Consequently, he advocated for the existence of a natural moral law, which he rooted in a belief in God. Locke's philosophy also underscored the concept of inalienable human rights. He recognized the necessity of a 'social contract,' wherein individuals would join together to safeguard their lives and property against the inherent human inclination toward acquisition (as discussed in Cheyeka, 2010: 61).

In Chiluba's case, his references to John Locke were intended to support his economic policy. This implies that Chiluba had a solid grasp of John Locke's ideas and endeavored to apply them within the Zambian context. According to Gadamer's interpretations, every era must interpret a transmitted text in its unique way since the text is part of the broader tradition that is of interest to that era and aids in its self-understanding (Gadamer, 1985: 296). In this context, Chiluba articulated his vision of empowering the people of Zambia, enabling them to acquire land, homes, and industries if they possessed the means to do so (Cheyeka, 2010: 61). Chiluba was essentially putting John Locke's principles into practice.

However, Chiluba's philosophical ideals were marred by issues such as bribery, propaganda, the implementation of draconian laws, and a personal vendetta-driven political landscape, which characterized a significant part of his rule (Cheyeka, 2010: 61). Moreover, opposition parties and religious institutions with a strong emphasis on social teaching, like the Catholic Church,

contended that the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) had reneged on its promise of democratic governance within a few months of taking office (Cheyeka, 2010: 61). According to one informant, this was a matter of great concern:

*In the end, when Chiluba assumed the presidency, he found it difficult to exert control over the politicians. This was because he had incurred debts to them, which is why he decided to embrace the principles of liberal democracy, which, in essence, advocated for free markets. This liberal democratic approach resulted in the privatization of state-owned enterprises like the United Bus of Zambia, Zambia Airways, and the mining sector. It also entailed the disbandment of ZCCM and INDECO, along with the closure of all government-owned retail shops such as NIEC and Mwaiseni stores, leading to significant job cuts. After the privatization of these state assets, the politicians who had initially financially supported Chiluba's campaign were the first in line to seize the opportunity to purchase these national assets.<sup>156</sup>*

Rev. Jane, a member of the United Church of Zambia, shared her perspective:

*The downsizing resulting from the closure of state-owned enterprises due to privatization had a detrimental impact on the lives of many Zambians who had previously been employed by these government-run companies. It was at this point that I found myself pondering what was going through the minds of the president, as he seemingly allowed Zambians to endure hardship in the pursuit of privatization and the satisfaction of a select group of politicians. These sentiments weren't unique to me alone; they were widely shared by numerous individuals, particularly within the mainstream churches. People began to question the wisdom of privatizing the Zambian industry, and a sense of discontentment grew as they reflected on the years when Kenneth Kaunda held the presidency.<sup>157</sup>*

One research participant characterized the politicians' insatiable greed as they acquired national assets through corrupt means, driven by their financial support of Chiluba's political aspirations.

They described this situation as follows:

*I believe Chiluba had a group of unscrupulous politicians around him... what ultimately brought his downfall were these unscrupulous individuals who surrounded him... as more and more people became embroiled in corrupt activities, it caused a decline in public support for the MMD. Corruption also began to have a negative impact on the Christian community and other aspects of society. Eventually, everything began to deteriorate, compounded by the troubling issue of infidelity. To me, these factors collectively contributed to the decline, including the very idea of declaring Zambia as a Christian nation.<sup>158</sup>*

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<sup>156</sup> Mr. Zulu, Lusaka, interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>157</sup> Interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

<sup>158</sup> Mr. Towani. PMB interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

Another interviewee stated:

*In politics, there have always been a tendency for individuals to pursue personal enrichment, recognizing that politics is perhaps the most expedient path to wealth. It's an unfortunate reality that no one enters the realm of politics without anticipating some form of personal gain. This, in my view, is a fundamental flaw in the democratic system, as it tends to attract politicians who prioritize personal financial gain over the interests of the public. Consequently, the issues of corruption and bribery are unlikely to ever be eradicated.<sup>159</sup>*

Between 1992 and 1996, a significant number of MMD Ministers abandoned the party, citing corruption and anti-democratic tendencies within the MMD as their reasons for resigning (Phiri, 2003: 410). One notable example is Levy Mwanawasa, who, as the first Vice-President of the MMD government, argued at the time of his resignation, "If anything, conditions have deteriorated for the ordinary Zambians. The transition to democracy has only resulted in luxury for a select few of us in positions of power. Is democracy feeding our people?" (Times of Zambia, 28 July 1994). In fact, one of the interviewees conveyed their perspective as follows:

*I'd say within just a couple of years, maybe two or three, things started taking a turn for the worse. This led to a lot of discontentment, even among MMD voters, causing a decline in support. (Interview with Mr. T.).*

It can be firmly asserted that Mwanawasa's question received a resounding "no!" in response. This was primarily because, despite Chiluba's declarations, the ideals he espoused in his book did not readily translate into real-world action. The only notable exception was when he provided council houses to current occupants for free, while individual liberties, especially for those of different faiths, were constrained. As Chiluba's initial five-year term was coming to an end, the principles of Chilubaism were extensively elaborated upon in the three weeks leading up to the November 1996 election (Cheyeka, 2010: 61). Mr. T. offers the following insight:

*By the time of the 1996 elections, the MMD's dominance was already waning, with members breaking away from the party due to perceived unfairness within the organization.<sup>160</sup>*

In his bid for electoral success, Chiluba embarked on a nationwide campaign, advocating for both himself and his parliamentary candidates. One notable political tactic that Chiluba employed to secure victory in the 1996 general elections involved visiting areas where local councils distributed

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<sup>159</sup> Mrs. Musonda was interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

<sup>160</sup> Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2018

houses to long-standing residents. From my perspective, this strategic move had a significant impact and helped to broaden his support across the country.<sup>161</sup>

Another source contributed:

*While President Chiluba's initiative did provide many Zambians with homes, it's important to note that the overall economic situation was deteriorating, and a significant portion of the population was experiencing food scarcity while politicians were thriving. This is why I contend that, by the conclusion of Chiluba's presidency, the state of affairs was considerably worse compared to his initial term.*<sup>162</sup>

Furthermore, during these campaigns, Chiluba made substantial financial contributions to schools and churches, with a particular emphasis on the Catholic Church (Cheyeka, 2010: 61). Chiluba's intention in donating funds to the Catholic Church was to secure their support for his presidential candidacy, despite their prior criticism and denouncement of his declaration. In addition to this, opposition leaders remained vigilant, scrutinizing any remarks or actions that might hint at a breach of what they considered the 'electoral process.' They also condemned Chiluba's distribution of what they termed 'donated money' from abroad and local taxpayers' funds (Cheyeka, 2010: 62).

*The Post* Newspaper criticized Chiluba in an editorial, stating:

President Chiluba was spending taxpayer money on his personal religious convictions, particularly his 'Pentecostalism' zeal. It claims that his religious enthusiasm is a private concern that does not benefit all citizens and that the Christian community should reject it. The paragraph expresses concern that Chiluba's religious radicalism and fanaticism could affect both Christianity in the country and democratic government norms. Instead, it proposes that Chiluba emphasize tackling political and economic challenges, as well as eliminating corruption within his government (Post, 12 Aug. 1994: 2).

Chiluba's actions demonstrated a disregard for political responsibility and accountability, ultimately leading to the misuse of his political office through the inappropriate allocation of public funds, contrary to the principles of good democratic governance. President Chiluba's book barely touched on the church's role in fostering democracy in Zambia, dedicating just a single page to the subject (Chiluba, 1995: 66). This lack of recognition of the church's role in promoting democracy

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<sup>161</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

<sup>162</sup> Interviewed with Mrs. Alice Chirwa.

in Zambia contrasts with the assertion made by one informant about Chiluba and Miyanda's visits to churches, particularly Pentecostal Churches, before the general elections of October 31st, 1991.

*... because he (Chiluba) had previously promised them (churches)... that he was going to bring democracy to Zambia and declare it a Christian country, therefore we voted for them (Chiluba and MMD) because we backed their ideals... because they intended to restore democracy.*<sup>163</sup>

While Chiluba's book delves into his political changes and policies up to 1993, it notably omits any mention of his 1991 declaration of Zambia as a Christian state. This declaration is only found in the "Chronology of Events from 1988-1995" at the end of the book (1995: 162) (as cited in Phiri, 2008: 99). In this case, the true intent of a passage in Chiluba's book did not entirely align with the interpreter's understanding, as it was influenced by the author's context and the intended audience. Therefore, it can be argued that the text in Chiluba's book did not perfectly correspond with its readers because it was shaped by the interpreter's historical circumstances, rendering it subject to the changing course of history (Gadamer, 1985: 296).

Phiri suggests that Chiluba might have perceived that his declaration of Zambia as a Christian state conflicted with the democratic principles he had outlined in his book and championed at the start of his presidency (Phiri, 2008: 99). The tension and clash between a democratic state and the declarative nature of Zambia as a Christian state are effectively elucidated by an informant, who remarked:

*I believe that introducing a combination of democracy and Christianity, or to be more direct, theocracy, can inevitably lead to conflicts. This arises because it isn't a matter of majority rule; in matters of faith, it's about divine guidance. It's akin to how mainstream churches operate, where congregants can collectively vote for the appointment of a pastor. Conversely, within Evangelical congregations, the pastor typically holds a vision and has the authority to dismiss leaders if they are deemed to be in error. Mainstream churches rely on the deacon board to appoint or dismiss a pastor, so their approach follows the majority. In contrast, Evangelicals don't adhere to the majority rule. Therefore, you may discover that Zambia's foundation on Christianity, which contradicts certain principles of human rights, can lead to ongoing conflicts. This is because our national principles are rooted in the Bible, which conflicts with the concept of a democratic state from the perspective of human rights.*<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2018

<sup>164</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

The above response from an informant, a devoted member of the Pentecostal Church, sheds light on why President Chiluba unilaterally imposed the declaration on the people, disregarding the democratic process that typically involves the majority in deciding critical national matters. Phiri's suggestion that Chiluba may have viewed the declaration as a personal expression of his devotion to God rather than a political act reinforces this perspective (Phiri, 2008: 99).

This presumption by Phiri explains why the Catholic Church, guided by Catholic social teaching, had valid reasons to oppose the declaration and played a central role in shaping and influencing the democratic governance of the state during Chiluba's presidency. According to the conciliar document like *Dignitatis Humanae*, it emphasizes society's inherent right to practice religious life freely, including the freedom to choose religious education (DH 2). Furthermore, *Pacem in Terris* stresses the importance of safeguarding the rights of minorities and ensuring justice and human rights are not violated by limiting the strength and growth of smaller groups (PT 10). Chiluba addressed the rights of minorities by advocating for democratic systems that safeguard all minority groups through mechanisms like a Bill of Rights, separation of powers, institutional checks and balances, and electoral arrangements that involve power-sharing among various stakeholders and government parties (Our Global Neighborhood, 1995: 5).

However, the declaration failed to include minority groups, especially those with irreligious beliefs, in the policy-making process of the Christian state. This contradicted the underlying principle of governance, which should ultimately focus on creating conditions for orderly rule and collective action (Stoker, 1998: 17). In this instance, the declaration did not foster an ordered rule that would have encouraged collective action regardless of individual beliefs. Instead, it divided the nation, as the environment was not tolerant of minority individuals from different faiths. When a state upholds freedoms, including religious and individual freedoms, it must ensure that these freedoms are not infringed upon by any entity. This contributes to the common good of individuals and institutions, both public and private, as well as religious groups.

In the context of religion, as per the Constitution, Phiri argues that minority groups such as Muslims, Hindus, and adherents of African Traditional Religion (ATR), constituting 13 percent of Zambia's population, have the same rights as the Christian majority (Phiri, 2008: 98).

Within the framework of democracy, the declaration was imposed upon the nation by Chiluba, driven primarily by his personal convictions. The Catholic social teaching\*<sup>A3</sup>\* underscores the deficiencies in the democratic context supported by the declaration. Fundamentally, democracy hinges on the rule of law, which opposes arbitrary power and upholds human rights. This can only be achieved when a new form of governance supersedes adversarial and managerial policy-making and introduces a more collaborative approach (Ansell and Gash, 2007: 1). In this new paradigm, governance becomes a collective endeavor, necessitating the inclusion of all stakeholders, including churches and civil society, in decision-making processes and implementation. This promotes social and political cohesion and democracy, contrasting with the governance practices of President Chiluba's government. Public policies like the declaration, the promotion of a liberal economy, and democracy were not subject to consensus decision-making in collective forums.

The absence of collaborative governance results in executive interference in the legislature and judiciary, undermining human rights promises. The rule of law fosters a culture of predictability, securing people's rights against each other and the state (Chiluba, 1995: 5). As one respondent pointed out:

*We encounter conflicts when people hold various perspectives, which is the very issue South Africa and the United States grapple with. This raises questions about the fundamental values upon which a country is built, particularly what guides our decision-making. The clash between the Constitution and the Bible is evident here. While the Constitution emphasizes the rule of the majority, the Bible asserts that God's principles govern. Consequently, we tend to follow the moral and minority rights principles of the Bible, and this is where conflicts arise.*<sup>165</sup>

The concept of the rule of law can be viewed from various angles. For instance, *Pacem in Terris* identifies two key components of the rule of law: 'political rights,' which encompass the "dignity of the human person, involving the right to an active role in public affairs and contributing to the common good of citizens" (PT 26-27), and 'participation in public life.' The encyclical emphasizes that "it is in keeping with their dignity as individuals that people should actively engage in government..." (PT 26-27). These elements underpin democracy and are also endorsed in theories of governance, which are not merely a set of rules or activities but a continuous process. The governance process is characterized by coordination rather than control, involving the public,

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<sup>165</sup> Father Moonga, Monze, interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> August 2017

religious, and private sectors. It is not a formal institution but an ongoing interaction (Our Global Neighborhood, 1991: 2-3).

To justify the declaration, it was expected that the principles outlined in Our Global Neighborhood should take precedence in a democratic state. The assumption here is that Catholic social teaching has encouraged the church to become a stakeholder aiming to establish a collective forum engaging public agencies to ensure consensus-oriented decision-making, thereby shaping democratic governance in Zambia during Chiluba's presidency (Ansell and Gash, 2007: 1).

Chiluba, to some extent, deviated from elements that define true democracy based on popular interpretations and instead favored liberal democracy. According to Phiri (2008: 98), Chiluba insisted that individuals needed to respect certain limits for the sake of the entire country. He believed that individual rights must be accompanied by individual responsibility. Notably, this understanding of democracy aligns with the preferences of many Christians, particularly the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia. Phiri's statement confirms that Catholic social teaching\*<sup>A3</sup>\* have played a significant role in describing aspects that deviate from the conventional definition of democracy but are in line with what Chiluba preferred, namely liberal democracy.

#### **7.4. The Christian State's Influence on Zambia's Democratic Governance**

According to Gifford, in Zambia, the churches played a significant role during the transition to democracy, and they were particularly crucial in times of crisis, preventing chaos (Gifford, 1995: 2). As a result of the church's political involvement in Zambia, politicians like Kenneth Kaunda and Frederick Chiluba leveraged the churches to gain support from civil society and various groups for their presidential campaigns or to oppose other candidates' aspirations for the highest office in the country. Gifford, in his book "Christianity in Doe's Liberia," noted that some presidents have used Christian rhetoric to prolong their stay in power (Gifford, 1993: vii).

However, such situations were curtailed by the call for democratic principles, and Zambian democracy was firmly established after the 1991 general elections when Frederick Chiluba became the second President since independence, ushering in the Third Republic. According to Phiri, Chiluba played a pivotal role in Zambia's transition to democracy and even authored a book

celebrating democracy (Phiri, 2008: 95). Rev Cinema, a Pentecostal pastor who drew parallels between democracy and Pentecostalism, made the following observation:

*...when I examine democracy, I start to draw parallels with Pentecostalism, which is a subset within the Charismatic movement. In Charismatic practices, when individuals are filled with the Holy Ghost, they become free to express themselves to their spiritual Father, Abba. This is how the democracy we are familiar with started to take root in the nation, under Chiluba's leadership. It's noteworthy that Chiluba, a figure whom Kaunda held a strong dislike for and even imprisoned at one point, was chosen by God as an instrument of change. Among the four candidates who vied for the MMD presidency, Chiluba ultimately emerged as the MMD President.<sup>166</sup>*

Furthermore, the worsening economic crisis in Zambia compelled Kaunda's government to reevaluate its policies. The growing opposition to Kaunda's political rule seized this opportunity to advocate for the return to multi-party politics. In 1990, Kaunda announced a referendum on reintroducing multi-party politics, but the campaign was overtaken by political events. The food riots in June 1990 triggered a sequence of events that ultimately led to the multi-party elections in October 1991 (Mwewa, 2011: 258). Subsequent to the riots, an attempted military coup against Kaunda's government occurred. On December 4, 1990, the one-party-state article was removed from the constitution by the House of Parliament. On August 24th the following year, the 1973 Constitution was replaced, introducing the Third Republic. On October 31, 1991, Frederick Chiluba and the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) convincingly won the first multi-party elections (Mwewa, 2011: 261). These events collectively paved the way for democracy in Zambia, with religious transformation being just one component of this transformation.

The election of Frederick Chiluba, a Pentecostal Christian, as President significantly contributed to his portrayal as the architect of Zambia's democratic transformation. His followers hailed him as the 'black Moses,' a liberator, and an illustrious African son, even viewing him as God's instrument (Afriscope, 1992 in Olsen, 2004:43). Such sentiments were particularly prominent among Pentecostal church leaders, exemplified by Pastor Chimena and Bishop Imakando. Bishop Imakando, addressing a gathering of evangelical and charismatic leaders at State House in 1992, expressed concerns about unrighteousness, oppression, injustices, corruption, witchcraft, and

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<sup>166</sup> Pastor Chimena, Lusaka, interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2017

occult practices in Zambia as signs of the nation turning away from God. He saw Chiluba as a Bible-believing and Pentecostal leader, providing hope for Zambia (Temfwe, 1999: 5).

The perception of Chiluba as a 'New Messiah' aligns with the viewpoints of some Pentecostal members. Pastor Chimena suggested that God had chosen Chiluba as an instrument for change. Cheyeke argued that after receiving prophecies and becoming the MMD leader, Chiluba began to see himself as a Biblical Moses, leading Zambians out of their metaphorical Egypt, and akin to Joshua in the Bible (M'fundisi, 2014: 110). This 'messiah complex' persisted throughout his presidency, with many Pentecostal Christians considering him 'untouchable' and accepting that he was "chosen" by God to lead, unquestioningly endorsing his governance (Chiluba, 1995: 170). An informant noted:

*It was believed that God had preordained his role to bring about the changes that God intended for Zambia, which we are witnessing today in the form of Pentecostalism and the declaration of a Christian nation.<sup>167</sup>*

One can make a case that it was the global events previously mentioned that motivated leaders like President Chiluba to embrace democracy as the governing system in Zambia. These events occurred during a period when the world was experiencing a surge in transitions away from autocratic regimes, such as Kaunda's socialist one-party-state system, and ideological shifts, including humanism. Pastor Chimena underscored the significance of humanism, stating that it:

*...had little or no regard for God, and Kaunda essentially deviated from his father's faith to adopt a humanistic approach that was agnostic. When Kaunda introduced what he did, it lacked a firm foundation. For something to endure, it must have a strong foundation. Therefore, humanism was destined to be short-lived.<sup>168</sup>*

The global events commonly referred to as "the Wind of Change," marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall, along with Kaunda's political ideologies encompassing humanism, scientific socialism, nationalization, and a one-party state, played pivotal roles in the reintroduction of democracy to Zambia through President Frederick Chiluba. Despite the declarations made, Chiluba's

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<sup>167</sup> Pastor Chimena, Lusaka, interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>168</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

government did not fully implement and practice the democratization system that he perceived as an ongoing process. Pastor Nyerenda emphasized:

*In the Word of God, it is only one individual who carries a particular vision for a specific mission. Therefore, the vision for Zambia to be declared a Christian nation was championed by Chiluba.*<sup>169</sup>

In such circumstances, there appeared to be no necessity to adhere to democratic procedures. The mainstream denominations criticized the declaration for its lack of consultation and public involvement, which led civil society and individuals to react unfavorably to the declaration. Pastor Nyerenda explained:

*In a nation, the authority to lead is vested in the King, who possesses the power to shape the nation as he sees fit. Even though people might argue that he didn't consult, he did consult, because he was entrusted with the representative power to govern the nation. This authority, in turn, empowers him to declare or steer the nation in the direction he deems best. Therefore, he had the rightful authority to make the declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation. So, based on this premise, he acted appropriately, and those who contend that he didn't consult are unaware of the history that led to this decision.*<sup>170</sup>

For most Pentecostals and Charismatic Churches, the procedural aspects of the declaration seemed inconsequential. However, this perspective appears to be at odds with the principles and expectations of a democratic state when it comes to upholding political rights in public policy decisions. In his book, President Chiluba argued that:

Democracy values every person as a rational moral unit and recognizes the right to, and capacity for, a measure of self-government. This is because any democratic government is the creation of the people and thus recognizes their supremacy to its existence. Therefore, in a democratic state like Zambia, the consent of the people is the only legitimate justification for political power. Democracy acknowledges that the consent of the people enables the establishment of a government that represents the people (Chiluba, 1995: 4-5).

Had President Chiluba recognized the necessity of consulting the people, the sentiments expressed by the interviewees would have aligned with democratic principles. In this context, the Pentecostal pastors' viewpoints seem to be attributing a spiritual significance to Chiluba's declaration when it

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<sup>169</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>170</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

may not be warranted. For Pentecostal pastors, the paramount consideration was prioritizing God above all else, as illustrated below:

*While other prophets of God and men of faith who may have shared this vision remained silent, this man held a position of authority. As the President of Zambia, he possessed the anointing to lead Zambia towards becoming a Christian nation.*<sup>171</sup>

As noted by Gifford, the struggle for recognition by the state might have played a role in this matter. Those Pentecostals involved in the planning of the declaration ceremony may have felt a sense of inclusion in the inner circles of political power, thus contributing to their satisfaction (Gifford, 1998: 200). However, the unintended consequences of Chiluba's non-consultative approach caused division among Zambian Christians. On one side, there were the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and the Protestant Christian Council of the Churches in Zambia (CCZ), while on the other side were evangelical groups who, in principle, supported the declaration but believed that consultations should have taken place before making such a significant decision, given the democratic nature of the state (Gifford, 1998: 198).

This divergence in reactions and opinions among various civil groups, while typical in a democratic state like Zambia, proved to be highly divisive. It led to the breakdown of the unity that had existed within the church since independence. Pastor Nyerenda emphasized this division within the church:

*The church in Zambia has never spoken with one voice... This is because the church, in general, is divided. Each church interprets the word of God differently, with some claiming to possess the true vision from God, while others claim a completely different message. However, the Bible speaks of 'the vision of the heart.' I say 'the vision of the heart' because if we heard from God collectively or had a unified voice that received God's word and shared it with the church, we would speak with one voice. But because we lack such a unified voice, we all speak our own 'visions of our hearts.' This is why the church couldn't come to a consensus with Chiluba. The few who agreed with him were in the minority... I distinctly recall that Nevers Mumba did not agree.*<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Pastor Chimena, Lusaka, interviewed on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2017

<sup>172</sup> Lusaka interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017

Pastor Nyerenda's response highlights the enduring division within the church regarding the declaration. Notably, Pastor Nevers Mumba, a prominent evangelist during the time of Zambia's declaration as a Christian state, did not support the declaration. This study suggests that his disagreement with the declaration is likely aligned with the position of the Roman Catholic Church on this matter.

### **7.5. The Stance of the Catholic Church regarding Governance and Good Governance**

Throughout Zambia's history spanning the three Republics, church leaders have consistently addressed concerns related to good governance. The fundamental assumption underlying these discussions is that the theoretical concept of governance reflects the evolving interests of the social community and shifting patterns of governing styles (Rhodes, 1996: 652-653).

In the ongoing discourse about governance and good governance, the term "governance" has undergone a transformation in meaning. It now encompasses a shift in the understanding of government, encompassing new processes of governance, altered conditions of rule, and novel methods for governing society (Rhodes, 1996: 652-653). Governance, fundamentally, revolves around the creation of conditions conducive to orderly rule and collective action (Stoker, 1998: 17). Stoker's explanation aligns closely with the principles outlined in *Pacem in Terris*, particularly under the section of "Political Rights," which asserts that human dignity entails the right to active participation in public affairs and contributing to the common good of citizens (PT 63).

Mindful of the potential for abuse of power by political leaders, church leaders have issued Pastoral Letters emphasizing values such as the idea that authority should serve and not be a means of oppressing others. In one such letter following the pivotal 1991 elections, titled "The Future is Ours" (1992), church leaders called upon political leaders to adopt a spirit of service, transparency, and accountability to the people (Komakoma, 2003: 7).

One notable deficiency in President Chiluba's governance style was the absence of collaboration, a key component of good governance. Collaborative governance involves factors like face-to-face dialogues, trust-building, and the cultivation of commitment and shared understanding among

stakeholders (Ansell and Gash, 2007: 2). Additionally, it aims to develop a contingency approach to collaboration, highlighting the conditions under which collaborative governance proves more or less effective as an approach to policymaking and public administration (Ansell and Gash, 2007: 2).<sup>173</sup>

Hence, it is essential for this study to scrutinize the Catholic Church's stance on how the declaration has influenced and shaped good democratic governance in Zambia during President Chiluba's tenure. In light of these considerations, one Catholic priest was asked by the researcher whether the church's social teachings had a significant impact on shaping and influencing good democratic governance in Zambia. The response from the Catholic priest was as follows:

*The church has consistently recognized the role played by our second republican president in ushering in democracy, which he later referred to in his book as a liberal democracy. It was indeed a breath of fresh air after enduring more than 18 years of misrule under Kaunda, who eventually embraced a one-party state. I am sure you are well-versed in the history, being an academic yourself. In my view, the events that led to the country's transition to a democratic state allowed the Catholic Church to reaffirm certain fundamental elements intrinsic to a democratic state. These include issues like human rights and dignity, religious freedom, peace, and justice – all of which are deeply embedded in our social teaching, especially as conveyed through our encyclicals.*<sup>174</sup>

He went on to elaborate:

*So, whenever Chiluba was perceived to be abusing his political authority, the church took a stand and condemned the wrongdoings of the president. Remarkably, our pastoral statements were often supported by other church bodies, such as the Christian Council of Zambia and, to a lesser extent, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. This unity showcased ecumenism among various denominations, particularly among mainstream churches like the Catholic Church, Anglican Church, Reformed Church of Zambia, and the Baptist Church. There was a remarkable alignment between the ZCCB and CCZ, especially during the period when Zambia transitioned into a democratic state.*<sup>175</sup>

Even within the Catholic Church, there were differing opinions, as some saw merit in the declaration, such as Father Moonga. Therefore, it's important to acknowledge that the response of

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<sup>173</sup> Thomas (1995) formulates a contingency perspective on public participation, which, while having a broader scope, is crafted from the viewpoint of public managers.

<sup>174</sup> Father Moonga, Monze, interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>175</sup> Father Moonga, Monze, interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2017

the Catholic Church can be viewed in two ways: those who supported the declaration and those who criticized it within the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church exhibited a diversity of perspectives regarding the declaration.

A Catholic sister offered the following insight:

*It is possible that there were certain clergy members within the Catholic Church who opposed Chiluba's declaration. However, each priest was generally expected to align with the church's official stance on the matter. This was because the church aimed to present a unified voice to the public. Allowing dissenting voices within the clergy could have compromised the stability and credibility of the church's position. In my view, even if some priests disagreed with the church's stance on issues like the declaration, they were obligated to uphold the vow of obedience that every priest is expected to follow. Consequently, they had to respect the decision made by the church's leadership.<sup>176</sup>*

During another interview conducted on November 15, 2017, with a Catholic priest, the researcher inquired about how Catholic social teaching ensures that democratic processes remain unaltered by the government. The priest began by recalling events from the Second Vatican Council, stating:

*It is crucial to note that the Catholic Church's recognition of human rights and their corresponding responsibilities emerged prior to Vatican II. During the Second Vatican Council, there was a consensus on religious freedom, signifying a shift toward prioritizing human interests in a rapidly changing world. The church transformed from a more distant entity to an institution that started endorsing virtues that advanced human endeavors. This transformation was evident when Zambia transitioned to democracy, as the church, influenced by its social teaching, issued a Pastoral Statement outlining its expectations for the new democratic era. However, when Chiluba declared the nation a Christian state, the Catholic Church pinpointed the deficiencies in the declaration, particularly its disregard for democratic processes such as consultation, participation through debates, and the organization of a referendum to allow the public to express their agreement or disagreement regarding the country's Christian status. In this manner, Catholic social teaching has indeed played a substantial role in shaping and impacting good governance by highlighting aspects that often go unnoticed during the formulation of certain political decisions, including the declaration.<sup>177</sup>*

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<sup>176</sup> Sister Nakazwe was interviewed on 14<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

<sup>177</sup> Father Mulenga, Lusaka, interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> August 2017

An illustrative instance of how specific democratic components were molded and influenced by social teaching can be found in *Dignitatis Humanae*, which emphasizes various forms of liberty encompassing religious, individual, and community freedom (DH 2). As noted by Mrs. Musonda:

*The mentioned church document holds tremendous significance for the Catholic Church. It's important to recognize that the church is deeply rooted in human rights and freedoms, striving to promote these rights and freedoms throughout society. Given that the Catholic Church is an integral part of society, it is imperative that these rights are not only upheld but also visible in practice. So, when we contemplate the notion of a Christian nation, the church perceived the declaration as a potential threat to these rights. Specifically, it posed a risk to the rights of religious groups that did not align with Christianity.*<sup>178</sup>

The concept of rights and freedoms has been articulated comprehensively in Chiluba's book, where he asserts that, "... liberty is not license; instead, it means being free from restraints and violence imposed by others, which cannot exist without the presence of law" (Chiluba, 1995: 4). This study posits that issues surrounding liberty and rights are foundational to the entire legal framework of Zambia. Regrettably, they became less tenable following the Christian state declaration, with non-Christian religious experiencing violence and becoming susceptible targets for conversion to what is perceived as the true faith, Christianity. This occurred within the framework that ostensibly promoted freedom of conscience, aligning with the principles outlined in *Dignitatis humanae*, which recognizes freedom from coercion in religious matters as an inherent right when individuals engage in the community (DH 2).

In this context, another Catholic clergy provided the following insights:

*Among the five encyclicals you mentioned, I find Mater et Magistra and Pacem in Terris to be particularly relevant. They were composed during a period when global tensions were escalating between the USA and the Soviet Union. They were both politically motivated, addressing threats to humanity's interests. For example, Mater et Magistra highlights issues of human rights, religious freedoms, and political freedom, which were subsequently emphasized by the Council. These elements play a crucial role in democratic states.*<sup>179</sup>

Since Zambia was declared a Christian state, drawing from the principles outlined in *Pacem in Terris*, various aspects integral to democratic governance, often described as good governance practices in the aforementioned encyclicals, can be summarized as follows:

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<sup>178</sup> Interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

<sup>179</sup> Bishop Chirwa, Lusaka, interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2017

- a) Political Rights: This category underscores the importance of political rights. According to *Pacem in Terris*, "the dignity of the human person involves the right to an active role in public affairs and to contribute to the common good of citizens" (PT 26).
- b) Relations Between Individuals and Public Authorities within a Single State: It emphasizes that "human society can only be well-ordered and prosperous if there are individuals with legitimate authority vested in them to preserve its institutions and devote themselves to working and caring for the common good" (PT 46).
- c) Participation in Public Life: This pertains to the idea that "it is in keeping with their dignity as individuals that human beings should actively participate in government" (PT 73).

When a Catholic informant was asked about the necessity for other non-Christian religious groups to actively participate and be consulted on important national matters, such as the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, the response was as follows:

*This is a crucial question, and I appreciate your asking. These are some of the challenges that have arisen since the country's declaration as a Christian nation. Many non-Christian individuals have encountered numerous obstacles, particularly in terms of being acknowledged as citizens with rights in a democratic nation like Zambia. Our social teaching emphasizes religious freedom and consciousness, as enshrined in our Constitution. As long as they are Zambians, they possess the unalienable right to participate and be consulted on all significant national issues, including the declaration of the country as a Christian nation. The only truly democratic means to include and facilitate participation for all Zambians, regardless of their religious beliefs, is through a referendum. It is the sole dependable method. Moreover, they have the right to aspire to be elected to any political office, irrespective of their religious affiliation. This is why the Roman Catholic Church has opposed the declaration, as it contradicts democratic principles and exhibits discriminatory characteristics.<sup>180</sup>*

In essence, the Catholic informant underscores the necessity to reopen the dialogue on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, ensuring that every Zambian has a voice in the matter. This sentiment is exemplified by the following statement:

*Yes, indeed, even though the country has maintained its status as a Christian nation for many years, the Catholic Church's stance is that there remains a crucial need for Zambians to engage in a comprehensive debate on the Christian nation declaration. Such a discourse should aim to elucidate the positive and negative aspects associated with this status. Furthermore, it is imperative to consider*

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<sup>180</sup> Father Libongani, Lusaka, interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2017

*relocating the declaration from the preamble of the Zambian Constitution, possibly integrating it into a specific article within the Constitution. Having expressed this perspective, we can only truly determine whether the country should persist as a Christian nation through a referendum. However, we do acknowledge that organizing a referendum can be a costly endeavor.*<sup>181</sup>

Sister Bridget contributed to the ongoing discussion regarding the reevaluation of the Christian nation declaration by Zambians. She expressed her viewpoint as follows:

*Well, that's certainly a challenging task. Regrettably, it appears that too much time has elapsed, and revisiting the declaration now might be unfeasible. Ideally, this reconsideration should have occurred promptly when Zambia was declared a Christian nation. At this juncture, it may be too late to reinitiate such a dialogue. Nevertheless, it is crucial for the church to focus on ensuring that the declaration does not infringe upon the rights and freedoms of minority groups within the country.*<sup>182</sup>

When we stressed the importance of Zambians having the right to revisit specific policy decisions made by a political leader, the informant responded with the following perspective:

*Yes, you are correct. However, it's essential to note that the declaration, once enshrined in the Republican Constitution, has essentially become a law of the land. To amend such a law, such as the declaration, there must be undeniable reasons indicating that the declaration is no longer viable due to certain negative consequences resulting from Zambia being declared a Christian nation. As of now, Zambia has maintained a peaceful disposition since gaining independence, and the declaration has accommodated other religions. In essence, it appears that the declaration is here to stay.*<sup>183</sup>

The responses provided by the Catholic clergy (including bishops and priests), sisters, and members underscore the significant influence of Catholic theology, as expressed through its encyclicals forming part of its social teaching. As observed in this section, the process used for the declaration led to a negative reaction from the Catholic Church, which highlighted its shortcomings. This process appeared to be one-sided, predominantly favoring Pentecostal Churches while excluding mainline churches like the Catholic Church, Anglican Church, UCZ, and Reformed Church of Zambia, among others. This exclusionary approach, failing to incorporate

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<sup>181</sup> Father Hamugule, Lusaka, interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2017.

<sup>182</sup> Interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

<sup>183</sup> Interviewed on 5<sup>th</sup> April 2020.

other Christian bodies such as the ZCCB and CCZ, exacerbated divisions among various religious communities in Zambia. Ultimately, the declaration contradicted the very principles that democratic states uphold, which include human rights, liberty, justice, and peace. Instead of fostering unity, the declaration ended up causing division within the country.

## **7.6. Summary**

The purpose of this chapter was to conduct a critical examination of how the declaration influenced Zambia's democratic governance during President Chiluba's tenure. The chapter delved into Chiluba's evolving perception of democracy, as outlined in his book, revealing a departure from democratic principles of good governance as his presidency advanced. This deviation led to the disregard of political rights, justice, peace, and human rights, all of which are protected by the Zambian Constitution through the Bill of Rights, following the declaration of the Christian state. Despite these shortcomings, the Catholic Church remained steadfast in reminding President Chiluba of his constitutional duties.

Furthermore, the chapter has established that President Chiluba's intentions were rooted in the belief that the declaration would bring God's blessings. However, this aspiration was compromised by the Structural Adjustment Programme, which resulted in the removal of food subsidies, privatization of state assets, and favoritism, benefitting only those with political connections in the liberalized economy.

The subsequent chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of the research findings.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS**

#### **8.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, we assess the research findings within the framework of our conceptual tools, which integrates Gadamer's "Fusion of Horizons," Bieringer's "Normativity of the Future," and the "Empathetic Church-State paradigm." These tools are situated within an interpretive paradigm that employs specific criteria for appraising literature and research findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 12). The value of these findings is determined by their relevance to a broader objectives of the study, as interpretive research assesses the quality of comprehension based on its alignment with and enrichment of the perspectives of the individuals providing information (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 30).

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate research findings, which involve the synthesis of existing literature and interpret the feedback gathered from research participants. This necessitates a thorough examination of the findings in conjunction with the established body of knowledge, a process aptly labeled as "enfolding literature" (Eisenhardt, 1989: 35).

#### **8.2. Evaluating the Research Findings**

##### **8.2.1. Examination of Fieldwork: The Declaration and Its Alignment with Catholic Social Teaching**

Neuman (2014: 480) recommends that in qualitative research, raw data should be organized into conceptual categories, leading to the identification of themes and concepts. The analysis in this study is rooted in the descriptions and interpretations provided by interviewees, along with document analysis. This analytical process unfolded in two distinct phases. Firstly, we meticulously prepared, refined, and expanded the concepts, themes, and events found in the data, followed by coding the interviews to extract the insights shared by the informants. In the second phase, various avenues were condensed by comparing the identified concepts and themes across

the interviews. This allowed the formulation of questions aimed at drawing broader theoretical conclusions (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: 201).

To accomplish this, the study has discerned four overarching themes. The first theme delved into the theological foundations underpinning the Christian state declaration. The second theme involved a theological and socio-praxis analysis of Catholic social teaching. The third theme scrutinized the political implications and impact of the Christian state declaration on democratic governance principles, while the fourth theme explored the church-state relations during President Chiluba's tenure. His intention was to usher in a form of "Christian Zionism" that would transform the country into a theocratic state. These themes are encapsulated within the realms of Catholic social teaching and the Christian state declaration. As Rubin et al. (2005: 201) explain, "data analysis is the process of moving from raw interviews to evidence-based interpretations ... analysis entails classifying, comparing, weighing, and combining material from the interviews [and documents or secondary sources] to extract the meaning and implications, to reveal a pattern, or to stitch together a description of events into a coherent narrative." We argue that research interviews must yield an analysis that provides informed, vivid, and *nuanced* reports reflecting the statements of the interviewees or informants while addressing the research question(s) (Rubin et al. 2005: 201).

Neuman (2014: 480) further contends, "instead of being the clerical task of data management, qualitative coding is an integral part of data analysis." Research questions serve as a guide, but the process often leads to the discovery of new questions. This study aimed to address the following questions: (a) What has been the historical relationship between the church and the state in Zambia? (b) To what extent was the local Catholic Church's response to the Christian state declaration influenced by its theology, and social teaching? (c) How did key theological and social praxis content of the social teaching shape the Zambian Catholic reception and/or rejection of the Zambian Christian state declaration? and (d) How did the declaration impact the democratic governance principles of Zambia during Chiluba's presidency? The following section provides an analysis of the theological issues underlying the Christian state declaration.

### 8.3. The Theological Underpinnings of the Christian State Declaration

This section delves into the theological foundation that shaped the Christian state declaration at State House when President Frederick Chiluba proclaimed Zambia as a Christian state. Chiluba's belief was rooted in the idea that a nation or state experiences blessings when it enters into a covenant with God and adheres to God's teachings. The Christian state declaration horizon, in this context, can be understood as a perspective through which one gains a critical understanding. It allows individuals to look beyond immediate circumstances, not by ignoring them but by perceiving them in a broader context and with greater clarity (Gadamer, 1985: 305).

President Chiluba was firm in his conviction that any nation turning away from God to embrace idolatry and wickedness would incur God's judgment and suffering. According to an informant, several reasons motivated Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia as a Christian nation.<sup>184</sup>

This section aims to explore and analyze the compelling reasons behind President Chiluba's decision to declare Zambia a Christian state, with a particular focus on the Scriptural foundations of this declaration, as drawn from 2 Kings 23:3. This passage tells the story of King Josiah entering into a covenant with God, renewing this covenant in the presence of the Lord, and standing by the pillars during this event, which served as a special place for coronation ceremonies.

Drawing parallels between Mr. Frederick Chiluba and King Josiah, the study yields the following observations and analysis:

In the case of King Josiah, the contents of the Book of Law were read to him as he wore his robes in a gesture of consternation. He ensured the authenticity of the document and then summoned the people to the Temple for a Covenant renewal ceremony. Similarly, President Chiluba believed that Zambia had turned away from God, prompting his call to prayer and repentance. He urged Zambians to join him in making a Covenant to follow God and obey His Commandments, with the goal of eliminating corruption and bribery from all government departments (Njovu, 2002: 61).

After cutting the Covenant, Josiah conducted a house cleansing, instructing the priest to remove all articles made for Baal and expel the pagan priests from the Temple (2 Kings 23:4-24). Similarly, after the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state, pastors were invited to exorcise State House.

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<sup>184</sup> Interview with Father Chiwisa

It was alleged that Eastern practices, such as those associated with Dr. Ranganathan, conflicted with Christian practices and had defiled State House (Speech by the Pillars, December 29, 1991).

On December 25, 1991, President Chiluba established diplomatic ties with Israel. Nine months after the declaration, the embassies of Iran and Iraq were closed, with accusations of causing political instability in the country. This move can be seen as analogous to King Josiah's removal of articles for Baal and the pagan priests from the temple (Njovu, 2002: 61).

Mr. Frederick Chiluba's use of Scriptural references to justify the Christian state declaration horizon was rooted in the Old Testament Covenantal vision between Israel and Yahweh (Muwowo, et al., 2010: 10). This approach was influenced by *Wirkungsgeschichte*, or the principle of the history of effect. It shaped Chiluba's historical consciousness, deeply embedded in the historical effects of the Old Testament. However, it may have overlooked other dimensions and the pursuit of truth (Gadamer, 1985: 310). Chiluba's historical consciousness led to the creation of a national ideology grounded in a theological interpretation that was not well-informed.

The Scriptural reference Mr. Chiluba identified in 2 Chronicles 7:14 was pivotal to his Christian state declaration: "If my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and I will forgive their sin and will heal their land" (Speech by the Pillars, December 29, 1991).

Incorporating Pentecostal theology into his interpretation of Old Testament Covenantal texts, President Chiluba sought to support the Christian state declaration horizon.

*The misinterpretation of certain Scriptures gave rise to a message of prosperity, with an emphasis on material wealth rather than the embodiment of Christ-like character. Many sermons delivered from the pulpit revolved around themes of prosperity, often to the detriment of emphasizing the essential attributes of Christ.*<sup>185</sup>

President Chiluba employed a literal interpretation of the cited words to further his political ambitions, as suggested by Njovu (2002: 58). Gerald West has highlighted different approaches to reading the text, which encompass readings behind the text, readings of the text, and readings in front of the text (West, 1991b: 88). Bieringer has also argued that texts extend beyond their original

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<sup>185</sup> Interview with Pastor Nyerenda

contexts and may have relevance to people across different times and locations (Bieringer, 2010: 11).

Chiluba's motivation for the declaration horizon was rooted in his desire to secure international funding from American Pentecostal leaders, including figures like Ben Hinn and Ernest Angley, at the expense of the nation. He was aware that by invoking Scriptures, he could rally support for making Zambia a Christian state, given the predominantly Christian population. As one informant pointed out, Zambians have a strong connection to their churches (interview with Mr. T.).

Another informant added:

*For the majority of Zambians, their commitment to Christianity is profound, and they are devout Christians who cannot be readily influenced. In essence, the church is deeply ingrained in the people, just as the people are deeply embedded within the church.*<sup>186</sup>

Chiluba secured his presidency by running on a Christian platform, skillfully using Scripture to align himself with the majority of Christians. This alignment was affirmed by a devoted member of the Pentecostal Church who endorsed President Chiluba, explaining:

*The Pentecostal Christian community was filled with excitement after Chiluba became the President of Zambia, which led to mounting pressure from the Christians to declare Zambia as a Christian nation. Chiluba had already made this promise to the Pentecostal Churches, which is why he had their support. Consequently, we voted for the MMD party because we aligned with their vision of declaring Zambia as a Christian nation.*<sup>187</sup>

This was solely orchestrated to advance Chiluba's self-perception as "a chosen one of God," with the Bible serving as a key reference for the formalization of Zambia as a Christian state.

### **8.3.1. Critique of the Christian State Declaration**

The declaration, initially aimed at promoting national unity, ended up causing divisions among various religious faiths. The assumption that MMD supporters automatically endorsed the declaration proved to be flawed. Surprisingly, some Evangelicals, who might have been expected to support Chiluba's leadership, became openly critical. They accused him of being vindictive

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<sup>186</sup> Interview with Rev. Jane.

<sup>187</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

towards political opponents and of tolerating corruption within the government (Christianity Today, March 2, 1998: 76).

This situation can be viewed through the lens of Bonhoeffer's church-state paradigm, which suggests that the ethical failures of a government should be attributed to the weaknesses of its representatives rather than the system itself (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 339). An informant commented on the issue of corruption: "Even after Chiluba declared Zambia a Christian nation, we continued to witness significant corruption within the government, including among ministers. We are supposed to be the moral guiding light of the nation..." (Interview with Mr. K.).

Another source commented:

*It was disheartening to witness the state of Chiluba's presidency. Over time, we saw bribery and corruption reaching alarming levels, with cabinet ministers amassing wealth at the expense of the people. This issue cast a shadow over Chiluba's presidency until his departure. The significant misappropriation of public funds had a detrimental impact on the country's economic development.<sup>188</sup>*

One of the primary duties of the state is to eliminate undesirable behaviors, such as corruption within government departments, aiming to establish accountability and transparency in an environment that upholds religious freedom. This, in turn, encourages individuals, especially those in government roles, to act with greater responsibility. Accordingly, declaring one faith as the state religion goes against the grain of religious diversity. This stems from the fact that responsible social teaching urges people of faith to combat influences that obstruct their freedom, responsibility, and transparency.

In line with Catholic social teaching, exemplified in *Dignitatis Humanae*, it asserts that "the dignity of the human person, as comprehended through human reason, finds its basis in divine revelation through the Gospel" (DH 8).

Addressing the criticism surrounding Zambia's declaration as a Christian state, Hendriks observes that the question of whether Zambia should be declared a Christian state may appear to be

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<sup>188</sup> Mrs. Musonda was interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> March 2020.

redundant. This is because the country has been deeply influenced by European missionary Christianity for many years, dating back to the time it came under British colonial rule (Hendriks, 2004:70).

This perspective aligns with an informant's response, stating:

*...with more than 87 percent of Zambians identifying as Christians, one could argue that Zambia is essentially a Christian nation already. However, we believed that formalizing this status would enable Zambians to express their Christian identity more effectively.*<sup>189</sup>

Since gaining independence, Zambian electoral politics had been dominated by a one-party political system, established by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda in 1972 (Ranker, 2003: 52). This study asserts that the ideology behind the one-party system contributed to the cultural climate that ultimately paved the way for the later designation of Christianity as the favored religion within the state's constitution, at the expense of other faiths, such as Hinduism, Islam, and ATR.

Phiri argues that "Zambian politics have revolved around the proponents and opponents of the Christian state declaration." A Jesuit priest, Peter Henriot (1998: 1), was one of the critics of the declaration. He contended that the declaration was a significant event that never received a thorough debate, despite sparking public opinions both for and against it, which warranted a public discourse.

It could be argued that Chiluba deliberately avoided consulting, promoting, or establishing a platform for open discussions on such a crucial national issue because it did not serve his political interests, and he concealed political intentions behind this strategy (Henriot, 1998: 1). This is substantiated by Chiluba's disregard for the advice of the independent Mwanakatwe Constitutional Review Commission (CRC), which cautioned against declaring Zambia a Christian state (Constitution Review Commission Report, 2005: 2). The Christian state declaration ignited significant public backlash, and the Mwanakatwe CRC responded by suggesting the removal of the declaration from the Constitution in a draft report issued in June 2006 (Mwanakatwe CRC

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<sup>189</sup> Interview with Mr. K.

Report, 2005: 2). This aligns with Moyo's (2010: 25) observations regarding modern Zambia, confirming that the nation was divided on the adoption of a national ideology designating Zambia as a Christian state within the Constitution.

Critics of Mr. Chiluba voiced their concerns that his words and actions were inconsistent. He called for national unity while using his government to suppress his adversaries (Christianity Today, March 2, 1998: 76). President Chiluba's promises of transformative leadership were seen as empty, as his government faced increasing criticism due to its inadequate governance, which did not meet the profound social and economic demands of the people. Promoting religious freedom is one of the primary responsibilities of the state, ultimately granting freedom and responsibility to individuals who must then act more responsibly (Christianity Today, March 2, 1998: 76).

### **8.3.2. Inconsistencies in the Christian State Policy**

While the Zambian Constitution and official policies endorse the freedom to practice diverse faiths, significant conflicts arise. According to Anyangwe, a legal expert at the University of Zambia, it is impossible to favor one religion while genuinely supporting the propagation and exercise of other faiths that doctrinally and in matters of faith contradict the state-chosen religion (NewZ, September 2005). The declaration horizon reflected a specific interpretation of the country's core beliefs by singling out Christianity. In a truly democratic nation, every citizen, including tourists from other countries, should have the freedom of choice and conscience. Articles 11, 19, and 23 of the Zambian Constitution grant citizens fundamental human rights and freedom of opinion and religion (Constitution of Zambia Act of 1991:18).

Consequently, the Christian state policy contradicts certain democratic principles. It not only conflicts with Zambia's constitutional Bill of Rights but also goes against various international human rights agreements to which Zambia is a signatory, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. These international instruments safeguard the right to religious freedom. When a state singles out one religion as the national religion, as the 'Christian state' clause does, it is in violation of international human rights standards. This transgression of norms carries

political implications, particularly given the tensions that existed between Muslims and Christians due to the global war on terrorism led by the United States.

While some may dismiss the Zambian declaration horizon, Christian fundamentalists may seize upon it. As noted by Anyangwe, the proclamation holds more than just symbolic significance (2005:4). Drawing parallels with the formation of the apartheid government in South Africa in 1948 by the Afrikaner nation's 'New Israel' (De Gruchy 1979:239), the sentiment that underlies such a declaration deserves serious consideration, along with the potential consequences. If a Christian fundamentalist were to assume the presidency of the Republic of Zambia, the proclamation could be used to enforce Christian fundamental doctrines and dogmas on all Zambians. Such an application would be unjust, as Christianity should not be imposed but embraced freely by individuals willing to profess their faith in Christ on a personal basis (DH 10).

The declaration horizon underscores the expectation that the Zambian government should embody Christian values in all aspects. As a result, President Chiluba appointed various bishops and pastors to ministerial positions, as illustrated below:

*It wouldn't be far-fetched for people to assume that the government would cede power to the church. What I personally anticipated was an increased presence of Christians in the government. This expectation was fueled when figures like Reverend Stan Kristoffer were appointed, which filled us with hope and enthusiasm. We believed that Chiluba's administration would achieve more. However, when Kristoffer was subsequently removed from his position, our disappointment was palpable. It was evident that the government consisted of very few Christians, and the expulsion of Kristoffer served as a testament to this shift.<sup>190</sup>*

The story above illustrates that having a non-Christian administration overseeing the affairs of a Christian state is unsustainable. As per Constitution's 'Christian state' clause, all members of parliament, government ministers, judges, and civil workers must adhere to devout Christianity to manage the Christian state's operations (Zambia Republican Constitution, 1996: 2). If Zambia were to adhere to such a philosophy, its laws would need to align with Christian teachings, doctrines, and practices. In essence, this alignment would imply that the Bible, Christian teachings, and doctrines would supersede the Constitution as Zambia's ultimate legal authority. Anyangwe

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<sup>190</sup>Interview with Mr. Towani

suggests that "the Bible would become the cornerstone of Zambia's educational system, much like the Holy Quran in Islamic States" (2005:6).

Based on these implications, Christian leaders, including priests, ministers, and pastors, in their respective Christian churches, would effectively become the nation's true leaders. This is because, having taken holy orders, they would possess the capability to interpret the Bible in a manner akin to the role of Mullahs and Ayatollahs, who serve as influential political figures in certain Islamic states.

We argue that even if there were to be a President or Head of State, their role would be largely symbolic, as they would lack the authority to steer the state in a Christian direction or the divine guidance needed to ascertain the compatibility of proposed laws or legislation with the Bible. Consequently, they would have to rely on the guidance of the church's holy office. While this situation may appear absurd at first glance of the "Christian state" provision, it is indeed plausible. Nonetheless, it could potentially lead to conflicts, not only between Christians and other religious groups but also among different Christian denominations vying to establish their specific brand of Christian doctrine as the dominant one within the state.

### **8.3.3. The Declaration's Intentions: A Critical Engagement with and Implications**

President Frederick Chiluba became the only president of Zambia to officially declare the country to be a mono-religious state, despite the fact that Kaunda had hinted at Zambia being a Christian state on two occasions, during the inauguration of UCZ in 1965 and at a political rally in 1972 (Gifford, 1998: 219). An informant claims:

*As Chiluba embarked on this vision, he possessed the audacity, strength, vigor, and zeal to declare it, regardless of whether it was to a large or a small audience. The presence of God in his words was evident, and the impact it had on the nation was discernible.*<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Interview with Pastor Chimena

In addition to his role in making the country officially Christian, some critics also hailed President Chiluba as the "Father of Democracy." He was among the first African presidents to reintroduce democracy in Zambia after more than 17 years of a socialist one-party state, marked by nationalism and humanism, which Kaunda affectionately referred to as "Christian humanism."<sup>192</sup> Nonetheless, the declaration had significant implications for the people of Zambia, particularly for non-Christians.

To address these concerns, the Mwanakatwe Constitutional Review Commission (MCRC) was established to engage the Zambian populace in a critical discourse on whether the country should retain its status as a Christian state. Despite the MCRC's recommendation against including the declaration in the new Constitution, we believe that their wording was not accepted.

This led to a violation of the principle of the Normativity of the Future, suggesting that the texts were not considered to operate in the three worlds: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text (Bieringer 2010: 14). This violation was the result of the hidden agenda behind the declaration. President Chiluba, along with the majority of the Review Commission's findings and its proposal for a process of popular debate and acceptance, rejected the advice (Report on the Constitutional Review Commission, June 16, 1995).

The Commission argued that such a declaration would divide the nation and was unnecessary for the flourishing of religion (Henriot, 1998:2). Given the profound theological and constitutional issues surrounding the significance of the declaration, the pressing question that requires immediate answers is: what impact can the declaration have on the lives of ordinary Zambians? This question was raised by several individuals and deserves careful examination and study, rather than being embroiled in political disputes and theological uncertainties (Henriot, 1998:2). According to Henriot, the president held out hope for one thing: that Zambia would receive God's blessings. However, this notion is challenged by one informant, who argues:

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<sup>192</sup> Kaunda stated, "I am certainly not a humanist in the sense of Mr. Blackham; I must align myself with Christian humanism. By Christian humanism, I mean that we discover everything worthwhile about God through our interactions with our fellow humans. I strongly believe that man must serve a greater vision beyond himself, guided by God's revelation. By demonstrating love for his fellow human beings, he is participating in the very essence of God, who is Love" (Kaunda, 1966: 133).

*There have been claims that only Zambia would receive blessings by declaring itself a Christian nation. However, it is essential to ask, who said that God will only bless you when you declare yourself as a Christian? We believe in a God who does not discriminate.*<sup>193</sup>

However, in Chiluba's declaration, the president asserted that "a nation is blessed whenever it enters into a Covenant with God and obeys the word of God." Additionally, the president had the expectation that this declaration would lead to the elimination of corruption and bribery (Henriot, 1998:2). This interpretation could be seen as a misapplication of the biblical text due to a lack of clarity regarding the passage's meaning and the context in which it was used. In this approach, the emphasis is placed on the text itself rather than the author. It assumes a predetermined causality and order within the text. The unique character of interacting with ancient writings is highly valued (Matz, 2011: 128).

Objectively speaking, it is not politically biased to acknowledge that "the blessings of economic prosperity and social development have been rather scarce in Zambia over the last twenty years." Building strong foundations of honesty and accountability within Chiluba's government has proven extremely challenging (Henriot, 1998:2). Nevertheless, Zambia has maintained relative peace, especially when compared to its African neighbors. Zambians have reason to be grateful for this peace. Nevertheless, the significant economic decline under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) reforms, the immense suffering of the 70% to 80% of the population living in desperate poverty, and the shocks of attempted coups, constitutional crises, apathy, and widespread cynicism have taken a toll on the nation's well-being (Henriot, 1998:2).

To truly become a Christian state, Zambia requires more than just presidential decrees, church services, and pious sentiments. As stated in Matthew 7:21, "Not everyone who says 'Lord, Lord!' will enter the Kingdom of Heaven, but only those who do the will of the Heavenly Creator." In line with this, the Catholic Bishops, through the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB) and the Catholic Centre for Justice, Peace, and Development (CCJP), conveyed in their Pastoral

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<sup>193</sup> Interview with Mr. Kafumbe

letter "The Future is Ours," released in March 1992 as a message to the new administration of the Third Republic, that:

We are aware that a state is Christian not merely in words but in deeds. Zambia can be a 'Christian state' if Zambian Christians emulate Jesus by leading lives of love and respect for one another, devotion, honesty, and hard work. We must particularly follow Jesus' example of self-sacrifice, even to the point of giving his life on the cross (Philippians 2:8). This is what enabled him to preach the Good News to the poor, proclaim liberation to prisoners, and uplift the oppressed (Luke 4:18-19). Only through acts of justice and care for the needy can we truly manifest our nation's Christian character (Komakoma, 2003: 260).

An informant elaborated on the importance of actions highlighted in the aforementioned Pastoral letter by the Catholic bishops, noting that:

*Our identity as a Christian nation won't be established solely by declarations but by our actions. What kind of actions, you may ask? It's our actions in adhering to the teachings of the Bible, in performing acts of kindness. Yet, it's not just good deeds that can qualify us as a Christian nation; it's good deeds combined with obedience to the word of God. I believe that's the foundation of a Christian nation. It's not about proclaiming it loudly like the Pharisees from rooftops, saying, "We are a Christian nation!" Instead, it's about people recognizing our Christian nature by observing how we live our lives.*<sup>194</sup>

What steps should an ordinary citizen take to be a genuine Christian in a Christian state? It's evident that for Zambia to progress, whether as a Christian state or not, we must prioritize a politics centered on accountability and an economy rooted in fairness. We need less rhetoric and more tangible efforts for the common good, fewer religious proclamations and more effective actions for justice (Henriot, 1998:3).

In its "State of the Nation" report at the end of 1997, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) strongly condemned the exploitation of religion by various political figures. This included an unfortunate attempt to seek divine approval for specific policies and programs solely because they were associated with the Christian state concept. Even more concerning was the labeling of anyone who questioned the government's policies and actions as "forces of Satan," which proved detrimental to the establishment of true democracy in Zambia (Henriot 1998:3).

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<sup>194</sup> Interview with Mr. Kafumbe

Being a Christian fundamentally means following the teachings of Jesus Christ. It does not imply allegiance to a particular political party or even a specific church. Whether someone is truly a disciple of Jesus is determined by their commitment to the kind of work that Jesus exemplified, guided and empowered by the Holy Spirit: “These works are well-documented in the Gospels and include loving one's neighbor, caring for the sick, promoting reconciliation, confronting injustice, feeding the hungry, comforting the widow, providing education for a better life, offering support to the youth, and even being willing to make sacrifices for others. This foundation of "deed" is about obeying God's word” (interview with Mr. K).

#### **8.3.4. The Covert Objectives within the Christian State Declaration**

This section of the study delves deeper to unveil the hidden objectives behind Zambia's declaration as a Christian state. The convergence of perspectives occurs when individual viewpoints intersect with the wording of the Christian state declaration or those of other stakeholders (O'Neill, 2007: 64). The analysis of the declaration's perspective aims to illuminate how the political elite has benefited from the public's limited constructive criticism by utilizing civil institutions like the ZCCB, CCJP, and JCTR.

The study argues that the horizons of the political elite and the declaration merged, particularly as the political elite amassed significant wealth through bribery and corruption at the expense of the general population. President Frederick Chiluba's experience serves as a stark example, illustrating how Zambia became a unique case where political leaders exploited religion for personal gain.

It becomes evident that Chiluba's governance during the 1991-2001 period, as criticized by Andrew Sardanis in 2014, was a squandered decade (Sardanis, 2014: 147). Cheyeka counters by emphasizing that this Zambian perspective should not be dismissed lightly. Over the 20 years of the MMD's rule, Zambians endured significant hardships due to the adverse effects of privatization, rampant corruption, and infrastructure deterioration (Sardanis, 2016: 160). This transpired as Chiluba, a self-proclaimed Thatcherite, purportedly liberalized the economy, sold municipal housing to occupants, privatized state-owned enterprises, and eroded the middle class. Consequently, President Chiluba is acknowledged for reintroducing capitalism in the country and providing certain citizens with housing access (Cheyeka, 2016: 161).

The research informant asserts:

*Upon assuming the presidency, his ability to manage the politicians waned because he found himself indebted to them. This indebtedness played a pivotal role in his decision to embrace a liberal economic agenda and embark on the privatization of state-owned enterprises, which were once considered national assets. However, in practice, this endeavor favored those individuals to whom he owed financial obligations, rather than being executed flawlessly.<sup>195</sup>*

The unforeseen consequence, however, was that his policies and actions stimulated residents to embrace entrepreneurship, as documented by Cheyeka (2016: 161), as illustrated in the following instances.

*Thus, with the advent of Chiluba's leadership, the liberalization of the economy proved beneficial to the populace. He actively promoted the message that anyone, including street vendors and those with limited resources, should engage in entrepreneurial activities. Whether it involved street vending or starting a small business in a modest room, he encouraged people to pursue economic opportunities. This approach, while empowering individuals, also had its downsides, notably the proliferation of street vendors and increased urban litter. Nonetheless, it represented a means of fostering economic empowerment among the population..<sup>196</sup>*

Despite championing democracy through the MMD and ending Kenneth Kaunda's one-party participatory democracy, it has become widely recognized in Zambia that Chiluba did not necessarily prioritize democracy, constitutionalism, or Christian principles. This became evident when he became one of the first African presidents to usher in a new era of "Third Term" democracy, as highlighted by Chiyeka (2011a: 160). Regrettably, several African governments have followed a similar trend. The research now proceeds to investigate the core topics in the section below.

#### **8.4. Analyzing Catholic Social Teaching: A Theological and Socio-Praxis Perspective**

The theology of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia finds its origin and focal point in what it means to bear witness to Christ in Zambia. Catholic social teaching encompasses seven core

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<sup>195</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

<sup>196</sup> Interview with Mr. Towani

themes: Life and Dignity of the Human Person, Call to Family, Community, and Participation, Rights and Responsibilities, Option for the Poor and Vulnerable, The Dignity of Work and the Rights of Workers, and Solidarity and Care for God's Creation. The Catholic Church has been unwavering in addressing issues that challenge these principles, as evident in papal encyclicals and other references (Komkoma, 2003: 1).

The Zambia Episcopal Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB), which established the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace of Zambia (CCJPZ) in 1986, serves as the church's response to societal challenges in Zambia. CCJPZ's mission is to awaken the faithful to a deeper understanding of their Christian call regarding social justice, thereby promoting awareness of human rights and corresponding responsibilities (Komakoma, 2003: 1). The Catholic Church's capacity to interpret biblical texts within the framework of the "world behind the text," "world of the text," and "world before the text" has shaped its theological perspective rooted in the social teaching (Bieringer, 2010: 14).

In practical terms, the church employs what West refers to as "reading classification," comprising reading in "...front of the text, reading the text itself, and reading behind the text" (West, 1991b: 88). This approach has been facilitated through CCJPZ, aimed at empowering individuals to develop a critical conscience, enabling them to challenge and rectify unjust circumstances (Komakoma, 2003: 1). The Conference of Catholic Bishops, primarily via CCJPZ, fervently conveys its concerns and strives to adapt the church's social teaching to the Zambian context, building upon its rich historical Catholic heritage.

According to Gadamer, within the hermeneutical context, adhering to the principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, or the history of effect, underscores that the history of effect is not a novel concept but an ongoing effort. It obliges us to explore the historical impact each time an aspect of Catholic tradition is extracted from the borderland between history and tradition, revealing its intrinsic significance (Gadamer, 1985: 311). In this light, the Catholic social teaching,\*A3\* as articulated by Komakoma: At the heart of Christianity lies a call to active engagement in global affairs, emphasizing a shared existence where Christians face the same political, economic, and cultural challenges as everyone else. They cannot afford to remain detached from the issues that

directly impact their daily lives. Consequently, the church recognizes its responsibility to promote the well-being of the individual in all aspects of life (Komakoma, 2003: 2).

To gain a profound understanding of the mission and ministry of the Catholic Church, it is essential to explore the pivotal Pastoral Letters issued by the Catholic bishops through the Zambia Episcopal Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB), as compiled in Joe Komakoma's book, "The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and their Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral Letters and Statements 1953-2001."

The Roman Catholic Church, when confronted with issues pertinent to its constituents, has consistently advocated for people's rights to participate in decision-making processes. The bishops emphasized that a lack of consultation diminishes the legitimacy of state policies and legislation, underscoring the people's right to partake in the selection of leaders, stand as candidates, and exercise their inherent right to vote (Komakoma, 2003: 7). This stance was articulated in statements such as "Statement of the Catholic Bishops on the Coming Elections" (1978), "Letter to All Christians Before the 31st October 1991 Elections" (1991), "Year of Political Responsibility" (1995), "Building for Peace" (1996), and "Discipleship and Citizenship" (2001) (Komakoma, 2003: 7).

The Roman Catholic Church perceives itself as entering its second century of Christianity with increased maturity, acknowledging its history and embracing the challenges of the future (Komakoma, 2003: 251). Thus, it identifies itself as an authentic Zambian church rather than a "foreign mission church" interfering in local affairs (Komakoma, 2003: 251). This paradigm shift leads the Roman Catholic Church to view itself as a model for a society that calls for virtue but must also embody these virtues in its ecclesial life and activities (Komakoma, 2003: 271).

The Catholic Church's role in Zambia has significantly contributed to the "Normative of the Future," establishing a future-oriented hermeneutics that asserts the enduring relevance of past encyclical texts in shaping the present and future, as they are intricately involved in shaping the world they reference (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

The missional outlook and actions of the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia are influenced by its theological history, which compels it to be a vocal critic across various domains of national life. This commitment is underpinned by the concept of the Normativity of the Future (NOF). The Church consistently scrutinizes governmental declarations that may have adverse effects on national life, such as the Republican Constitution or Zambia's declaration as a Christian nation in 1991.

In this capacity, the Roman Catholic Church assumes the role of a moral and spiritual 'watchdog' over the standards shaping Zambia's development. This role is aptly characterized by the Emphatic Dialogical Method within the Church-State model, signifying the practice of empathizing with the perspectives of the entities under study, confrontation, or support (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 352). The Church-State paradigm, which places both the Church and the government/state on equal footing, is employed to harness both institutions in service to the people on behalf of Christ, who is the master of both (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 355).

According to Komakoma (2003: 251), the Roman Catholic Church is committed to "exercising its prophetic ministry through pastoral statements, thereby fostering a dynamic and healthy church-state relationship and promoting ecumenical cooperation." This dedication may explain why the Episcopal Conference of Zambia, in conjunction with other Church entities such as the Council of Churches in Zambia and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, sought an ecumenical approach to address the declaration of Zambia as a Christian country. Additionally, it was influenced by the obligation presented in *Dignitatis Humanae* to respond to domestic challenges regarding religious freedom.

The mission of the Roman Catholic Church viewed its missional identity as a means to facilitate communication among conflicting groups within the country (Komakoma, 2003: 265). As Bonhoeffer (1955: 351) points out, serving as an instrument of service implies that if the state fails the people, the church must confront the state. However, before challenging the state, the church must empathetically assess the various causes of this failure.

Due to the Catholic Church's robust social doctrine and its strong emphasis on human rights, it was well-prepared to confront the shortcomings of Chiluba's administration. This perspective was underscored in the Church's submission to the Constitutional Review Commission, where it stated that "the political and civil rights of individuals should not be isolated from their social rights" (de Jong, 1991: 3). The Roman Catholic Church's human rights stance was also shaped by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (de Jong, 1991: 3). Both documents had been accepted by the Roman Catholic Church's highest Church authority and endorsed by the Zambian government (de Jong, 1991: 3). Drawing upon its extensive experience dealing with the state due to its long presence in Zambia, the Church reminded Chiluba of the people's rights to fundamental freedoms of expression, conscience, movement, and assembly, emphasizing that these rights should be protected, promoted, and ensured by his government (Komakoma, 2003: 251).

When Frederick Chiluba issued his declaration on December 29, 1991, the Roman Catholic Church, through the Episcopal Conference of Catholic Bishops, raised four primary concerns. First, they argued that the legitimacy of any public proclamation or policy rested on the quality of discussions conducted before making such an announcement (Komakoma, 2003: 264). Second, they maintained that there should have been adequate time for the country to prepare, ensuring that citizens understood the implications of this decision (Komakoma, 2003: 264). These crucial aspects were absent from Zambia's proclamation as a Christian nation. The third point of concern for the Roman Catholic Church was the need for sufficient guarantees that the Christian nation declaration would not infringe upon freedom of conscience and religion (Komakoma, 2003: 264).

The government also needed to create an environment where minority groups felt welcome and included within the framework of the Christian nation declaration. The leaders of the Roman Catholic Church similarly emphasized the importance of maintaining the separation of Church and State, particularly in the context of the Christian nation declaration (2003: 264). This perspective aligns with *Dignitatis Humanae*, which asserts that religious freedom is an indispensable aspect of societal progress that should not be subject to negotiation (DH 8).

The Roman Catholic Church, under the auspices of the Episcopal Conference of Zambia, employed embedded and deliberative theologies to challenge the government's unaccountable conduct and to empower the populace to engage in theological reflection regarding the declaration. They did so by collaborating with other Christian organizations, including the Council of Churches in Zambia and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. Despite these efforts, President Chiluba did not heed the Roman Catholic Church's perspective as articulated by the ZCCB, which argued that "a country cannot be declared Christian solely through a presidential decree but rather through actions" (Muwowo et al. 2010: 10).

## **8.5. The Political Implications and Influence of the Declaration on Democratic Governance Principles**

### **8.5.1. Exemplary Governance Principles in the Christian State**

The core concept of "governance" fundamentally hinges on the imperative need for effective governance processes, which are often inextricably linked with democratic governance as a foundational framework to provide conceptual insight and context for this research. President Chiluba's democratic administration, however, exhibited a deficiency in several key attributes associated with good governance practices, largely due to specific factors related to his personality that hindered the meaningful implementation of such practices. As previously mentioned, while the term "governance" bears a broad and often elusive definition, it is incumbent upon political leaders to ensure the effective execution of governance procedures, particularly in the realm of policy decision-making (Diakonia 2013: 11).

Good governance is defined as "the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority for the management of a nation's affairs" (Diakonia, 2013: 11). It encompasses the intricate mechanisms, processes, and institutions employed by citizens and groups to express their interests, assert their legal rights and obligations, and resolve their disputes (Diakonia 2013: 11). As illuminated in this study, the Catholic Church, guided by its aforementioned social teaching, recognized the importance of allowing Zambian citizens to articulate their interests by participating in the formulation of Christian state policies, thereby safeguarding their legal rights and duties as Zambian citizens.

The practical implementation of good governance practices has posed a challenge. According to Sakala (2000: 98), many emerging African nations have encountered difficulties in understanding the intricacies of good governance practices. In large part, the international donor community bears responsibility for advancing the concept of good governance, which essentially serves as shorthand for political benchmarks (Sakala, 2000: 98).

The tangible aspects of good governance have proven challenging for many African leaders to apply, as the framework primarily originates from foreign models. Consequently, President Chiluba, amidst the authoritarian governance that emerged during his tenure, struggled to contextualize the principles of good governance. Kwasi Prempeh provides valuable insight, noting that one crucial aspect of traditional governance has endured—the tradition of Presidential supremacy. While Africa's presidents may have faced term limits, evidence indicates that they have not been entirely curbed. In post-authoritarian Africa, presidential authority has become less overtly oppressive and arbitrary, with an enhanced climate for personal freedoms and political pluralism in democratizing African nations. Nevertheless, authority within the African state remains disproportionately concentrated in the hands of a single individual—the President (Prempeh, 2009: 773-774).

This situation can be attributed to the concept of "*Wirkungsgeschichte*" or the principle of "effect history." As Gadamer (1985: 312) underscores, the history of effect primarily elucidates a more precise understanding through a methodological focus on the awareness of Presidential dominance that has evolved from the ongoing process of rationalizing historical consciousness. This phenomenon is the result of endeavors to comprehend historical events from a historical perspective. Thus, African Presidents have been significantly influenced by their nation's past, as though they become an intrinsic part of it while seeking to understand it. In essence, their past experiences shape the subjects they deem worthy of examination and serve as the ultimate focus of inquiry for these African Presidents (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

It can be argued that the powers vested in the Presidency have shielded the incumbent from criticism, as certain decisions are made without due regard for the mechanisms underpinning the

essential governance processes of the state. Moreover, owing to his quasi-messianic commitment to Chiluba's Presidency, he exploited his unassailable position to implement a policy that had disastrous consequences for the fledgling democratic state. Chiluba's regime took a fateful turn when he chose to enshrine the declaration in the Constitution, an act that can only be described as an abuse of political authority.

This stems from the fact that, according to a United Nations General Assembly Resolution, democracy is "a universal value grounded in the freely expressed will of the people to determine their own religious, political, economic, social, and cultural systems, as well as their full participation in all aspects of life" (Diakonia, 2013: 12). While democracies share common characteristics, there is no one-size-fits-all model of democracy applicable to any specific country or region. Key actors in a democracy include parliament, civil society organizations, the media, and government at all levels (Diakonia, 2013: 12).

The Catholic Church employs its theology and social teaching to address social and political issues through civil society groups. These teachings generally advocate for full citizen participation and the engagement and resolution of democratic and governance-related issues, particularly those perceived as a threat to the collective well-being of citizens (PT 10). For example, the declaration was viewed as jeopardizing the well-being of certain segments of society, particularly minority religious groups such as Hindus, Muslims, ATR practitioners, and, to a lesser extent, mainline churches.

As a result, the religious institution must discourage and question the extensive authority vested in the Presidency. This is why the church-state model, as exemplified by the Empathetic Dialogical Method, underscores that empathy can help the church comprehend the complexities and dynamic elements of the political arena, prompting the church to present reasonable critiques and challenges with achievable and practical demands (Bonhoeffer, 1955: 352).

*Dignitatis Humanae*, a declaration of the Catholic Church, advocates for religious freedom in Zambia (DH, 2). This aligns with the Constitution of Zambia, which establishes laws and regulations to protect religious freedom, and the government generally respects religious freedom

in practice (International Religious Freedom Report, 2011: 1). However, since Zambia's designation as a Christian state, there have been various allegations of social abuses or discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice (International Religious Freedom Report, 2011: 1).

Despite the various challenges related to religious freedom in Zambia, religious demographics based on the 2000 census indicate that Christians constitute the majority. The 1996 constitutional amendment, which also designated Christianity as the official religion of the country, initially held the promise of religious liberty in Zambia (International Religious Freedom Report, 2011: 1). The commitment to "upholding the right of all individuals to enjoy freedom of conscience and religion" (International Religious Freedom Report, 2011: 1) played a crucial role in the 1996 revisions.

Consequently, the Zambian Constitution guarantees every individual the freedom of thought and religion, along with the right to change their religious beliefs and to openly practice and promote their religion or belief through worship, teaching, practice, and observance. Additional legislation provides adequate remedies for violations of religious freedom (International Religious Freedom Report, 2011: 1). Religious freedom faced more significant infringements during Chiluba's Presidency, particularly when Chiluba deliberately politicized various aspects of the Christian Church. President Chiluba's stance on religious freedom contrasted with that of his predecessor, who allowed all religions to practice their faith without government interference (Gifford, 1998: 198).

#### **8.6. The Interplay of Church and State During Chiluba's Presidency**

One significant outcome of the proclamation was the deepening integration of church-state relations, evident when President Chiluba initially appointed selected Pentecostal bishops and pastors to government positions. This fusion of church and state in Zambia during Chiluba's Presidency resulted in certain elements of the church becoming co-opted to serve the political agenda of the ruling party (Gibbs, 1999: 74). While this viewpoint simplifies the issue, Henriot (1998: 58) prefers to describe it as the politicization of religion by Chiluba and his associates.

Chiluba strategically aligned himself with churches that supported his position on the declaration, further cementing the connection between the church and the state. He extended governmental privileges to these churches through policies that specifically benefited Christianity, particularly the Pentecostal branch.

According to Njovu (2002: 58), these policies became evident in the politicization of the church in Zambia through the tax-exempt status granted to religious organizations categorized as 'Public Benefit Organizations' (PBO). This status exempted these organizations from income tax, and it was defined as "there shall be exempted from tax the income of any public benefit organization or any body of persons or trust established for the promotion of religion" (The Income Tax Act of 2009, Cap 323, Part III). This tax exemption demonstrated the state's recognition of the valuable contributions of religious organizations to the nation's social development. However, it's important to note that while the policy applied to all religious organizations, it predominantly benefited the Christian groups favored by the state (De Rover, 2002: 50).

The policy on religious liberty was enshrined in the Republic of Zambia's Constitution following the 1996 revision. Section 6(e) of Part VI (The Bill of Rights) stipulates that "a person shall not be compelled... to do any other activity that is contrary to that individual's religion or belief." This constitutional provision guarantees religious freedom for all citizens of the country, regardless of their faith (Dickey, 2006: 3). However, Chiluba's declaration of Christianity as the national religion posed a threat to religious liberty, as one religion began to dominate over others in Zambia.

The Policy on Supporting Christianity exhibited a clear preference for Christianity, particularly churches from the Evangelical/Charismatic traditions, through the strategic appointment of specific pastors to ministerial positions, such as Revs. (Drs.) Peter Lusaka Chintala and Danny Pule. Notably, Chintala also served as the former Chairman and Secretary-General of the Zambia Baptist Association (Phiri 2008: 105). As the state administration was molded to suit Chiluba's political goals, these favored churches refrained from offering constructive critique and dialogue. This became evident as his autocratic rule persisted and their prophetic voices fell silent.

Chiluba exhibited little concern for other religions, disregarding the fact that Zambia was a diverse nation even before gaining independence. It is essential to recognize that many politicians, religious leaders, and individuals have misappropriated the Bible to advance their hidden agendas. For instance, two notable examples are presented in this research, where individuals manipulated Biblical Scriptures to suit their own needs. An illustrative case is the Afrikaner government in South Africa, which used the Bible to justify the apartheid regime, arguing that "God was on [their] side, and therefore victory of any kind [was] assured" (De Gruchy, 1979: 201). Such misinterpretations of the Bible led to the belief that the Afrikaner people were exceptionally important to God, equating the church with the Afrikaner nation itself. This fusion of church and state enabled the Afrikanerdom's policies to be perceived as divinely ordained, and any resistance was considered an act of hostility against God (De Gruchy, 1979: 201-202).

The concept of the church-state relationship becomes intertwined in this system. A similar situation arose in Zambia, where Chiluba's selective use of the Bible to legitimize his administration as "Christian" raised questions about his vision of the relationship between the state and the church. In Zambia, churches, particularly those of the Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations, have developed their understanding of the interaction between church and state through their interpretation of the Bible. Nevertheless, it is argued that the Bible does not offer a precise model for Christian governance. Consequently, the embrace of such an approach by the Afrikaner community suggests that the church was seen as belonging to the nation rather than to Christ (Muwowo et al. 2010: 7).

This perspective arose because they believed that God had granted them authority over others. Such convictions among the Afrikaners were fueled by the embedded theology propagated by the church and exploited by the government to oppress other groups. The merging of the church and the state hindered pluralism, as the state endorsed a single religion, and everything stemming from it was deemed legitimate. This scenario resembles what occurred in Zambia. Once the declaration of a Christian state was issued, the church and the state became deeply entwined, and Chiluba disregarded the diverse society that had existed since independence, leaving other religious groups feeling marginalized. Consequently, Zambia's designation as a Christian nation contradicts the principle of pluralism. As stated earlier, Christianity is viewed as "the one true or correct path"

(Cobb, 1975: 18), whereas our theory advocates for a pluralistic society that equally respects other religions based on their religious beliefs.

The second example is Northern Ireland, which shares similarities with both Zambia's declaration as a Christian nation and the fundamental aspects of apartheid policy. For instance, Irish Protestants are exhorted to fight "for God and Ulster," equating the State of Ulster with the tenets of the Protestant Church of Jesus Christ (Muwowo et al. 2010: 8). According to Muwowo et al. (2010), the loyalty of an individual loyalist to Ulster as a political entity was inseparable from his devotion to the church. Such extremes run counter to the established pluralism theory. In such a setting, one would expect to find "a community of people from various backgrounds, cultures, religions, and value systems" (N'diaye, 2008: 5).

Furthermore, "modern society is no longer insular but rather comprises a wide range of individuals with diverse ethnic backgrounds and religious perspectives" (N'diaye, 2008: 5). However, in places marked by extreme fundamentalism, as seen during the apartheid regime in Northern Ireland, South Africa, and the status of Zambia as a Christian nation through Pentecostalism, societies lived in isolation and were discouraged from interacting with those who practiced different religions.

In instances where the Bible is misused and misinterpreted, the concept of the Normativity of the Future becomes relevant. Bieringer developed a future-oriented hermeneutics, suggesting that historical texts hold significant meaning in both the present and the future because they play a role in shaping the world they portray (Bieringer, 2010: 20), moving beyond the three realms of the text (world before the text, in the text, and after the text) (Bieringer, 2010: 20).

In light of what the Normativity of the Future suggests regarding Scriptures, it follows that views such as those present in Zambia result in the denigration of other religions, labeling them as having no hope of salvation. Harvey (1984: 176, 178) argues that "the task of modern theology is indeed to present a non-partisan God who deals uniformly with all people, irrespective of their religious orientation," a perspective in direct contrast to the earlier statement.

Given the rationales provided in the aforementioned sections, it is clear that Zambia, a contemporary democratic state, cannot be equated with the theocratic system of ancient Israel. The claims of a covenantal relationship between the Hebrew people and their God do not substantiate the assertions of religious and cultural factors that underpinned its monarchical political system and government, which bear no resemblance to the contemporary Zambian context or the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation (Clowney, 1998: 109).

Furthermore, it is inconsistent with the religious fundamentalism observed in Northern Ireland and the past apartheid regime in South Africa. Hence, there is room for debate regarding whether Zambia's government, as a secular institution, can genuinely assert that the nation is Christian. Any such declaration should undergo a consultation process involving the population to ensure a clear and unequivocal mandate for Zambia's designation as a Christian nation.

Consequently, the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, along with its utilization of Old Testament covenantal verses, appeared to carry discriminatory intentions and contradicted the fundamental principles of an equitable law that delineates the rights, obligations, and privileges of all citizens, irrespective of their gender, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or social status (Katulwende, 2013: 2). Bieringer (2010: 10) proposes the use of an inclusive approach when interpreting biblical texts. In creating the world, God envisioned inclusivity. To the extent that inclusivity has not yet been fully realized, this standard serves as a norm. Thus, we can refer to it as the "normativity of the future."

## **8.8. Summary**

In this chapter, we delve into the study's findings, which have been organized into four key areas, drawn from secondary sources, conceptual frameworks, and data collected from research participants. The chapter initiates this exploration by conducting a critical examination of the theological complexities underpinning the proclamation. This critical analysis involves an in-depth investigation of two Old Testament Scriptures (2 Kings 22:11 and 2 Chronicles 7:14). The examination employs the "normativity of the future" (NOF) conceptual framework, which posits

that "texts can be understood as functioning within three realms: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text" (Bieringer, 2010: 14).

Furthermore, this approach aligns with Gerald West's Modes of Biblical Text Reading, which encompass "behind the text," "the text," and "in front of the text" (West, 1991b: 88). Within this interpretative framework, we scrutinize how Chiluba's use of Old Testament covenantal texts to bolster the proclamation, though influenced by the embedded theology of orthodox Pentecostal Churches to which he belonged, was ultimately misappropriated. This misinterpretation is attributed to Chiluba's failure to comprehend the various facets of reading the text, particularly within its social and historical contexts. Therefore, Chiluba relied on a literal interpretation of the aforementioned scriptural verses to further his political career, advancing hidden agendas in the process.

The second focal point centers on a theological and socio-practical exploration of Catholic social teaching. It becomes evident that the Roman Catholic Church of Zambia has perpetually grounded its theology in the concept of bearing witness to Christ within the *Zambian* context. In doing so, it vocalizes its stance on issues that are in harmony with its socio-praxis of social teaching, encapsulated within seven core principles: Life and Dignity of the Human Person, Call to Family, Community, and Participation, Rights and Responsibilities, Option for the Poor and Vulnerable. These principles find clear articulation in the papal encyclicals and other referenced publications.

The third area of investigation in this chapter revolves around the political consequences of the declaration and its impact on democratic governance ideals. While substantial expectations accompanied the proclamation, particularly regarding economic transformation coupled with the integration of good governance practices inherent in Zambia's democratic system, the reality deviated. The MMD government, led by President Chiluba, failed to uphold and enforce collaborative good governance norms. Thus, the nation experienced a surge in corruption and bribery, both among cabinet ministers and parliamentarians, as well as within various government institutions. The ecclesiastical fraternities, notably the Catholic Church, played a significant role in unveiling and reporting such widespread corruption within the government.

The final thematic exploration of this chapter centers on the relationship between the Church and the State during Chiluba's presidency. The analysis reveals that the proclamation aimed to establish legislation primarily benefiting Pentecostal churches through the creation of a religious desk. Above all, Chiluba's declaration harbored the ambition of steering the nation toward a theocratic state. In closing, the last chapter provides a concluding perspective on the study's findings and offers a roadmap for potential future research directions.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 9.1. Introduction

This chapter represents the culmination of our research findings and presents crucial recommendations. To begin with, it will review the developmental stages of each preceding chapter. Subsequently, it will underscore the study's significance in the context of Catholic social teaching/ and its critique of Zambia's status as a Christian state. Lastly, the chapter will propose recommendations aimed at enhancing the application of Catholic social teaching and a deeper understanding of the implications of the Christian state declaration.

Within the realm of interpretive paradigms, incorporating hermeneutical theories such as Gadamer's 'Fusion of Horizons,' Bieringer's 'Normativity of the Future,' and the Emphatic Dialogical Methods of Church-State models, inherent criteria have been employed to assess research findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Positivist research relies on metrics like reliability, validity, and generalizability, while qualitative research, rooted in the interpretive paradigm, employs distinct terminology, emphasizing dependability (reliability), credibility (validity), confirmability (objectivity), and transferability (generalizability) (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008: 70).

Based on this framework, our study has provided contemporary insights into the interpretation of traditions, *Wirkungsgeschichte*, the principle of the history of effect, encyclical texts, and the Christian state declaration.

#### 9.2. Thesis Summary

In this section, we provide a concise summary of the primary insights garnered from the study and the lessons that can be derived from them.

### **9.2.1. Using Catholic Social Teaching to Analyze the Christian State Declaration**

Chapter one illuminated that the proclamation of Zambia as a Christian state lacked the necessary political process to ensure the active participation of both the church and civil society. In response to the unilateral imposition of the Christian state by the executive, the Catholic Church, drawing from its theology and social teaching, criticized President Chiluba's declaration. The absence of a referendum, which could have involved all churches and civil society, was a significant concern that the Catholic Church raised.

Through a comprehensive examination, it became evident that the declaration had adverse effects on Zambian society. It posed threats to religious freedom, individual rights and dignity, justice, peace, and led to the marginalization of minority religions like Islam, Hinduism, and African Traditional Religion (ATR). Additionally, it had consequences on the political rights of citizens, especially those belonging to non-Christian faiths. Consequently, the study highlights the potential of Catholic theology and social teaching to act as a catalyst for change in the country, either through dialogue or by critiquing unpopular policy decisions, such as the declaration.

Despite the positive contributions of Catholic social teaching to address Zambia's social and political challenges, the literature review of the field reflects the dilemma faced by the Catholic social teaching horizon in the daily lives of many Catholic congregants. This is because, in most Catholic circles, Catholic social teaching is often referred to as "the best-kept secret." This is due to the fact that, despite the Catholic Church's extensive teachings on socio-economic issues, democracy, governance, politics, religion, and culture, the majority of Roman Catholic communities remain unaware of the content of these teachings. Despite these limitations, the study suggests that: Efforts should be made to mitigate or address the struggles for political power or inadequacies. In other words, it is a theology that aims to either avoid political issues entirely or, at the very least, develop an approach to them that aligns with the unique nature of the church (Balcomb, 1993: 67).

The social teaching horizon aligns with the Catholic Church in three key ways. Firstly, it adheres to the classical understanding of the Catholic Church as an alternative community that transcends the power structures of secular society. Secondly, the Catholic Church views the gospel as a means

to facilitate constructive interactions among various power interests. Lastly, it underscores that the Catholic Church should not be seen as an arena of power conflicts but rather as a power-free, impartial mediator between the power structures of society (Balcomb, 1993: 68).

### **9.2.2. The Significance of the Conceptual Framework in the Exploration of Catholic Social Teaching and the Christian state Horizon**

In chapter two, the study outlined the general framework and methodological perspective adopted for the research. The study aimed to incorporate contemporary and pertinent viewpoints for comprehending history and traditions. These viewpoints included Gadamer's hermeneutical theory known as the "fusion of horizons." The study contended that the writing of history entails the fusion of horizons, that is, the horizons of the historian and the past. These horizons, exemplified by the social teaching and the Christian state declaration, remain in perpetual oscillation, never stagnant. The inherent distinctiveness of the Catholic social doctrine texts propels them into the reader's present, offering a transformative experience that spans both the past and present (Clark, 2004: 112).

Bieringer's "Normativity of the Future" (NOF) aided in exploring the "new" and "inclusive" dimensions of the social teaching process, particularly the "grace-filled" aspect, as opposed to the "sin-filled" dimension. Bieringer provided hermeneutical context to NOF by proposing that "[t]exts can be seen as functioning concerning three worlds: the world behind the text, the world of the text, and the world before the text" (Bieringer, 2010: 14). Bieringer's viewpoints align with Gerald West's classification of modes for reading the Bible, encompassing reading behind the text, reading the text itself, and reading in front of the text (West, 1991b: 88).

Regarding the world within the text, Bieringer drew from Gadamer's ideas and underscored the role of horizons in transmitting tradition. Understanding was a crucial component in deciphering the ongoing tradition since the Catholic social doctrine texts harken back to their original context while simultaneously transcending into our world. This dimension enables them to transcend their time-and place-bound context, assuming a critical role in broader contexts contained within their literary dimension (Bieringer, 2010: 7).

The last segment of the conceptual framework was the Empathetic Dialogical Church-State Model, which examined the four church-state models put forth by Luther, Calvin, the Roman Catholic Church, and Bonhoeffer.

Throughout this chapter, the study established that the texts found in the social teaching bore resemblance to the fusion of horizons or the normativity of the future. Moreover, the study delved into the inclusive outcomes achieved, making a future accessible to all that accommodates new developments in the Catholic Church. Ultimately, through the utilization of these conceptual frameworks, the research substantiated the relevance of the social doctrine texts in the critical examination of their role in engaging with the Christian state horizon in discussions about the future of Catholic social teaching.

### **9.2.3. The Encyclicals and Their Influence on the Catholic Response to the Declaration**

Chapter three: The Influence of Vatican II and Catholic social teaching.

In this chapter, we delve into the profound impact of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), a pivotal event that paved the way for the publication of six significant social doctrine, some of which are dissected within this study. This chapter introduces the historical ground of Vatican II and the documents it generated, including those that are central to our discussions. It highlights the paramount role of the Catholic social teaching horizon in scrutinizing the Christian state declaration horizon.

The chapter underscores the crucial interplay between Catholic theology and the tenets of the Catholic social doctrine, illuminating their essentiality in comprehending and responding to the notion of a Christian state. This cohesive amalgamation equips the Catholic Church with the capacity to deliver a discerning response to the declaration horizon while also addressing a myriad of developments encompassing the social, religious, political, and economic landscapes of Zambia.

Furthermore, Williams (1993: 5) posits that Catholic social teaching has been profoundly influenced by its theology. As such, this chapter embarks on an exploration of the theological underpinnings inherent within the framework of social teaching, with a specific focus on *Rerum Novarum*, a groundbreaking social teaching penned by Pope Leo XIII in 1891.

The study highlighted that the social teaching addressed social issues that emerged subsequent to the declaration. Five encyclicals and a conciliar text played a central role in validating Catholic social teaching. These texts included *Mater et Magistra* (Christianity and Social Progress, 1961), *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth, 1963), *Dignitatis Humanae* (Religious Liberty, 1965), *Populorum Progressio* (On the Development of Peoples, 1967), *Octogesima Adveniens* (A Call to Action, 1971), and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (On Social Concern, 1987). Therefore, the process of writing history was found to encompass the fusion of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*), signifying the blending of the historian's horizons with those of the past. These horizons are characterized by constant oscillation, never remaining static. The "otherness" encapsulated within the social doctrinal texts propels them into the reader's contemporary context, offering a transformative experience that transcends both past and present spheres (Clark, 2004: 112).

#### **9.2.4. Chapter Four: The Impact of the Zambia Conference of the Catholic Bishops**

In chapter four, we take a closer look at the pivotal role played by the Zambia Conference of the Catholic Bishops (ZCCB). This body bears the responsibility of offering constructive critiques and insights on a national scale, primarily through pastoral letters and statements concerning pressing social issues. These encompass subjects as significant as the declaration horizon, which poses a threat to religious freedom, human rights, dignity, justice, peace, and the collective welfare of all Zambian citizens.

Moreover, it becomes evident that operating in conjunction with the ZCCB is another influential organization, namely the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR). The JCTR conducts comprehensive surveys on the Basic Needs Basket (BNB), primarily focusing on the circumstances of impoverished Zambians. The JCTR's mission is intricately aligned with the teachings and directives of papal encyclicals while simultaneously implementing the social praxis principles of the Catholic social teaching.

### **9.2.5. Chapter Five: Nurturing a Cordial Relationship Between Church and State**

In chapter five, a profound examination revealed that, among the four Church-State models explored, Bonhoeffer's perspective on church-state relations stands out as the most fitting. This model perceives both the state and church as dedicated to the same divine authority—God. Simultaneously, it recognizes their paramount duty to serve the welfare of the people. While the Catholic Church has advocated for a clear separation of church and state relations, Bonhoeffer's model suggests that these two entities should maintain a harmonious and cooperative coexistence, working for the betterment of God's people.

Furthermore, this chapter highlights the Catholic Church's role in providing constructive criticism of public policies to the state. However, it is crucial to discern that when the government manipulates the church to further its political interests, it diverges from the path of justice. In such circumstances, the church is justified in voicing its criticism. The study distinctly reveals that Chiluba's government adopted a policy of politicizing a specific segment of the religious denomination, the Pentecostals, and in doing so, the relationship between church and state relation became inextricably entwined in their quest to maintain political power.

### **9.2.6. The Rejection of the Declaration through the Lens of Catholic Social Teaching**

Having thoroughly explored the intersection of the Catholic social teaching horizon and its response to the declaration horizon, and based on the insights garnered from various informants, it is apparent that the Catholic Church has not embraced the declaration. The church's reluctance to accept the declaration is primarily rooted in its failure to adhere to proper governance processes, which would have included comprehensive consultations and the active participation of civil society through a referendum.

The declaration, in its current form, poses significant threats to vital aspects of society, including religious freedom, human rights, justice, and peace. Additionally, it marginalizes minority religions and denies political rights to individuals who follow different faiths. The study postulates several key observations:

Firstly, the collaborative governance approach, if implemented by President Chiluba's government, would have provided a legitimate and democratic avenue for the declaration's execution. Unfortunately, Chiluba's government chose to sideline the Church and civil society.

Secondly, the study asserts that the declaration horizon, which the Catholic Church steadfastly opposes, was not implemented in alignment with the democratic principles of the state. This misalignment further underscores the Church's concerns.

Thirdly, the Catholic Church consistently views the declaration horizon as a divisive force that threatens the nation's unity. Consequently, the Catholic Church has continuously advocated for the removal of the declaration from the Republican Constitution.

Fourthly, while the Catholic Church has rejected the declaration, some Pentecostal Churches continue to support it. This indicates a disparity of opinions within the religious landscape.

Furthermore, responses to the declaration horizon underscore a clear division among research participants. Some ardently support the declaration, while others vehemently oppose it. Consequently, the declaration continues to evoke mixed reactions among the populace.

### **9.2.7. The Declaration's Impact on Democratic Governance Principles**

Drawing upon Gadamer's insights regarding horizons, this study highlights the finite nature of scholars whose "horizons" become evident when they engage with texts from the past. In this context, the horizons encompass the subjects of the declaration, democracy, and governance. Gadamer further posits that historians approach texts influenced by their contemporary context, and their understanding of the past profoundly shapes the outcomes of their studies. Therefore, the process of writing history involves a fusion of horizons, merging the historian's perspective with that of the past (Gadamer, 1985: 311).

The term "democracy" is considered a horizon that predominantly represents an inclusive political system encompassing all segments of society. This inclusivity is guided by principles aligned with

governance and good governance horizons. However, the declaration horizon significantly deviated from the norms of good governance, as it witnessed the executive branch bypassing fundamental elements of the political process. The failure to engage in consultation and involve key institutions such as the church and civil society through a referendum underscores that the declaration process did not adhere to democratic principles associated with good governance.

The study unequivocally establishes that the declaration's genesis did not align with the democratic principles of good governance. This divergence is striking, considering that President Chiluba vocally endorsed democracy and adopted a liberal democratic system that promoted economic liberalization. The intention was to facilitate the opening of Zambian markets and foster a collaborative governance model. The conclusion drawn from this analysis underscores the deterioration of good governance practices during Chiluba's presidency. A series of actions, such as imposing the declaration horizon into the Constitution's Preamble without due consultation, disregarded the rule of law. The Chiluba government's lack of consultation and citizen participation, especially regarding the declaration, exemplified a blatant disregard for democratic principles.

Additionally, the rule of law, a cornerstone of good governance, suffered as the Anti-Corruption Commission, a key institution for upholding the rule of law, lost its effectiveness. Simultaneously, bribery and corruption became pervasive, undermining the very principles of good governance that were vital for accountability, transparency, and efficacy.

Chiluba's failure to anticipate the adverse effects of the declaration on human rights, religious freedom, political rights, and issues of justice and peace reveals a substantial shortcoming in governance. In this context, the Catholic Church, guided by the social teaching, raised its voice against the declaration horizon, acting as a guardian of good governance principles that ensure accountability, transparency, and effectiveness.

### **9.2.8. Chapter Eight: Analyzing Research Findings and Themes**

In chapter eight, the study delved into its research findings, which were organized into four distinct themes. Firstly, the chapter delved into the theological underpinnings of the declaration. This segment involved a meticulous examination of two specific Old Testament scriptures (2 Kings 22:11 and 2 Chronicles 7:14). The study concluded that Chiluba's utilization of these Old Testament covenantal verses to bolster the declaration horizon was rooted in the embedded theology prevalent in the Pentecostal Churches, of which he was a member. Chiluba adopted a literal interpretation of these verses, incorporating them into his political career to further undisclosed objectives.

Secondly, the chapter explored the theological and socio-praxis aspects of Catholic social teaching. The study's conclusion emphasized that the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia has consistently considered its theology as a foundation for contemplating and manifesting the meaning of witnessing to Christ within the Zambian context. This commitment extended to expressing the Catholic Church's viewpoint on issues, even when they contradicted the socio-praxis associated with its social teaching.

Thirdly, the chapter conducted an analysis of the political implications of the declaration and its repercussions on democratic governance principles. The study's findings highlighted that while significant expectations were associated with the declaration, particularly regarding economic transformation and the promotion of good governance practices, the MMD government under President Chiluba's leadership failed to uphold and enforce good governance principles. Therefore, this deficiency led to a surge in corruption and bribery within the government.

Lastly, the chapter unearthed a motive behind the declaration – the design of specific policies that primarily favored a substantial portion of the Pentecostal Churches through the religious desk. This observation indicated an intention to channel state resources and advantages to these specific religious groups.

In essence, Chapter Eight provided an in-depth analysis of the study's findings, categorizing them into these four overarching themes to shed light on the multifaceted impact and implications of the declaration in Zambia.

### **9.3. Contributions of the Study**

This study has made noteworthy contributions in various domains. The key areas of contribution are outlined below.

#### **9.3.1. The Interpretive Assessment Framework**

In our research, we adopted an interpretive assessment paradigm as the primary method for evaluating the literature and data gathered from our research participants. This approach, originating from the realm of social sciences studies, was integrated into our theological examination of Catholic social teaching and the critical analysis of Zambia's identity as a Christian state.

Our method involved the application of conceptual frameworks rooted in hermeneutical theories, including Gadamer's "Fusion of Horizons," Bieringer's "Normativity of the Future," and the "Emphatic Dialogical Methods" of church-state models. These theories were employed to interpret our research findings, hence the necessity of an interpretive paradigm. This approach seeks to elucidate phenomena from the viewpoint of the participants, rather than that of an objective observer, giving precedence to a subjective perspective in comprehending the data.

On an axiological level, the interpretive paradigm places a higher emphasis on relevance as opposed to strict rigor (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 34). Moreover, the interpretive paradigm employs distinct criteria, such as theme categorization, for the evaluation of research findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This approach led to valuable findings based on their relevance to the broader research questions and objectives, as interpretive research assesses the quality of understanding based on its alignment with and enhancement of the perspectives of the individuals providing the information (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

### **9.3.2. The Influence of Catholic Social Teaching**

This study underscores the relevance of Catholic social teaching in addressing the social challenges that Zambia confronts. It emphasizes that Catholic social teaching serves as a powerful tool for scrutinizing and critically engaging with social issues. It can serve as a means to facilitate formal and informal critique of the state, particularly when the state neglects consultation and participation of civil society in shaping public policies.

Consequently, it is imperative for the Zambian government to embrace collaborative governance, which would enable the involvement of both public and private stakeholders, including the religious institutions, non-governmental organizations, and individuals, in collective forums with public agencies, leading to consensus-oriented decision-making. Leveraging Catholic social teaching, the government can promote face-to-face dialogue, trust-building, and the cultivation of commitment and shared understanding as guiding principles for Zambia.

### **9.3.3. The Imperative of Discussing the Declaration**

This study also makes a crucial contribution by highlighting the necessity of debating the Christian state declaration horizon. The objective of such a debate is to ascertain whether Zambia should persist as a Christian state or return to a secular one. This is prompted by the enduring division within the nation, notably the Catholic Church's firm stance that the declaration ought to be eliminated from the Republican Constitution. The stance of this study is that the declaration horizon warrants comprehensive debate and should undergo a referendum, allowing Zambian citizens to express their opinions regarding the country's continued status as a Christian state.

### **9.3.4. The Necessity of Modern Democratic Governance Approaches**

One of the most significant contributions of this study in the realm of democratic governance is the call for the adoption of contemporary governance practices, specifically advocating for collaborative governance that guarantees the involvement of both the Church and civil society in the formulation of political policies. In this framework, we contend that issues concerning religious

freedom, justice, peace, human rights, political rights, and the protection of individuals and non-Christian religions will not be disregarded by the state. Ansell and Gash (2007: 2) posit that:

Collaborative governance has emerged as a response to the failures of downstream implementation and the high cost and politicization of regulation. It has developed as an alternative to the adversarial nature of interest group pluralism and the accountability failings of managerialism (particularly as the authority of the executive is challenged). More positively, one might argue that trends toward collaboration also arise from the growth of knowledge and institutional capacity. As knowledge becomes increasingly specialized and distributed and as institutional infrastructures become more complex and interdependent, the demand for collaboration increases.

The embrace of collaborative governance will uphold the principles of political participation as endorsed in the social teachings of the Catholic Church.

### **9.3.5. Amicable Church-State Relations**

This study has also made a valuable contribution regarding church-state relations. It contends that the church should avoid making itself vulnerable to manipulation by the state, which often manifests in the form of monetary donations, appointments of church leaders to government positions, and the exploitation of the religion for the political ambitions of politicians. The argument put forth here is that these relationships should be characterized by cordiality, as the church has a significant role to play in providing advice to the state on social matters, including public policies. Both the church and the state share the common mandate of serving the people and upholding their faith in God. Therefore, the church and state should maintain their relative autonomous relations.

## **9.4. Recommendations**

Based on the findings that highlight a lack of sufficient research in the domain of Catholic social teaching and the declaration horizon, the study puts forth several recommendations for further exploration in this field. In light of the aforementioned, the following recommendations are proposed concerning the Catholic social teaching horizon and the critical analysis of Zambia as a Christian state.

## **9.5. Using the Catholic Social Teaching as a Conceptual Framework for Addressing Social Issues**

Catholic social teaching has proven its relevance in addressing social issues in Zambia. This study has demonstrated that Catholic social teaching, in conjunction with the conceptual methodologies rooted in hermeneutical theory, such as Gadamer's Fusion of Horizon, Bieringer's Normativity of the Future, and Emphatic Dialogical Methods of Church-State models, holds significant applicability in humanities, particularly within theological studies. Future research endeavors might explore the potential of employing Catholic social teaching as a validating framework for its role in addressing and confronting various social issues.

## **9.6. Revisiting the Status of Zambia as a Christian Nation**

Zambia's identity as a Christian nation is deeply ingrained in both its religious and constitutional aspects. Nevertheless, segments of society, including the ZCCB, CCJP, JCTR, CCZ, and EFZ, argue that there should have been a more extensive public debate surrounding the declaration, with Chiluba taking steps to prepare the nation for such a significant change. However, this was not the case. Chiluba's approach revealed his astuteness and unveiled his authoritarian inclinations in the process of establishing the nation as a Christian one.

The declaration horizon also resulted in a notable proliferation of Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches in Zambia. What remains lacking are adequate platforms that allow for broader public engagement and input on the declaration. Even though two Constitutional Review Commissions were established to assess the reception of the declaration, Zambia has retained its status as a Christian state for an extended period.

For these reasons, further research should be conducted with a primary focus on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state and the responses of the Catholic Church. Additionally, it is imperative to establish a platform that encourages public discourse and engagement to ensure that the public has a voice in this significant matter.

## **9.7. Exploring Church-State Relations in Greater Detail**

This study contends that church-state relations became more defined in Zambia following the declaration. Therefore, there is a compelling need for further research that delves deep into the complexities of these relations within successive governments. It is evident that subsequent administrations, post-Chiluba, have continued to exploit the dynamics of church-state relations to serve the interests of politicians.

## **9.8. Conclusion**

This study does not claim to have exhausted all aspects of this topic. It instead highlights several issues that warrant further investigation and scrutiny. These matters should serve as focal points for future studies and African publications. In conclusion, this study holds a positive outlook for the future of Catholic social teaching in addressing the pressing social challenges facing Zambian society.

Catholic social teaching is well-positioned to play a significant role in the democratic process and contribute to the advancement of the Kingdom of God in Zambia. It operates in the midst of complex power dynamics, leadership struggles within and beyond the church, diverse doctrines, ethnic biases, and the imperative of reshaping the current social landscape in Zambia.

The study harbors a sincere hope that the Catholic social teaching can carve a promising and impactful path forward, guided by the Catholic Church's unwavering commitment to social issues. Having grown up within the Catholic Church, the researcher believes in the potential of the Catholic social teaching to serve the common good. This can be accomplished by reshaping Zambia's approach to policy decision-making, making it more Christ-centered.

This study is presented with the aspiration that it may, in its own modest way, contribute to the realization of this aspiration.

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2. Bishop Zulu	Catholic Church	Lusaka	5 November 2017.
3. Bishop Kaoma	Catholic Church	Lusaka	6 November 2017.
4. Bishop Sakala	Catholic Church	Lusaka	7 November 2017.
5. Bishop Nkole	Catholic Church	Lusaka	19 November 2017.
6. Bishop Hamusonde	Catholic Church	Monze	20 November 2017.
7. Father Chiwisa	Catholic Church	Lusaka	25 August 2017.
8. Father Chibuye	Catholic Church	Lusaka	22 August 2017.
9. Father Mulenga	Catholic Church	Lusaka	16 August 2017.
10. Father Moonga	Catholic Church	Monze	30 August 2017.
11. Father Chiti	Catholic Church	Lusaka	10 August 2017.
12. Father Lungu	Catholic Church	Lusaka	5 August 2017.
13. Father Musonda	Catholic Church	Monze	12 August 2017.
14. Father Chomba	Catholic Church	Lusaka	15 January 2018.
15. Pastor Nyerenda	Pentecostal Church	Lusaka	18 August 2017.
16. Pastor Chimena	Pentecostal Church	Lusaka	19 August 2017.
17. Father Phiri	Anglican Church	Lusaka	28 August 2017.
18. Rev. Mwansa	EFZ	Lusaka	1 November 2017.
19. Mr Chowa	Anglican Member	Lusaka	15 November 2017.
20. Mr Tembo	Catholic Member	Lusaka	25 November 2017.
21. Mr Mwenso	Catholic Deacon	Lusaka	17 January 2017.
22. Mr Towani	Pentecostal Church	PMB	28 <sup>th</sup> July 2018.
23. Mr Kafumbe	Anglican Member	PMB	1 <sup>st</sup> August 2018.
24. Mr. Zulu	Seventh Day Adventist	Lusaka	30 <sup>th</sup> November 2017.
25. Mr. Ndyamba	Educator	Livingstone	15 <sup>th</sup> December 2017.
26. Mr. Sinkamba	Civil Servant	Lusaka	25 <sup>th</sup> July 2018.
27. Sister Bridget	Catholic Sister	Lusaka	5 <sup>th</sup> April 2020.
28. Mrs Musonda	Catholic Member	Lusaka	16 <sup>th</sup> March 2020.
29. Mrs Betty	Catholic Member	Lusaka	17 <sup>th</sup> March 2020.
30. Ms Mary	Catholic Church	Lusaka	18 <sup>th</sup> March 2020.
31. Mrs A Chirwa	Catholic Church	Lusaka	5 <sup>th</sup> April 2020.
32. Sister Namakau	Catholic Catholic	Lusaka	10 <sup>th</sup> April 2020.
33. Sister Sikazwe	Catholic Sister	Lusaka	14 <sup>th</sup> April 2020.
34. Sister Dorothy	Catholic Sister	Lusaka	13 <sup>th</sup> April 2020.
35. Rev Jane	UCZ	Lusaka	15 <sup>th</sup> March 2020.
36. Pastor Sichali	Pentecostal Church	Lusaka	17 <sup>th</sup> April 2020.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL**  
**School of Religion, Philosophy and Classic**

Dear Respondent,

**PhD Research Project**

**Researcher:** Dominic M. Mukuka (0794777504)

**Supervisor:** Prof. R. Simangaliso Kumalo (+27 (0) 33 260 5850)

**Title of Research Project**

**CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND THE CRITIQUE OF ZAMBIA AS A  
CHRISTIAN STATE: FROM 1991 to 2001**

The purpose of this interview is to solicit information from you regarding how the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church critiqued the Christian State declaration from 1991 to 2001 during the presidency of Frederick Chiluba, the former second Republican President of Zambia. The information you provide me will go a long way in helping me identify how the Social Teaching of the Catholic Church were used to respond to the Christian state declaration. The interview questions should only take 30 - 60 minutes. For this interview, you have been selected because I believe you may have the information regarding the given topic. You should be aware that this interview will recorded using the tape-recorder (digital recorder) and later transcribed. You are entitled for your name to remain anonymous (if you so wish). Thank you for participating!

---

### *INTERVIEW SCHEDULE*

#### **QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS:**

#### **GENERAL INFORMATION:**

- 1) Could you please state your name, where you live and your current occupation?
  - 2) What is your role in your church or organization?
- 

#### **A) CHRISTIAN STATE DECLARATION**

1. What were the major reasons for Chiluba to declare Zambia as a Christian State?
  - 1.2. Why did Chiluba not consult the Churches, Church bodies and other civil organization about his intention of making the country to be a Christian State?
  - 1.3. How was Frederick Chiluba influenced by the conservative Christians to make Zambia a Christian State?
  - 1.4. Is there a need for other non-Christian religious groups to actively participate and be consulted in important national issues such as the declaration?

## **B) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL TEACHING**

2. In what ways did the Catholic Church use its Social Teaching to respond and criticize the declaration of Zambia as a Christian State?
    - 2.1. How did the following Papal encyclical documents such as *Pacem in Terris*; *Dignitatis Humanae* and *Octogesima Adveniens* contribute to the discussion of Zambia being made a Christian State?
    - 2.2. How did the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) together with the *Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection* (JCTR) utilize the Social Teaching to respond to the Christian State declaration?
    - 2.3. How exactly are the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church relevant in the context of the Christian State?
- 

## **C) RESPONSES OF THE CATHOLIC'S EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE**

3. How did the Zambia Conference of Bishops (ZCCB) or Episcopal Conference of Zambia (ECZ) respond to the Christian state declaration?
    - 3.1. What has been the role of ZCCB or Episcopal Conference of Zambia (ECZ) on the debate of Zambia being declared a Christian state?
    - 3.2. In what ways did the Catholic Church use its theology and Social Teaching to respond and criticize the declaration of Zambia as a Christian state?
    - 3.3. How exactly are the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church relevant in the context of the Christian state?
    - 3.4. How did the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops engage the Christian state declaration?
    - 3.5. How do you think the three ecumenical bodies; for instance: Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops or Episcopal Conference of Zambia; Christian Council of Zambia and Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia could have influenced the making of Zambia as a Christian State?
- 

## **D) RESPONSES FROM CHURCHES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS**

4. How did the views of the minority religious groups such as Hindus, Muslims and African Independent Churches contribute to the Christian State debate?
  - 4.1. How exactly did the Church in general respond to Zambia being made a Christian State by Chiluba?

- 4.2. In what ways do you think the Christian State declaration accommodated other minority religious groups, for example: Islam, Hindus and African Traditional Religion?
- 

### **E) THE IMPACT OF THE DECLARATION ON THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE OF ZAMBIA**

5. How did the Christian tenets influence the democratic governance of Zambia during Chiluba's reign as the second republican president in Zambia?
- 5.1. In what ways do you think the Christian State declaration impacted on the democratic governance of Zambia?
- 5.2. How exactly Frederick Chiluba's perspectives on democracy did influenced and shaped the governance of Zambia?
- 5.3. In what ways did the Christian principles and values shaped and influenced the governance of the country during Chiluba's presidency?
- 

### **F) THE CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS IN ZAMBIA**

6. What has been the history of the church and state relations in Zambia after independence, and during the presidency of Kaunda and Chiluba and whether these relations still exist today?
- 6.1. How did the Christian state declaration affect the Church and State relations in Zambia?
- 6.2. In what ways did Chiluba respect the separation of the Church and State relationship?
- 6.3. How exactly did the politicization of the Church by the State took place during Chiluba's presidency from 1991 to 2001?
- 6.4. How did the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace together with the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection ensured that the Church and State relations remained separated?
- 

Do you have anything that you might want to add to what we have discussed?

## APPENDIX B

### Approval Letter to Conduct Research



#### **CATHOLIC SECRETARIAT**

KAPINGULA HOUSE KABULONGA  
P O Box 31965,10101  
LUSAKA  
Telephone Number: (211) 262 613, 262, 691  
Email: catholicsecretariat@gmail.com

15 April, 2016

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**


**DOMINIC MULENGA MUKUKA**

I am writing to confirm that the above named is a bonafide student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. He has been granted permission by the Catholic Secretariat to carry out research with leaders and representatives of the following: Episcopal Conference of Zambia; Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace; and the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection. The title of his research is: "The Impact of Catholic Social Teaching on the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian State: From 1991 to 2001."

The research, we believe has the potential to contribute to the knowledge of how the Catholic Social Teaching are applicable to modern social challenges that Zambia faces. Also the research finding will demonstrate how the Catholic Church through the bishop's pastoral letters and statements actively respond to prevailing social and political issues, like the case was when President Frederick Chiluba declared Zambia as a Christian nation. The president failed to prepare the public through consultation and participation of the Zambian people whether the country should be made a Christian nation.

The Catholic Secretariat appreciates the recognition made by Mr Mukuka to your institution. Our church will be grateful to assist Mr Mukuka with any assistance he may need.

May God kindly bless you.

  
Father Cosmas Chibuye  
Secretary to the Bishop's Conference

**CATHOLIC SECRETARIAT**  
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P.O.BOX 31965  
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA