

Farai Mutamiri

AN ANGLICAN “QUEST FOR BELONGING”?

A Critical Historical Evaluation of the Anglican Diocese
of Harare’s Decade of Turmoil, 2002-2012



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DEDICATION

*I dedicate this book
to my wife Letwin Mutamiri,
my lovely children Cephas, Tapiwanashe, Farai (Jnr),
and
all the Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare.*



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1 | INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Study

This study aims to explore the fortunes and vicissitudes of the Anglican Diocese of Harare from the year 2002 to the year 2012. This period was a phase of struggle or turmoil that prompted a church historian to analyze the events and situations in the diocese critically.

1.2 Setting the Stage

It had never happened in the history of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and the Province of Central Africa that a Diocesan Bishop would ever think of breaking from a province in which he took an oath of canonical obedience and undertook to serve his diocese. In the ensuing mayhem, church members were tear-gassed or tear smoked out of their church buildings, beaten by riot police, fired at with live ammunition, arrested and incarcerated for days, if not weeks without trial, and some received death threats. Meanwhile, there are speculations that some people were killed, but others survived the five years under the Diocesan Bishop.

It is difficult to imagine that all this was happening in a democratic nation, which has the necessary apparatus to solve the disputes between two or more parties or bring perpetrators to court. It is also incomprehensible that even with such persecution and harassment, faithful worshippers could continue to stand up against such a Bishop, his accomplices, and their security forces without fear and continued to seek justice for close to five years without giving up the fight.

Bishop Kunonga, the Diocesan Bishop of Harare then, gave one main reason for his actions: the Province Central Africa was condoning homosexuality. It would be interesting to investigate and find out if he had the names of church members practising homosexuality or condoning homosexuality. There is a need to research and critically analyse what the Canons of the province say regarding this accusation levelled against it. Was Bishop Kunonga hallucinating on this issue?

There was, however, a second reason which Bishop Kunonga cited though. That was more pronounced during the second half of the decade under review (2008-2012). Kunonga claimed that the Anglican Diocese of Harare (CPCA) was used as a cash conduit by the British government to

sponsor the opposition party, Movement for the Democratic Change (MDC), to push for a regime change. While he was the Bishop of the church, was Kunonga ever approached by the British government or the opposition party soliciting his support on this issue? Was he not riding on the political cloud to draw the ire of the government on the CPCA?

During the same period, the researcher also noticed that Bishop Kunonga was preparing for the seizing of church properties. At that time, the government or the ruling party ZANU-PF was experiencing its most demanding challenge ever since coming into power in 1980. The question then is, was Bishop Kunonga trying to take advantage of the political situation in the country for the furtherance of his ambitions? On the other hand, since the government was promoting indigenisation, does it logically follow that Bishop Kunonga tried to implement the government's programme and indigenise the church? If the answer is yes, then the next question would be, indigenise it from whom? Zimbabwe had attained its independence on the 18th of April 1980. That ushered in a political dispensation that culminated in many paradigm shifts in all spheres of the lives of Zimbabweans. The Anglican Church, which had elected its first substantive black Bishop in 1981, was a step ahead in terms of the political emancipation of the black majority. Another question to ask in this study would be, was Bishop Kunonga trying to redress the concept of black emancipation or not? Was there any 'quest for belonging' principle at play as propounded by Daneel? (Daneel, 1987).

All these and many more unanswered questions point to the need to investigate the period under review, 2002-2012.

In 2001 Dr Nolbert Kunonga was elected Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Harare, an institution that has been in existence since 1891. In Zimbabwe, in its early years, the Anglican Church was regarded as a Northern extension of the Church of the Province of South Africa. By the 1880s, it was already governed by its own Provincial Synod and was almost entirely independent of the Church of England. This independence, in Zimbabwe as in South Africa, was a consequence of the financial situation, "the white members of the church met the majority of its expenses, without the need for large subsidies from missionary societies, thus solving some problems but raising others" (Weller & Linden, 1984:65).

The Anglican Church in Zimbabwe had withstood many pressures resulting from having its origins in the Church of England. Michael Lapsley

rightly argues that “the Anglican Church’s peculiar position as the established Church of England, with its Bishops appointed by the monarch on the recommendation of the British Prime Minister, gave it a unique role in providing religious sanctions for British Colonies” (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:115). An excellent example of some of the challenges faced by the nation and indirectly affecting the church was during the period following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from British rule by the then Prime Minister Ian Smith on 11th November 1965. This UDI, according to Lapsley, had a problem of legitimacy from the moment of its proclamation since “they (the government) denied human rights to the majority of Zimbabweans and flouted international legal and moral opinion” (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:115). However, the church was co-opted to give sanctity to the rule. As a result, a pro-UDI statement by the former Bishop Paul J. Burrough aimed to destabilise the church. Still, it withstood the pressure and remained intact, there being no mention of ever pulling the diocese out of the Province or ever dividing.

With Bishop Kunonga in office, the church experienced serious challenges and ended up supporting the state to try and bring sanity to the church. The socio-political and economic challenges faced by the country had an enormous impact on the life and style of administration of the church. From the onset of his term, Bishop Kunonga viewed the church as his personal property and had the mindset to drive the church towards his vision. As he started implementing this vision, the church began to experience an exodus of priests and church members as they deserted the church. The peak of the challenges then came in 2007 when Bishop Kunonga, citing one primary reason mentioned above, purportedly withdrew the Diocese of Harare from the Province of Central Africa through what came to be known as the ‘Robber Synod’ in clergy circles. In pursuance of his vision, he partitioned the Harare Diocese into five dioceses to fulfil the technical requirements for establishing a Province. With Bishop Nelson Jakazi of the Diocese of Manicaland coming in to support him, Bishop Kunonga formed a province that was to be known as The Anglican Province of Zimbabwe (APZ).

There was enormous resistance to this move by most priests and members of the laity who preferred to remain under the administration of the Province of Central Africa and communion with the Anglican Church worldwide.

To defuse the tension that arose, the state apparatus, through the police and security agents, intervened to support Bishop Kunonga. All those who did not align with Bishop Kunonga were violently forced out of the churches, often with tear gas and live ammunition. There were several arrests and the detention of priests and lay members of various congregations. These events, in turn, opened the floodgates for court cases with the Anglican Diocese of Harare in the CPCA trying to seek recourse from the judiciary, an arm of the state. The major case brought before the courts was to seek clarity to the ownership of the properties that belonged to the Anglican Dioceses of Harare and Manicaland, whose Bishop had joined Bishop Kunonga's cause.

From around 1995, Zimbabwe started experiencing economic challenges pointing to President Robert Mugabe's leadership style. That culminated in the formation of what came to be the most powerful opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), by student union leaders, Civic leaders, and the labour body, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), in 1999. There was a strong belief that, as a counter to this development, the ruling party embarked on a major drive to destabilise religious organisations and divert the churches' attention away from the political challenges and concentrate on their internal disputes. Could this have been true?

As it happens, the Anglican Church had already responded to the national indigenisation program in a way. However, the policy had not yet been pronounced in its current form because all the top leaders of the church were blacks and would drive the church in the direction they would have perceived as best in promoting the ideologies of African nationalism in the country. What then could have gone wrong?

Historical research is then very possible based on these unanswered questions and many more, in an effort to find out which could have propelled Bishop Kunonga to pull out of the Province with the Anglicans revolting against their Bishop Diocesan Synod. Could this have been a creation of the government to divert the attention of the majority of Zimbabweans from concentrating on the government and its failures?

1.3 Area of investigation

The study is in the area of Church History and Polity. The mere mention of the term Church History points to a vast subject, for it has the church's past as its fundamental foundation. The human past, which includes the

church's past, encapsulates the political, social, and economic spheres, all demanding recognition. This study looks at the life of the church, be it missions, evangelism, pastoral, and how the church has sought to expand and venture into unchartered territories, within and without the country or even the world itself.

At this juncture, it is vital to take cognisance that “when dealing with Church-State relations we should realize that the state is an elusive concept and that ‘church’ can have several meanings” (Verstraelen, 1998:45). The church is a “Christian community and its ecclesiastical organisation; while state means a nation its corporate capacity and organised for civil government” (Verstraelen, 1998:45). As this subject deals with communities that are not static, it is essential for continual critical analysis of the activities of the various ecclesiastical organisations, and it has these recorded for use by future generations.

1.4 Justification of the Research

The need for the study emanated from the following considerations:

1. As the decade under review is contemporary, it is vital to record the history while still fresh and clear in people's minds.
2. It is also essential to investigate the factors that led to the schism. In this connection, it became necessary to critically analyze the impact of this division on the episcopal bench, clergy, and laity since the division had turned political with the state involved. Hence it is crucial to describe and evaluate the state-church relationship lest the church may forget.

1.5 Aims and objectives

The study aims to provide a narrative cover of how the church fared during the decade under review (2002-2012) by looking at the following objectives:

1. To investigate the factors that led to establishing the Anglican Province of Zimbabwe (APZ) and its breaking away from the Province of Central Africa (CPCA).
2. To evaluate the impact/effects of the establishment of APZ on the episcopal bench, clergy, and laity of the Anglican Dioceses of Harare.
3. To investigate the state-church relationship during the period under study.

1.6 Research Methodology

Our purpose here is not to write a history designed to settle old scores, but rather to embark on a scientific undertaking in a bid to shed light on the darkness in which the past of the African continent with its incomplete genealogies, its unclear structures, its missing or unreliable dates – is still shrouded (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:1).

The quotation above has immensely influenced the shaping and structuring of the theoretical framework applied in this study and the research methodologies. Although no old scores need to be settled, there is the need to scientifically investigate and record the church's history and position this study as one of the primary sources for future studies.

A study of this nature has to utilise multiple methodological approaches necessarily. The following methods proposed will supplement and complement each other whenever necessary. The investigation will employ Historical, Phenomenological, and Comparative approaches in its investigation. It will also use fieldwork, with data collected from interviews and observations.

Historical Approach

The historical approach is one of the methodologies that I will use in this study. It is a method applied to many fields of study owing to its uniqueness because it encompasses things such as origins, growth, and crisis. The study is partly from an oral historical approach with a significant bias towards African historiography, making the African voice more audible. According to J. D. Fage:

African historiography, including the writing of African Church history, is not fundamentally different from the historiography of other continents and countries. (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:10 – quoting Fage)

Ki-Zerbo argues, and correctly so, that “the main purpose of the historian is to make a critical and comparative use of his sources in order to produce an intelligent and meaningful description of the past” (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:1). He goes further to note that “in order to be sure of not exchanging one myth for another we must see that historical truth.... is strictly tested and substantiated” (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:1).

Having said this, it is also obligatory to realise the importance of oral tradition and its place in history writing. “Oral sources i.e. traditions transmitted from one generation to the other, and in practice even more testimonies by eye-witnesses who experienced the discussed events

themselves, are extremely important for the writer of mission and church history who intends to do justice to the African point of view” (Vestraelen, 1992:84).

As a matter of concern, Verstraelen took note of the accusations levelled against this approach by noting and highlighting that, “Some scholars question whether we can place the same trust in the oral as in the written sources when it comes to evidence of things past” (Vestraelen, 1992:85). This sound observation by Verstraelen shows the extent to which historians would scrutinise every methodology to provide a sound and accurate history. Ki-Zerbo defends this method of research when thus:

Oral tradition is by far the most intimate of historical sources the most rich, the one which is the fullest of the sap of authenticity ... Not just a second – best source to be resorted to only when there is nothing else. It is a distinct source in itself, with a now well established methodology and it lends the history of the African Continent a marked originality (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:178).

Against the objection that oral sources are functional, Ki-Zerbo states that “every human message is functional including archives, which by their very passiveness, and beneath an appearance of neutrality and objectivity, conceal so many lies by omission, and clothe error in respectability” (Vestraelen, 1992:85)

It is difficult to say with certainty that this methodology is fool-proof. However, the researcher can minimize errors by abiding by Charles Busha and Stephen Harter’s six steps for conducting historical research. These are:

1. The recognition of a historical problem or the identification of a need for specific historical knowledge.
2. The gathering of as much relevant information about the problem or topic as possible.
3. If appropriate, the forming of the hypothesis that tentatively explains the relationships between historical factors.
4. The rigorous collection and organisation of evidence and the verification of the authenticity and integrity of information and its sources.
5. The selection, organisation, and analysis of the most pertinent collected and the drawing of conclusions and
6. The recording of conclusions in a meaningful narrative (Busha & Harter, 1980).

Phenomenological Approach

Phenomenology is a philosophical movement attributed to the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). It is argued that "rather than offering descriptions of the nature of reality itself, it provides a method for knowing or investigating the way we know reality" (Cox, 1996:5). Husserl defined Phenomenology as "a descriptive theory of knowledge, which begins from within the person, the subject and seeks to move outside the person into an objective description of the world. In this process, nothing can be assumed or presupposed. Everything, even the existence of the external world, must be questioned" (Cox, 1996:5). Cox defines Phenomenology "as a way of pointing to the phenomenon. It is 'the study of appearances' and calls for 'bracketing' assumptions or using what is known as epoche that is to hold back" (Cox, 1996:5). The process of epoche "implies the absence of presupposition which would influence resultant understanding.

In other words, bringing to one's study the concepts and constructs of one's own worldview is seen as a distortive influence upon the results" (Connolly, 1999:77). It encourages the researcher to go back to the things themselves as they are, not as informed by the researcher's impressions or preconceived ideas (Cox, 1996:40). As far as this study is concerned, the phenomenon it is pointing to is an Anglican decade in turmoil. The second fundamental principle of the phenomenological approach is when "the observer performs the eidetic intuition whereby only the essential structures of the phenomena are seen" (Cox, 1996:17). This eidetic intuition relates to the ability to see what is there. "It presupposes epoche, introduces the capacity to see objectively the essence of the phenomenon, but also addresses the issue of the subjectivity of perception and reflection" (Connolly, 1999:77). It is crucial to note that the fundamental principles of the phenomenological approach would include bracketing out, suspension and empathy. It is also important to note that three basic steps occur: naming objects, noting relations, and describing processes (Cox, 1996:17).

In naming objects, the observer makes sense of what appears. Naming the phenomena enables us to speak intelligibly about that which has manifested itself to our consciousness. Noting relations: we need to name the objects of the phenomena and begin to understand the connections between them from very simple to complex concepts. Describing processes: the observer will also describe processes at work within the phenomena (Cox, 1996:18).

That means that the researcher has to observe the phenomenon as it appears, not as it is understood through opinions formed before observation. Therefore, the approach begins by bracketing out and suspending the researcher's previous ideas, opinions, and personal beliefs, withholding judgment on academic theories about religions, and allowing the phenomenon to speak for itself. C. Erricker noted that "the life that is being examined should acquire its place in the life of the student himself who should understand it out of his inner-self" (Connolly, 1999:78). This necessitated empathy, "...transposing oneself into the object or re-experiencing it... intuitive abstraction, the phenomenological restraint or epoche can only follow after a spontaneously warm self-denying devotion" (Connolly, 1999:78).

One major criticism of this methodology is that it is not always easy to practice epoche because researchers tend to comment based on their feelings and understanding of the subject matter.

Comparative Approach

The Comparative Approach is one among many methods used in the scientific study of history and other disciplines. It is a method used to analyse similarities or differences in a given phenomenon. For this study, I will compare aspects raised and used by Bishop Kunonga to justify his withdrawal from the Province against the understanding of the Province of Central Africa, bearing in mind the need to practice epoche as called for by the phenomenological approach as stated above.

According to Jesse Mugambi, Comparative Approach has been regarded as studying the inter-relationships of various traditions (Mugambi, 1989:63). That would then make it an integral part of the phenomenological approach, for it allows the researcher to gain an appreciation of how different religious traditions handle a common phenomenon. It leads to the process of describing or identifying the core subject of comparative inquiry. This approach will become a valuable tool to critically analyse on a comparative basis the two structures that of APZ and CPCA without favour to each of them.

1.7 Historiography

Just as one cannot create geometry without preliminary postulates, it is impossible to write history without employing prior assumptions and analogies. Like all other cognitive processes, thinking about history requires

one to move from the simpler to the more complex, from the better known to the less well known. Consequently, all historians use models to be conscious of the process. (Ober, 1989:134)

There is a need to develop a clear understanding of the concept of history, which will help elucidate events in the Anglican Diocese of Harare from 2002 to 2012. A working definition of history may be sought, as some history models will be discussed (developed), and the understanding of historiography is stated from a biblical perspective.

What is history?

Many philosophical and general historians have asked this fundamental question for years. There had been no consensus-conscious answer to the question 'what is history.' To answer it, one would soon discover that there is more to this question than that which meets the eye. John H. Nota remarks that "Man has sustained a shock to his mundane existence. He spends his days worrying about the present and the future; he has seen the illusion of progress exploded; he is forced to play a part in a worldwide drama in which he and his fellow beings appear to be more puppets" (Nota, 1967:22).

Nota then goes further to assert that "this problem vaguely understood by many and defiantly answered by modern youth's terse 'so what?' is simply a popular expression of the question what is history?" (Nota, 1967:22). Still, the question of what is history requires an answer; hence the following paragraphs are geared at answering or trying to grapple with the question.

State of the question

Before 1920, there were few publications on the topic. However, this has changed with many articles being produced mainly after World War 2 by people of different persuasions, ranging from the Roman Catholic approach to the Marxist approach (Nota, 1967:23). Yet, even with the amount of research, it could not have exhausted or produced a complete and unquestionable philosophy of history, which would encapsulate all the diverse persuasions. In rejecting Hegel's philosophy of history, authors such as Romein, Litt, and Vancourt argued that it secularizes the Christian view of history. Karl Löwith concluded that "only faith can grant an understanding of the senses of history: reason never can" (Nota, 1967:24). Highly regarded theologians such as CS Lewis continued to use the term philosophy of history. As the debate raged on, M.F Sciacca at the International Congress of Philosophy at Amsterdam in 1948 contended that "a

Philosophy of history is the ‘vanity of vanities’ because it will never be able to penetrate to the individual object of history” (Nota, 1967:25).

While Henri Marrou, on the other hand, “acknowledges a critical philosophy of history which pertains to history as a discipline, but at the same time he denies, the possibility of a philosophy of history which is concerned with history as a happening” (Nota, 1967:25). Nota, to justify the continuation of the study of the philosophy of history concluded that, “the philosophy of history does indeed exist: it has its own province ...” (Nota, 1967:26). However, he admits that “the ultimate and truly all – embracing truth about the meaning of history must be spoken by theology, by virtue of faith” (Nota, 1967:25). This statement provides an opening for the researcher to explore more regarding the question of what history is.

1.8 Methods of treating History

According to JC Friedrich, there are three main methods of treating history, and these are (a) Original History, (b) Reflective History, and (c) Philosophical History. The various methods can then be looked at using these three main categories. A brief look at the three methods is necessary at this juncture, for it will then enable us to understand better what we are dealing with.

(a) *Original History*

To this category belong Herodotus, Thucydides and other historians of the same order whose descriptions are for the most part limited to deeds, events and states of society, which they had before their eyes and whose spirit they shared (Hegel, 1956:1).

Friedrich goes on to argue that, they simply transferred what was passing in the world around them, to the realm of representative intellect an external phenomenon is thus translated into an internal conception (Hegel, 1956:1). For Historiographers who fall into this category, they are not interested in reflections and analysis. Theirs is nothing more than the presentation to the posterity of an image of events as straightforward as that which he possessed in virtue of personal observation or life-like descriptions (Hegel, 1956:2).

Why is it so? Maybe the answer will be that because the Historiographer would describe “scenes in which he or she may have been an actor or at any rate an interested spectator” (Hegel, 1956:2). The key phrase and concept lacking in this category is reflection, which renders the history “original”. “The author’s spirit and that of the actions he narrates, is one and

the same" asserts Hegel (1956:2). That becomes its weakness because if there is no reflection aspect in the writing of the history, the history becomes just like a novel.

(b) Reflective History

According to Hegel, Reflective History is "history whose mode of representation is not really confined by the limits of the time to which it relates, but whose spirit transcends the present" (Hegel, 1956:4). According to C.J. Friedrich, "in this second order a strongly marked variety of species may be distinguished" (Hegel, 1956:4). These are; universal, pragmatistical, critical, and philosophical history. At this juncture, it is prudent to look at the three species mentioned here briefly.

Universal History

From the name itself, one can deduce that the main thrust of the investigator under this category is mainly the attaining of a better view of the entire history of a group of people; where they come from, and where they are going. C.J. Friedrich argues, and rightly so, that "the workman approaches his task with his own Spirit; a spirit distinct from that of the element he is to manipulate" (Hegel, 1956:4). That then forms the guidelines and principles that form the basis of his narrative, thus formulating one's model of how history is supposed to be written.

Pragmatistical History

Pragmatic history is the second species under Reflective History. The argument is that:

When we have to deal with the Past and occupy ourselves with a remote world, a Present rises into being for the mind – produced by its own activity, as the reward of its labour. Indeed, the occurrences are various, but the idea which pervades them – their deeper import and connection is one. That takes the occurrence out of the category of the past and makes it virtually present (Hegel, 1956:5).

The successes of the process rely heavily on the writer's spirit, which then points at the role of the Historiographer in the writing of history. That, however, will be looked at later in this chapter.

At this point, one also needs to consider the moral reflections of the pragmatic approach to history. "It may be allowed that examples of virtue elevate the soul, and are applicable in moral instruction of children for impressing excellence upon their minds. But the destinies of peoples and states, their interests, relations, and the complicated issues of their affairs,

present quiet another field” (Hegel, 1956:6), argues C J Friedrich. The field referred to here clarifies that those in leadership worldwide have never taken time to study and implement lessons generated in the past, thereby bringing to question the notion that history repeats itself. That is then made clear by the assertion by F. C. Friedrich that “each period is involved in such peculiar circumstances, exhibits a condition of things so strictly idiosyncratic that its conduct must be regulated by considerations connected with itself, and itself alone” (Hegel, 1956:6). “One reflective History, therefore, supersedes another. The materials are patent to every writer: each is likely enough to believe himself capable of arranging and manipulating them: and we may expect that each will insist upon his own spirit as that of the age in question” (Hegel, 1956:7).

Critical History

The third form of reflective History is critical history. Friedrich remarks that “this deserves mention as pre-eminently the mode of treating history, now current in Germany” (Hegel, 1956:7). “We might more properly designate it as a History of History; a criticism of Historical narratives and an investigation of their truth and credibility” (Hegel, 1956:7).

Here we have the other method of making the past a living reality; putting subjective fancies in the place of historical data: fancies whose merit is measured by their boldness, that is, the scantiness of the particulars on which they are based, and the peremptoriness with which they contravene the best-established facts of history (Hegel, 1956:7).

“The fourth and last species of Reflective History announces its fragmentary character on the very face of it. It adopts an abstract position; yet, since it takes general points of view (e.g. as the History of Art, of Law, of Religion) it forms a transition to the Philosophical History of the world” (Hegel, 1956:7).

Hegel remarks that “such branches of national life stand in close relation to the entire complex of a people’s annals; and the question of chief importance in relation to our subjects, whether the connection of the whole is exhibited in its truth and reality, or referred to merely external relations” (Hegel, 1956:8). In pursuance to this:

It must be remarked that, when Reflective History has advanced to the adoption of general points of view, if the position taken it is a true one, these are found to constitute, not a merely external thread, a superficial series, but are the inward guiding soul of the occurrences and actions that occupy a nation’s annals (Hegel, 1956:8).

That then led to the development of yet another type of history known as Philosophical History.

c) Philosophical History

According to Hegel, "no explanation was needed of the two previous classes; their nature was self-evident" (Hegel, 1956:8). "The most general definition that can be given is that the Philosophy of History means nothing but the thoughtful consideration of it" (Hegel, 1956:8). In this definition, the catchword or action is thought. Thought constitutes a human; that is, all human faculties centre on this idea of thought. However, Hegel acknowledges that it would appear unsatisfactory to insist on thought in connection with history.

In this science it would seem as if Thought must be subordinated to what is given, to the realities of fact that this is its basis and guide: while philosophy dwells in the region of self-produced ideas, without reference to actuality (Hegel, 1956:8).

1.9 The Nature of History

Two main approaches to try and answer the nature of history have been dominant: theological and philosophical. Henri Marrou is regarded as having acknowledged the pressure of a critical philosophy of history that views history as a discipline while refuting the prospect of having a philosophy of history that regards history as an event (Nota, 1967:25). The theological approach would base its argument on the understanding that "only God knows history in its entirety and only through God's revelation does the believer participate in his knowledge" (Nota, 1967:25). From this assertion, Nota then propounded the existence of a province within history, a philosophical sense which was to remain vivid. To justify its existence, Nota then looked at Karl Jaspers, who presented events in humanity that could be considered as having laid the foundation stones of the philosophical approach. Such as the centralisation and formation of states, development of languages, and specific cultures. It was from these and many such developments that led to man's realisation of himself. It is then argued that "as primitive man became aware of himself he grasped his link with the past and, taught by it, concerned himself with the future. His first technological achievements raised him above the momentary level and the pseudo-natural phase. Thus he came to life where history begins: in the trinity of past, present and future" (Nota, 1967:26).

Having said this, one can safely argue that history is to do with human life, be it the past, present, or future. In this, there are the historical sources that provide the knowledge of the history and the historian. However:

The historian's history is moulded by his values, his outlook, and his worldview. It is never the evidence alone that dictates what is written. The attitudes that a historian brings to the evidence form an equally important element in the creation of history, the bias of a historian enters his history (Bebbington, 1979:5).

The philosophical or theological approach then shapes our understanding of the nature of history that historians have defined from different perspectives.

The Cyclical Nature of History

Some have presented what is known as The Cyclical Nature of history. The ancient Greeks greatly influenced this view. They believed that “just as the four seasons of spring, summer autumn and winter repeat themselves year after year, so does history follow a cyclical course” (Fleisher, 1992:1). “For them, history was just a repetition of destined events which could not be affected by human power so that, history had no meaning or goal” (Fleisher, 1992:1). Bebbington (Patterns in History, a Christian Perspective on Historical Thought, 1979) gave a detailed account of this vi, seeing the development and rise of nations with their eventual demise following the cycles of nature mentioned above. One of its great challenges is that it denies the role of human effort in the development of history but that history is circumstantial, and thus it becomes pessimistic.

The Christian View

The Christian view, sometimes called The Providential View of history, is the opposite of the cyclical view. It asserts that history has a beginning and linearly moves towards a well-defined goal, thus in a straight line (Bebbington, 1979:43-67). This view's basic understanding or assertion is that history started with creation and moved through phases that eventually led to the fall of the human race, the main driving force being God's providence and moving on towards God's kingdom.

St. Augustine systematised this view of history when he presented the skirmish of the Two Cities. The City of God, which is the habitat of God-loving people, and the City of the World, which is the habitat of people who have yielded to the temptation of Satan, with the City of God coming out as victor to establish eternal peace in the world (Fleisher, 1992:1).

This human history which stretches from the fall to consummation is divided into six phases:

1. From Adam to Noah's flood,
2. From Noah to Abraham,
3. From Abraham to David,
4. From David to the Babylonian captivity,
5. From the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ and
6. From the first coming to the second coming of Christ and which is left unstated as to when (Fleisher, 1992:2).

The major problem with this view is that it is so mysterious that it renders it unacceptable as a social scientific tool. However, it can be stated here that the researcher intends to use this view and other views for this study.

The linear view of history

Historicism (Bebbington, 1979:92-116) was developed to counter the linear view of history. Before World War 1, history was believed to be Euro-centric and would evolve around Europe. Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) advocated for a culture-centred view of history. That was developed further by Toynbee (1889-1975), who argued that "each civilization passes through the stages of genesis, growth, breakdown, disintegration and dissolution" (Fleisher, 1992:4). It would appear as if this is some kind of linear view. However, the difference would come, that in this view, the future is never predetermined but is shaped by choices made out of free will by human beings as they respond to challenges they encounter in life.

The Marxist view of history

The Marxist view (Bebbington, 1979:117-139), also known as historical materialism, asserts that material forces drive history. According to this view, "what drives history is the development of the productive forces, rather than the development of the Spirit" (Fleisher, 1992:3). It further argues that "history has been a history of class struggle. In capitalist society, this class struggle reaches its peak and revolution occurs. The proletariat, which is the ruled class, overthrows the bourgeoisie, which is the ruling class. As a result, Communist Society, which is the kingdom of freedom without classes, is realised" (Fleisher, 1992:3).

The researcher has highlighted the views above to give an overview of how history can be viewed as we seek to develop a clear concept of history. Events under review (2002-2012) within the Anglican Diocese of Harare can be explored using linear and cyclical approaches to view history. The

Anglican Church being a Christian organization means that a specific belief guides the members or leadership to a certain extent. Bebbington would then give us three guiding principles to which Christians would generally adhere, and these are that “God intervenes in it: that he guides it in a straight line; and that he will bring it to the conclusion that he has planned” (Bebbington, 1979:43).

This view then represents the linear approach, but it must also be noted that the same Christians also adopted the cyclical approach by coming up with the liturgical calendar starting with Advent and ending with Trinity season. In this light, it is of paramount importance to note that both the Christian linear and cyclical views have their roots in Judaism. These views would also guide the researcher in his investigation of the Anglican decade of turmoil. The decision to sever ties with the Church of the Province of Central by Bishop Kunonga could have influenced his understanding of these approaches to history. The Judaeo-Christian idea of history is moulded by convictions about God shared by the two religions, asserts Bebbington (Bebbington, 1979:43). “To believe in one God who is sovereign and shows steadfast love is to believe in one who participates in history, guides the whole process and will bring it to a triumphant conclusion” (Bebbington, 1979:43).

Could this be a reason why each side in the Anglican saga continued to fight? Were they anticipating a triumphant conclusion to their side?

Tracing the origins of the Christian idea of history from the Old Testament would give us a better concept of this linear view of history. We are shown here a picture of the God, who “is so great that he stands outside history, yet who is so concerned for his world that he is active within history” (Bebbington, 1979:43). This God would intervene in the life of his people either to bring judgment or mercy. This view is fundamental as the researcher carries out his research in this article.

The Old Testament

Looking at the way the God of the Old Testament has always intervened in the history of the Jews, “it has been argued that on the contrary, the Old Testament philosophy of history is cyclical” (Bebbington, 1979:45).

Yahweh, the Jews believed, was at once ‘merciful and gracious’ and one who would ‘by no means clear the guilty.’ His acts in history were, therefore, supremely ones of mercy or judgment or both. Events could be sim-

ultaneous demonstrations of the two divine qualities. Israel's most significant memory as a people, of the exodus from Egypt, was of an event that was big with mercy for the Israelites and with judgment for the Egyptians (Bebbington, 1979:45).

Bebbington's assertion means that for the Israelites, every event signalled the presence of God, thus divine participation in the history of the world. It would be interesting to see if the parishioners in the Anglican Diocese of Harare shared the same view that the God they worship is a participating God in resolving the challenges they experienced during the decade under review.

The New Testament

The earliest Christians also adopted the cyclical and linear views of history in the New Testament. The continuous celebration of the Feast of the Passover, which adopted the Last Supper's new name, is evidence. This was done with the understanding that God had a direct intervention in a kairotic manner. For the Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare, the question would be, 'did God intervene at the right or opportune moment'? When Christianity took over from the Jews, this belief in a God who is more personal and who is providential; "it turned upside down, the idea of virtue and human reward. So far from attaching any value to success or eminence in this world by the violence of its denunciation of riches and worldly honour it seemed to spurn them utterly" (D'arcy, 1959:83).

This new dispensation was to change the entire understanding and role of God in human history. According to D'Arcy, "the disciples of this new faith are to rejoice when they are ill-treated and suffer ignominy. They are to shun the world and lose their lives to find life. They are to give up all things to follow and imitate a leader, who the world has hated and crucified" (D'arcy, 1959:83). D'arcy viewed this as a reversal of all human judgments and to make the values of history worthless when weighed by ultimate and absolute standards. Historical progress and culture become unsubstantial shadows and images which are superseded by ultimate truth" (D'arcy, 1959:83). That gave humanity a new outlook on life: how we respond to challenges is determined by our understanding of God and how He intervenes in the life of His people. What then is the meaning of history?

1.10 The meaning of history

The study is very much mindful of the many questions and issues surrounding the study of history. According to Bebbington, “In the English language the word ‘History’ can mean either what people write about time gone by, that is historiography; or else it can mean what people have done and suffered, that is the historical process” (Bebbington, 1979:1).

In answering the question, what is history? Marrou asserts that “history is the knowledge of man’s past” (Marrou, 1966:33). However, in this writing process, a lot happens, and eventually, some writers end up writing historical novels due to missing or adding characters that never existed. In historical writing, one would also realise that “a great deal of what took place in the past is omitted from history books” (Marrou, 1966:2).

That brings in the fundamental questions scholars such as Henri-Irene Marrou ask: what is historical truth? What are the degrees and limits of this truth? All human knowledge has its limits, and the same effort that establishes its validity also determines the proper extent and area of its exercise. What conditions are necessary for its elaboration? In short, what is the appropriate role of the human intellect in the study of history? (Marrou, 1966:9). We can now deduce that venturing into this area is no simple task. Specific dictates and rules need to be observed to avoid producing a historical novel, since “history is the very opposite of anything that is a false description of the past, or one that is distorted and untrue to the facts” (Marrou, 1966:34).

Therefore the meaning of history is derived from what is recorded by historians as history. Marwick (Marwick, 2001:25) would then assert that what happens in the human past, regardless of it having been written by historians or not, is what is meant by the past and renders the accounts of the past as recorded by historians as history. This research is within the confines of scientific research within the Christian view, as outlined above.

1.11 The Historiographer

A good definition must be succinct, i.e., it must with the greatest possible conciseness of expression accurately and completely establish the concept. A definition delimits the meaning of a particular word which serves to indicate a particular phenomenon. In the definition the phenomenon as a whole must be included and comprehended. Should any essential parts fall outside of the definition, there is something wrong with it. On the

other hand a definition needs to give no account of details (Klibansky & Paton, 1963:1).

A researcher can use Johan Huizinga's propounded guidelines to understand the concept of history or basically to get the concept very clear. Huizinga noted that "most works on the epistemology of history refrain from an explicit determination of the fundamental concept. They take the phenomenon itself as a known quantity" (Klibansky & Paton, 1936:1). However, from the examinations conducted on some definitions, it became clear that the language has some limitations. The word 'history' can have a more general connotation. Huizinga, based on this, wrote that the German and the Dutch word for 'history' that is *Geschichte*, and *Geschiedenis*, respectively, would deduce at least three meanings:

1. Something that has happened;
2. The narration of something that has happened;
3. The science which endeavours to be able to give this narrative (Klibansky & Paton, 1963:3)

The researcher would go along with the second 'meaning', which looks at the word 'history' as reflecting the narration of something that has happened, which conforms to the research topic under consideration.

Thus the succinct definition at which we have arrived would read as follows: "History is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past" (Klibansky & Paton, 1963:9). This assertion is based on the hypothesis that any historical work cannot just be story-telling, but it has to be intellectually done.

Positivism and idealism

As we try to understand the nature of history, we can then think of two major groups of scientists. These are the positivists and idealists, who emerged as they first began to study means and ways of understanding the methodological issues of the natural and social sciences in or around the nineteenth century (Nash, 1969:3).

According to Nash, "in their approach to history the positivists agreed with Descartes that history can never provide man with certain knowledge. But, unlike Descartes, they maintained that this was not due to the nature of history itself but to the methods used by the historians in trying to understand the past" (Nash, 1969:3). The positivists further argued that it is possible to make history scientific provided that there are universal laws to

govern the social activity of human beings (Nash, 1969:4). That was, however, rejected by idealists who felt that the positivists were wrong in assuming that the explanation of human knowledge should have the same structure. For the idealists, “explanation in history is quite different from explanation in the natural sciences” (Nash, 1969:5), and they advocated for two kinds of science.

The first of them is a natural science which “approached their subject matter from the outside; and describe regularities in nature through the observation of natural phenomena” (Nash, 1969:5).

The second is the human science from which “the subject matter is accessible to the social scientist in a way not possible for the natural scientist, why because the historian is a man studying the actions of the other men, he can know their actions from ‘the inside’ as it were” (Nash, 1969:6).

The two, the natural and human sciences, can be described as different again in that the natural scientist would try and identify regularities which they would then generalise while the historians will be studying something which is “unique, individual and unrepeatable. For the events of history occur just once” (Nash, 1969:6).

The role of the historian

The above discussion then ushers us into yet another challenge, that of the historian. We need also to understand the role, be it positive or negative, that they play in the writing of history. We can view that through the eyes of Bebbington, who argued that “the discrepancies we find between written history and the actual event of the past is caused by the historian himself, among other problems such as the availability of evidence he has the tasks of selecting and arranging the evidence” (Bebbington, 1979:5).

The historian is bound one way or the other to use specific criteria to either include or exclude certain information based or “influenced by the cultural, political and religious values he may hold” (Bebbington, 1979:5).

That would ultimately mean that the worldview and outlook of the historian would shape the outcome of their history, thereby allowing their bias to determine the character of the work that they will produce. Be that as it may, the historian is expected to be professional and practice *epoche* and never allow his cultural, political, and religious background to influence their history. That is so because “great history is commonly a consequence of a historian’s pursuit of evidence to vindicate his/her previously formed

beliefs" (Bebbington, 1979:5). Faced with this challenge, can one ever attain a universally accepted history of the past? Bebbington would say 'no'; it is impossible to achieve such a story of the past (Bebbington, 1979:8).

1.12 Limitations of sources

The discussions on the historiographer cannot end without mentioning the sources and their limitations. According to Mary Lynn Rampolla, "to answer their questions, historians evaluate, organise, and interpret a wide variety of sources, and these sources fall into two broad categories: primary sources and secondary sources" (Rampolla, 2001:4). It would be of paramount importance to look briefly at these sources and see how they could also effectively be used in this research. J. Ki-Zerbo has dedicated a whole volume on methodology and sources to promote the History of Africa by introducing or highlighting other sources that interconnect to other scientific disciplines such as geology, palaeontology, palaeobotany, sociology analysis, comparative linguistics, and many others (Ki-Zerbo, 1981:49).

Primary Sources

These are sources or materials derived from the eye witnesses or people directly involved during the period or event under study. These include eyewitness accounts, letters, diaries, magazines, speeches, interviews, and autobiographies, to mention a few examples (Rampolla, 2001:4). For Rampolla, "sources can yield different kinds of information depending on the questions the historian asks: therefore, it is preferable to read primary sources in their entirety" (Rampolla, 2001:5). That is true in the sense that if one is to take any extract of the source out of its context, it is bound to have a ripple effect on the whole history, distorting it.

Secondary Sources

Historians use articles and books written by scholars on the subject matter to analyze material from primary sources. These sources have proved to be the most accessible avenue to reach or become acquainted with the already available information on the subject under study.

The limitation aspect of sources should be viewed in light of the fact that sources don't always tell the truth. Hence the task of a good historian would be to analyse the information then come up with their interpretation. Rampolla would assert that "sometimes they lie on purpose, telling untruths to further a specific ideological, philosophical or political agenda" (Rampolla, 2001:6). We can also add religious agenda to the list.

Hence, there is a need to evaluate the sources through comparison and identify the author's biases (Rampolla, 2001:6)

1.13 Literature Review

For the researcher to identify the gap he seeks to address, it is essential to review the already available literature, which will help streamline the study's scope. This study will also utilise material from the already existing pool of literature. It is important to note that the researcher only reviews relevant chapters or articles in some books, while in others, it is the entire publication. The order of the books or articles does not reflect their relative importance. Instead, the books or articles have been arranged in a manner that provides a logical link to the argument of this study.

In the book, *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi Zambia and Zimbabwe*, co-authors John Weller and Jane Linden delved into the Anglican establishment and the role the members played in shaping the political field by their influence. They looked at the Anglican Church's racial composition, which was one unusual feature and the other one being its comparative independence of missionary societies.

It will then be interesting to see if problems raised by this early weaning (independence of the church) off by missionary societies could have influenced the formation of the APZ. The research on the Anglican Church by the two is of importance to this research for it covered areas which we need not worry about hence the importance of the book.

The book *The Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, by CS Banana, is vital to this study because it outlines the political tensions and challenges that later characterised the Anglican Church. In Banana's words: "The church existed and exists within a context where political occurrences may only be ignored at the risk of losing the Church's purpose, among others of being a referee in the social, political and economic arena" (Banana, 1996:50).

A further critical analysis was done by Banana which revealed the role played by members such as Cripps, Skeleton, Lapsley, Burrough, and da Costa. Banana looked at some church leaders, who, "at one time or the other became entangled in the sticky web of politics, with Skeleton being deported by the Smith regime for his outspokenness at the injustices he perceived as being perpetrated by a minority government of racially intolerant whites" (Banana, 1996:51). Bishop Kunonga was not the first to be

involved in politics. The question that then arises is on whose side was he? It is crucial to investigate how the Anglican Church responded to the politics of the day.

In their book, *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*, editors T.O. Ranger and John Weller have a chapter by Murray Steele dedicated to Arthur Shearly Cripps titled, *With Hope Unconquered and Unconquerable...* Arthur Shearly Cripps, 1869-1952. This chapter is very relevant to this study because it chronicles how Cripps devoted his time and energy to assist the black majority of Zimbabweans in an area near Enkeldoorn. Of particular interest is the excellent effort made by Shearly Cripps to try and fight the government in its policies and the role played by the media in informing the public as per their mandate. This article mentions that "Cripps wrote a letter to the Rhodesia Herald objecting to the findings, but it was not published" (Ranger & Weller, 1975:167). Has it also been a culture of the state-aligned print and electronic media to do selective journalism? Was the Anglican Church on the receiving end of such kind of journalism? Though it was noted here, Murray Steele did not expose this kind of evil and how it impacted the general decisions made by authorities from a uniformed or misinformed point of view.

The book *No Future Without Forgiveness* D M Tutu 1999 is also a valuable source. It outlines one of the fundamental principles in the History of the Church in South Africa; forgiveness enacted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Without looking at the processes involved, something similar was also activated in trying to resolve the Anglican saga as it came to be known in government circles. A chapter by Tutu, *We do want to forgive, but we don't know whom to forgive* underscores the need to identify people behind the so-called 'orders from above' which were given to the police to execute. So if the Anglican Church in Harare is to engage in that exercise, this question will become of paramount importance. Who exactly are they forgiving?

Never had humanity seemed to deserve such treatment more than on those occasions when we were listening to harrowing tales of the kinds of things we were capable of doing to one another. Some are awful things that seemed to defy description and questioned our right to be considered fit to be human at all. One could understand at such moments just how it was possible to describe those responsible as being masters not deserving to be considered as human beings any longer (Tutu, 1999:125).

The book *The Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches Vol 3: Leadership and Fission Dynamics* looks at characteristic features of Independent Churches. The author Daneel asserts that:

I have tried to tell the story of leadership and fission in the Shona independent churches ... the very nature of the ICs gives rise to this richness and diversity: their lengthy ceremonies of worship, their endless preoccupation with Bible-related themes in their sermons and the predictable defections of office bearers followed by the reshuffle of church affiliations in a process of proliferation, expansion, renewal and consolidation or waning of church groups (Daneel, 1988:387).

Another critical point in this book is its analysis of the issue of Christian leadership. It records that, “among the most prominent features of indigenised leadership which could raise serious questions about its Christian content are the correlation between the structure of independent church leadership hierarchies and kinship ties and the related problem of hereditary leadership: the interpretation and practice of the principal leaders” (Daneel, 1988:397).

Frans Verstraelen, in his book *Realities and Christian Responses*, provides us with a definition of the church and state and clearly states that we need to be specific and careful that we fully grasp and have precise meanings of the two. “When dealing with church-state relations we should realize that the ‘state’ is an elusive concept, and the ‘church’ can have several meanings” (Verstraelen, 1998:145).

In his book *Quest for Belonging: Introduction to a study of African Independent churches*, I. M. Daneel provides us with a thorough investigation of the African Independent Churches, looking at what they believe to offer the church. Daneel suggests that they “offer more than just a haven or a home; they represent, at a profound level, a quest for belonging. It is on this point, more than any other, that they challenge the ‘mission’ churches in Africa and with them, the entire traditional Western missionary enterprise” (Daneel, 1987:8).

Daneel goes on to give a historical perspective of the development or emergence of the African Independent Churches (AICs), in that “the schismatic movement in Africa got underway only towards the end of the last century and gained proper momentum in the twentieth century” (Daneel, 1987:43). A chapter in this book also looks at church and community, and Daneel examines the Independent Churches in various environments where they occur, namely rural, tribal communities, and urban

areas (Daneel, 1987:102). That is of value to this study because it helps discern the causes of the formation or split of churches.

Editors of the book *Church and State in Zimbabwe*, Carl Hallencreutz and Ambrose Moyo, dedicated chapters to the Anglican Church through articles first by M. Lapsley, titled Anglican Church and State from UDI in 1965 until the Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, and second by John Weller entitled Anglican Integration. These articles are of paramount importance to this study, for they give the background to the developments in the Anglican Church. That, however, needs updating hence the study.

The book *Prayers and Players Religion and Politics in Zimbabwe*, edited by Ezra Chitando, is a composition of various essays by scholars in Zimbabwe who critically analysed different aspects of the state-church relationship. Chitando, in his editorial outline, raised some pertinent points by arguing that "the most dominant paradigm in interpreting the interface between religion and Politics has been to focus on how Politicians harness religious ideologies and concepts to serve their own interests" (Chitando, 2013:vi). With this perspective in mind, the book will come in handy in giving a critical analysis of who was fooling who in the Anglican saga between the state and the church.

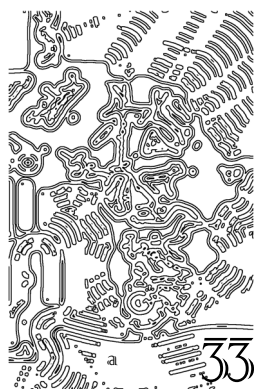
Missionalia (Vol 39 No 3) has an article by Lovemore Togarasei and Ezra Chitando which explores the church's role in healing and reconciliation in Zimbabwe during the much-polarised phase of Zimbabwe politics during the early 2000s. This article is crucial when the researcher analyzes the role played by the national organ of peace and reconciliation led by the late vice-President John Nkomo, which was tasked to bring sanity to the Anglican Saga by the government.

Building Peace on Earth is the International Ecumenical Peace Convocation (IEPC) report held in May 2011 in Kingston, Jamaica. This report will add value to this research because participants highlighted some issues as they reflected on various challenges faced by the church, which can be compared to those faced by the faithful Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare during the decade under study. If we ask the source of their resilience, the answer and many more can be found from these reports. Chunakara wrote that "the oppressed have the moral stamina to effect positive change and when oppressed people get organised and practice disciplined non-violence, they can produce far-reaching social change" (Chunakara, 2013:7).

1.14 The Research Gap

Having done the literature review, one would not hesitate to acknowledge that these books remain valuable sources within and without the scope of our study. There is evidence that a thorough and enlightening study has been duly conducted on the history of the Anglican Church. Having looked at the reviewed literature, the researcher noticed that none covers the decade under review because it is contemporary. There are, however, some unpublished works that tend to deal with specific themes and periods found within the decade. They include V. Fenga and R. Gunda's *Masters' Thesis*, which looks at homosexuality, with T. Mandirahwe's paper looking at the Puritan theology versus Kunonga and J. Chawarika investigating schism.

A gap still exists in that the church, which Vidler defines as "a Christian community and its ecclesiastical organisation" (Verstraelen, 1998:45), is not static. So far, a lot has happened in the church's life, which needs critical analysis for future use. That is where this research would be validated to put what could be termed a primary source for the period under review (2002-2012) in place. No doubt, the research will raise many issues, which will, in turn, stimulate further research in the area of Anglican history.



2 | THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF HARARE PRIOR TO THE DECADE: 2002-2012

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to make a critical exposition of the Anglican Diocese of Harare politically, economically, ecclesiastically, and socially before the decade under review 2002-2012. It also attempts to develop the theory that Bishop Nolbert Kunonga's reaction in establishing a parallel Province, the APZ, was hinged on the premise that he was doing the local church a great favour in liberating and unshackling it from its former racist colonial masters. The discussion of the research findings will be based on two central premises: the country's political situation and its impact on the church prior to 2002 and, second, the election of Bishop Nolbert Kunonga as Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Harare.

Events that followed the political independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 are of interest to the researcher for they had a bearing on the life and well-being of the church, and these will be analysed critically to inform this research. Several prolific writers who themselves were actively involved in the life and administration of the diocese, such as John Weller and Michael Lapsley, have written extensively on the history of the Anglican Church up to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. These will be used as sources together with interviews with senior clergy and laity in the diocese.

2.2 Zimbabwean Independence April 1980

When Ian Smith, the then Prime Minister of Rhodesia and leader of the Rhodesian Front, declared UDI in 1965 from British rule, he placed himself and his government on a collision path with the rest of the world and with liberation fighters within the country. The Rhodesian government denied the black community that dignity. In this connection, Michael Lapsley has written that "they denied human rights to the majority of Zimbabweans and flouted international legal and moral opinion" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

This situation then prompted liberation fighters to intensify their resolution to dislodge the government by taking up arms against the Rhodesia Front's government and British authority over the then Rhodesia. Two main liberation forces, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

(ZIPRA) and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), were at the forefront in fighting for the emancipation of the black and other marginalised races of former Rhodesia. These two forces were the armed wings of two liberation movements, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), officially banned in 1962, and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), established in 1963.

Zimbabwe attained its political independence from British colonial rule on the 18th of April 1980. That was the moment they had been waiting for; it ushered in a new political dispensation liberating the black majority. It brought joy and happiness to the people in the new Zimbabwe because there was general anticipation of the promised better living conditions.

2.3 The Anglican Church's Response to Political Independence

When Zimbabwe attained political independence, the church was expected to play a pivotal role in leading and shaping the way forward in unifying the nation and bridging the social-economic-racial gap that had existed for about a century. The church found itself faced with a twofold task. First was the need for new leadership that could relate to the black-led dispensation, which had now assumed power and served black congregations without reserve. Second, the church saw as its dual role the need to embrace and serve the white congregations and minister to their concerns as whites, and that is, "to carry the white parishes with it" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

The idea of the indigenisation of the church was paramount, and its driving motto was 'let us do away with the colonial legacy.' Did the church succeed? In some areas, the church succeeded, and in others, it did not. The leadership remained predominantly white, and European laws/traditions remained in force, which became a challenge to the church. A point to bear in mind was one raised by Michael Lapsley when he observed that, "while more Rhodesian whites belonged to the Anglican Church than to any other, the majority of Anglicans in the then Rhodesia, were blacks. Until after independence, almost the entire hierarchy of the church was white" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:115).

It can also be noted with concern that the process of indigenisation and, in particular, of entrusting the local people (blacks) with leadership positions such as being a rector to a local congregation took a very long time to come to fruition. Regardless of his qualifications, a black priest would remain an assistant to a white priest for a very long time before he could

be considered for the position of rector. Musodza argued that “this even meant that young European clergy who had very little experience ended up being rectors of quite huge parishes, with some elderly indigenous clergy ministering under them” (Musodza, 2008:191).

2.4 Black Leadership in the Diocese before and after Independence

The first Anglican black to be appointed and consecrated to the Episcopate was Rev Patrick Murindagomo. Rev P.A. Murindagomo was appointed by Bishop Paul Burrough as Suffragan in January 1973 and was consecrated on the 23rd of September 1973 at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, Harare. Though this was a positive development in the church's life in that blacks were now ascending to positions of authority, it was viewed with suspicion by his black contemporaries. Rev M D Zambezi believed that “he was appointed because he appealed to the European clergy very well and since they were the decision-makers then, they simply hand-picked him as Suffragan Bishop” (Musodza, 2008:216). According to Musodza, this view was also reinforced by Canon WWW Nechironga, who argued that “Ven. Murindagomo was appointed as Suffragan Bishop due to his subservience to the European leadership” (Musodza, 2008:216). Canon Alban Makoni put it more crudely when commenting on the appointment. He said, “Bishop Murindagomo was not appointed to be an Assistant Bishop, instead he was appointed to be a ‘suffering’ Bishop without any voice. He was the European people’s puppet” (Musodza, 2008:217).

Be that as it may, this was not to say Bishop P Murindagomo was the wrong candidate for the position, for we also have some of his contemporaries who regarded the appointment as well-deserved. Musodza painstakingly noted the comment by a prominent priest, Canon Milton Madzivyanyika, when he was asked for his opinion on the appointment of Bishop Murindagomo. He described the Bishop as “a quiet and reserved person, who only spoke when he had to. And even when he did that, whatever he said was sensible and constructive” (Musodza, 2008:217).

Interestingly, some explanations have been proffered as to why a black, indigenous Suffragan Bishop was required within the diocese. Chief among them was that the Diocese of Mashonaland was too extensive to be administered by a single Bishop because the ever-expanding diocese involved some extra episcopal responsibilities. That could have been the official explanation; however, there was a strong feeling among the black

clergy that Bishop Paul Burrough was now finding it difficult to access remote areas because of the intensified liberation struggle. This point was validated by Canon W.W. Nechironga, who states that:

It was now necessary to bring in a Suffragan Bishop because the Bishop now needed a messenger who could administer those sacraments reserved for the Episcopal office on his behalf. Such a person would then be sent to those places where it was becoming unsafe for the European Bishop to visit. So the Suffragan Bishop would of necessity be someone to do the errands of the Bishop, especially in those dangerous and no-go areas for the Europeans. It was simply a political move, meant to benefit the European Bishop (Musodza, 2008:221).

Canon D Nhema also asserted that "this development was not out of love for the indigenous people at all. Instead the ministry of the Suffragan Bishop was to be the 'errand boy' for the incumbent Bishop" (Musodza, 2008:221). In his article titled Anglican Integration, John Weller argued that "the title given for this implies that the Anglican Church was in a disunited state at the time of Zimbabwe's independence. It is certainly true that, the church's unity was subjected to strain from time to time during the 1970s" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

An analysis of the statement gives an impression that the strain referred to by Weller was something related to the 1970s, and after that, all was well. One example emanated from Bishop Paul Burrough's sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. He preached about "Marxist power groups of minority forces having gained power in Mozambique and Angola after being given arms by the Russians and moral respectability by World Council of Churches, a respectability which to the Bishop's dismay was now being given to forces seeking the overthrow of the Smith regime" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

This sermon purportedly drew a sharp response from Bishop Patrick Murindagomo, the Suffragan to Paul Burrough. Bishop Patrick Murindagomo categorically stated that

the 1969 Constitution, introduced by the Smith regime and under which it governed was designed to perpetuate the oppression of the 6, 000, 000 Africans. No Christian conscience can reconcile such oppression with our Lord's teaching. Here, I am bound to disagree violently with my Diocesan Bishop (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

We believe this could also have silenced Bishop P Murindagomo's critics who thought and believed that he was a mere puppet of the Europeans. Bishop P. Murindagomo proved to his fellow indigenous brothers that in

as much as the whites had elected him, he could still stand for the emancipation of the black majority.

We can also state here that J Weller failed to deduce and appreciate that Bishop Murindagomo's sentiments were undergirding what was to become the general line of thought by the black clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Harare. In Weller's view, the church continued to function as normal, but how normal was normal? That blacks continued to be oppressed? Though according to Weller:

Some people left the church because of its failure to give unqualified support to those seeking the overthrow of the Smith regime, just as some left it because it did not give unqualified support to the regime itself. The majority, however, remained loyal, and the church continued to function as a multi-racial body (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

2.5 Election of Bishop Peter R. Hatendi as Suffragan Bishop

We can infer from the points raised above that though the appointment of an indigenous Bishop was made, whether in good faith or not, it was not fully embraced by the majority of the indigenous clergy. They continued to view it with suspicion. Bishop P Murindagomo's episcopate was, however, short-lived. He died in 1978 when he succumbed to some internal injuries sustained when he was involved in a road accident on his way from Chiredzi in 1976.

In 1979, Rev P Hatendi was elected in absentia as he was out of the country when the elective assembly of the Diocese of Mashonaland decided to fill the vacancy that had arisen on the episcopal bench after the death of Bishop P Murindagomo. Rev P Hatendi was subsequently consecrated as Suffragan Bishop on the 2nd of February 1979 at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints (Hatendi, 2015). A new chapter was to be ushered in soon after his consecration. Though having served in various capacities both in former Rhodesia and abroad to the extent of serving as a parish priest to a rural group of churches called 'South Ormsby Group of Churches' in England, Bishop Hatendi was to experience racism at its worst (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335). Residential accommodation for the newly consecrated Bishop was to be the bone of contention. Bishop Hatendi refused to take up the accommodation offered at St Augustine's Mission which his predecessor had used. That put the Diocesan administrators into a quandary because they had not anticipated this kind of response from Bishop P Hatendi (Musodza, 2008:230).

Bishop P Burrough temporarily circumvented this crisis by appointing Bishop P Hatendi as temporary rector of St Peter's, situated in one of the leafy suburbs of Harare called Mabelreign. A European priest soon arrived in mid-1979. Bishop Hatendi had to pave the way for him by moving to yet another predominantly white parish called St Elizabeth Hungary in Belvedere in Harare, waiting for its substantive white priest. The white priest arrived in 1980, and again Bishop P. Hatendi had to vacate the rectory and was relegated to the staff quarters, which had only two rooms but was expected to house a family man (Hatendi, 2015).

Clearly, in both instances, Bishop Hatendi was never given the respect that he deserved. White parishioners never wanted a black priest in their rectories, let alone as their rector. According to A. Musodza:

One should remember that during those days, there was a visible separation between European churches and indigenous churches. This racial arrangement was also sustained within the ambit of clerical appointments. European clergy were appointed to European parishes and indigenous clergy were placed in mission stations or high density suburbs such as Mbare and Highfields, as well as Sakubva (Musodza, 2008:231).

Things took an unprecedented turn in the political and religious life of the nation in 1979 when the much-anticipated Lancaster House Constitution was signed, thereby taking the country to independence within four months. The end of the liberation war also brought with it some glad tidings to Bishop P. Hatendi, for he was soon to be elevated to the position of the Diocesan Bishop. That then paved the way for him to occupy the official residence of the Bishop known as the Bishop's Mount situated in Greendale in the then Salisbury, now Harare.

2.6 Creation of two more Dioceses

Meanwhile, in 1981 some changes took place in the geographical boundaries of the two dioceses that had existed in Zimbabwe, the Diocese of Mashonaland and the Diocese of Matabeleland. Two more dioceses were created though the initial idea was to create three dioceses; the Diocese of Manicaland and the Diocese of Lundi (now Diocese of Central Zimbabwe) recommended by the 1979 Joint Commission of representatives of the dioceses of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. During this same period, the Diocese of Mashonaland changed its name to the Diocese of Harare (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:336). That impacted the process of ascension of black indigenous priests to the helm of the church. We shall discuss that

below in light of Bishop P. Hatendi's rise to the office of Bishop to the Diocese of Harare.

2.7 Resignation of Bishop Paul Burrough

During the same period, the Central Africa Provincial Synod enacted an Act fixing the retiring age for Bishops at 65 years. Canon 13.2: "A Diocesan Bishop shall resign on attaining the age of sixty-five, unless he agrees not to do so following a special request by a majority of the Bishops of the Province and by the Archbishop that he remains in office, but such a request may not be for more than five years at a time" (Constitution and Canons, 1969:49). Weller would like to suggest that Bishop Paul Burrough became a victim of this Act and resigned in 1981. Yet, a critical analysis of this Act can reveal that Bishop Burrough had an opportunity to extend his Bishopric by another three years if he had wished to continue, but he opted to step down. Commenting on Bishop Paul Burrough's resignation, Bishop Peter Hatendi is adamant that Burrough resigned because "he could not stand the political transfer from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe" (Hatendi, 2015). Probably for Bishop Burrough, this "had become a serious pastoral problem" (Skelton, 1985:6). Considering his stance on black majority rule as revealed in the sermon he preached in St Paul's Cathedral London, that could be so. Concordant to this notion, Michael Lapsley asserted that "the coming together of all the parties to the Rhodesian conflict at Lancaster House threw Bishop Burrough into despair" (Lapsley, 1986:65). The comment by Michael Lapsley was against the immediate backdrop of Bishop Burrough's "Lancaster House" statement, which reads:

At Lancaster House, Britain has followed a policy of appeasement. The policy of strength would have been to accept the finding of her own advisers and have recognised the Government of Zimbabwe – Rhodesia by fulfilling the promise to remove sanctions when the wishes of the majority had been declared last April But it is appeasement not merely with the leaders of armed marauders, nor even the front – line states and the commonwealth, but with Russia, East Germany and Cuba who dictate the whole Patriotic Front enterprise. Whatever may happen, they will not be appeased, but will continue their malign efforts to break down the fabric of community living in Southern Africa (Lapsley, 1986:65).

This statement was purely racist in that it fails, among other things, to "acknowledge that black people could decide upon, plan and execute a programme for their liberation" (Lapsley, 1986:66). That, on its own, was

an indication of discord between the Bishop and his flock, and for Michael Lapsley, "Bishop Burrough was ensuring that there would be little room for him in an independent Zimbabwe" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:124). This argument then rejects the notion that Bishop Burrough resigned due to the said Canon or changes that the Province had enacted as per John Weller's assertion.

2.8 Election of Bishop Peter R. Hatendi as Bishop of Harare

Following Bishop P Burrough's resignation, due process had to be followed in electing a new Bishop as enshrined in the Canons of CPCA, even though there was a Suffragan Bishop in office. It was not, and it is still not automatic that when a vacancy has arisen on the episcopal bench, the Suffragan would assume the high office. Canon 6.6 clearly states that:

In the event of the resignation of a Diocesan Bishop, the Archbishop or Dean of the Province, after the acceptance of the resignation, by the Bishops of the Province, shall notify the same to the Diocese, and shall issue the notice of summons to the Elective Assembly, as provided in clause 5, to assemble not more than thirty days prior to the day upon which the see will become vacant (Constitution and Canons, 1969:37)

By July 1981, three black Bishops had been elected to take up the church's leadership in an independent Zimbabwe. In May 1981, Bishop Hatendi was elected Bishop of Mashonaland after serving as Suffragan Bishop of the said diocese since the 2nd of February 1979 (Hatendi, 2015). Canon Elijah Masuku was elected Bishop of the newly established Diocese of Manicaland, with Rev Jonathan Siyachitema being elected Bishop of the diocese of Lundi (now Diocese of Central Zimbabwe). Weller gives the impression that the switch from white to black Bishops was swift. He quotes a report by one white person who wrote in his 1981 annual report that "we are indeed blessed that at a point in time when political expediency demands a Black Bishop, we had available in Peter Hatendi a man of the right colour who we could elect entirely on his own merit" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:336). On the contrary, Bishop Hatendi himself noted that, "by virtue of being elected as a black man to the Diocese of Mashonaland, that in itself was indigenisation: whether you like it or not it was the beginning of a transformation which affected both white and black for they began to look at the church differently" (Hatendi, 2015).

2.9 Reaction to a black indigenous bishop

One might want to conjecture and imagine the reaction of the Europeans who had mistreated the Suffragan Bishop by asking him to leave because their European priest had arrived. And those who had humiliated him by relegating him to the servant's quarters because their substantive priest had arrived. The election of Bishop P. Hatendi could have come as a double blow to the Europeans, considering that a black prime minister had been elected on the political field. However, on the surface, everything seemed to be perfect. As John Weller observed, "there was never any doubt that the authority of the new Bishops would be accepted by the white clergy and congregations in their Dioceses" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:336).

Be that as it may, actions taken by some whites who were in authority suggested otherwise. According to Bishop Peter Hatendi, there was "an outright resistance of his leadership from the European parishes as well as European staff working in the Diocesan office" (Hatendi, Bishop, 2015). This resistance was designed and packaged not to raise eyebrows; hence predominantly white parishes insisted on engaging European expatriates as their rectors. They continued to resist the appointment of a black priest from the Bishop even up to the time of his retirement. On this point, Bishop Hatendi admits that he failed to change the status quo. Hence, even after twenty years of political independence, some predominantly white parishes continued to enjoy the services of white rectors. Christchurch Borrowdale had Fr David Bertram, who retired in 2001, All Souls Mount Pleasant had Rev Chris Dobson, St Mary Magdalene Avondale had Rev Nick Crawley, who left in 1999, and St. Luke's, Greendale, had Rev Tim Neil, who also resigned in 2001 (Dzawo, 2017).

Senior Diocesan staff members, including some clergy, resigned in 'protest' against his election, for example, Mr Ian Maspero, the Diocesan Secretary. In 1982, Dean of the Cathedral, the Very Rev J. Da Costa, also resigned, citing the unhealthy relationship between himself and his Bishop. Bishop Hatendi vividly remembers that the Dean wanted to keep him at bay and prevent him from visiting the Cathedral by invitation. He had forgotten that his (Bishop's) throne was in the Cathedral, and the Bishop would not agree to such (Hatendi, 2015). To show the extent of the unhealthy relationships, each time the Bishop visited the Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints, a different set of vestments would be used for Bishop Hatendi not out of respect but because he was black (Makoni, 2015).

The resistance to black leadership was also evident in other Diocesan Institutions or those linked with the diocese. Most of the private schools which had links with the Anglican Diocese amended their constitutions to exclude the Bishop from sitting on the boards of governors, which was a clear act of contempt and disdain of black leadership. The former Bishops used to sit on the boards (Makoni, 2015). The Paget Pax Trust deed was also amended to give the Cathedral Churchwardens more authority as the trustees in the day-to-day management of the building complex, the assumption being that the Cathedral churchwardens would forever remain white. Paget Pax is the building that houses the Diocesan offices and some commercial office space jointly owned by the Diocese of Harare and the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints. This building complex is managed by the Board of Trustees using the amended trust deed referred to above.

2.10 Use of rectories by black priests

Rectories of predominantly white parishes were a no-go area for black Priests. Though Bishop P. Burrough had appointed his Suffragan Bishop to St Peter's Mabelreign and St Elizabeth of Hungary in Belvedere, this was duress. Rose Chimbumu is a former churchwarden of Banket Parish, situated in a once-thriving mainly white farming community 80 kilometres west of Harare. She once commented in some casual talk that her family once hosted Bishop P. Hatendi in their home when he was in Banket for a confirmation service. During that time, Banket Parish had no rector, which meant that the rectory was empty. Bishop P. Hatendi could have used it for his overnight accommodation in preparation for the confirmation service. The resistance, in this case, was crafted in such a way that the Chimbumu family was delighted and felt honoured to host the Diocesan Bishop. They missed the fundamental point: there was no 'room' for a black Bishop even in an empty rectory.

St Andrew's, Mvurwi, situated 80kms north of Harare, also located in a once-thriving and predominantly white farming community, had a bedroom reserved for white visiting priests 23 years after Zimbabwe had attained political independence. Fr. Shearsby Mupfudzapake, who had been appointed rector of the parish, would recall an incident in which he forced entry into the bedroom and went on to sleep on the bed reserved for whites only. That did not go down well with white parishioners, who then confronted Rev Mupfudzapake on the issue.

However, Rev Mupfudzapake remained adamant and resolute in his actions and made it clear to the parish administrator and parish wardens that he had been appointed Rector of the parish and should enjoy all the privileges and perks that come with the office, including the use of the rectory (Mupfudzapake, 2016). On reflection, this proved that whites didn't want black priests or even bishops to use their rectories since they were reserved for white priests. That pointed to the fact that racial discrimination in an independent country like Zimbabwe continued under the nose of parishioners and priests in the Anglican Diocese of Harare.

2.11 The Charismatic Movement in Zimbabwe

In the early 1980s, Zimbabwe started experiencing a wave of a new phenomenon known as the Charismatic Movement. In Africa, the "movement's growth has been particularly dramatic since the era of decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s" (Pew ResearchCenter, 2006). Though the general movement resulted from the need to decolonise African states, the researcher would want to believe that another offshoot came under the same Charismatic Movement as a result of the revolt against black rule in churches. In Harare, churches such as Greystone Park Fellowship, Northside Community Church, Harvester in Banket, and Chinhoyi Christian Centre started to experience an influx of white membership, probably coming from different denominations which had embraced indigenous leadership. Simon Bell would state that these churches would become the bastions of whites who were coming to join these churches on the pretext of the Charismatic approach to worship in which they believed in the priesthood of all believers (Bell, 2016). The irony of this whole process was that the leaders of these churches were whites and not ordained ministers. One would then wonder why this same Charismatic Movement would not affect the black members in the mainline Churches?

2.12 Language Barrier

One of the things which helped accelerate the exodus of white parishioners was language. Unlike the earlier missionaries like Arthur Shearly Cripps, who made an effort to learn and preach in the indigenous languages (Musodza, 2008:107), many of the whites in most churches had never made an effort to learn the local languages. They were so accustomed to the command language as in "do this, do that" (Bell, 2016). The

whites never envisaged a situation whereby a sermon would be preached in an indigenous language to a predominantly white congregation.

2.13 Black migration to predominantly white suburbs

The language barrier did not affect the black majority in high-density suburbs. As the blacks continued to acquire properties in those suburbs considered white only, the black/white ratio also changed. At this juncture, Weller observed that "the white parishes themselves, now that Africans could buy property in the low-density areas, must adapt themselves to a situation in which black Christians would soon constitute a substantial minority, and perhaps even majority, of a local church's membership" (Hallencrutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

One such parish to be affected was St. Peter's Mabelreign. When Rev. James Martin, rector of Christchurch Borrowdale, was appointed Dean of the Diocese of Matabeleland, Rev David Bertram had to be moved to Christchurch Borrowdale because he no longer served his purpose at St Peter Marlbereign, which was now predominantly black. Yet his services were needed at Christchurch, which was still predominantly white. One may wonder if this was not promoting "a fertile ground for a violent racial confrontation?" (Banana, 1996:23).

The sentiment shared by Bishop Skelton during the UDI era could resonate even during this period, "that the colonialist vampire thrived on sucking the blood, sweat, and tears of its hopeless victims. The church representative, the missionary, was a captive of the racist ethos and one feels impelled to submit that the church was itself in dire need of liberation, more so than the subjugated black. Until that, as yet illusive ideal of emancipation was attained the church still had a mammoth task that lay ahead of it" (Banana, 1996:29). Independence also signalled a turning point for ultra-right-wing white supremacists. With the momentous hoisting of the flag of Zimbabwe, so designed in colours that scream of a history of oppression, resistance, and ultimately gaining freedom and independence, the whites had to reconcile themselves to a new reality of the equality of all human beings regardless of colour. Although there were and remain those of our white counterparts who find it difficult to accept the African as an equal partner, credit must be given to those who have embraced change and are joining forces in the process of building a united and prosperous Zimbabwe (Banana, 1996:219).

According to Canaan Banana, “it is no secret that the racist society that obtained before independence in 1980, had left an all-encompassing culture of division and racial consciousness” (Banana, 1996:218). Hence political independence might not have translated into total freedom in all facets of life. Deprose Muchena argued that “after independence, African nationalist leaders did not dismantle the authoritarian colonial state. Rather they strengthened and expanded its scope” (Muchena, 2003:1). As such, several areas in the nation and the Anglican Church remained in the hands of whites, who were still controlling the economy and religious institutions. However, some would claim that the Anglican Diocese of Harare attained independence by electing its first black Bishop, Ralph Peter Hatendi. The question one can ask is, was Hatendi in total control of the diocese, or was he a proxy figure Bishop with all the administration still in the hands of whites?

2.14 Election of Bishop Jonathan Siyachitema

Bishop P. Hatendi retired in 1995 after some protracted boardroom fights that arose due to his failure to secure an extension of his term of office. However, these boardroom fights were quickly resolved, and Bishop Peter accepted his fate that he had to resign and pave the way for the election of a new Bishop. Bishop Jonathan Siyachitema was appointed Bishop of Harare by the Province through a process known as translation. That was after the Diocese of Harare’s elective assembly had failed to come up with a Bishop with a two-thirds majority vote. Canon 6.10 clearly states that:

The Elective Assembly may either (a) elect by a two-thirds majority in a secret ballot a Bishop from those nominated in accordance with the rules or (b) It may also delegate the appointment to the Episcopal Synod or to the Archbishop of Canterbury acting together with the Archbishop of Central Africa (or Dean of the Province) and not more than two clergy nominated by the Elective Assembly (Constitutions and Canons, 1969:38).

On his assumption of the office of Bishop of Harare, the racial undercurrents were still being felt by the black priests, and it appears as if Bishop Siyachitema did not want to rock the boat but rather maintain the status quo. According to Bishop Godfrey Tawonezvi, “Siyachitema was soft in that area and they would not see eye to eye” (Tawonezvi, 2015). Bishop Tawonezvi was commenting on clergy appointments in which whites retained affluent English-speaking parishes. At the same time, blacks were being appointed to Southern, high density/rural parishes, despite having

clergy who were at home with the English language. Fr Simukai Mutamangira weighs in to assert that there was a lot of animosity between black and white clergy, culminating in creating an organization specifically designed to accommodate young black clergy and ran under the banner of the Black Clergy Association Diocese of Harare (Mutamangira, 2016).

This organization, spearheaded by the now Bishop of Masvingo, Rt Rev'd Godfrey Tawonezvi, "assumed a very radical approach to matters and one of their rallying cries was that black clergy were not well received in white parishes and therefore were restricted to black parishes and this did not go down well with them and hence they were agitating for change" (Mutamangira, 2016). Some black priests were not comfortable with the pro-status quo stance taken by Bishop Siyachitema, for they wanted to see black priests being appointed rectors in Northern suburbs. For Bishop Tawonezvi, it was not that he "wanted to be the one to be appointed to these affluent parishes but simply wanted other able priests who could articulate themselves very well in English to be appointed rectors of these parishes" (Tawonezvi, 2015). Rev G. Tawonezvi wrote on several occasions to Bishop Siyachitema to resolve this impasse, but nothing materialised.

During Bishop Siyachitema's term of office, young black priests became agitated and restless. Bishop Tawonezvi confirmed this and argued that "he remembered writing a letter to Bishop Siyachitema as they were getting towards year end, since some vacancies had been created, as some white priests were leaving and this was an opportunity to appoint black priests" (Tawonezvi, 2015). Bishop Tawonezvi was not alone in this. We are told the young black priests then included the now Bishop of Manicaland Rt. Rev. Erick Ruwona and the former Dean of Studies at Bishop Gaul College, Rev George Wauchope.

In the years preceding 2002, the Anglican Diocese of Harare could best be described as sitting on a racial time bomb. On the political front, we notice the formation of a new political party dedicated to challenging the status quo of ZANU-PF. The MDC, led by Mr Morgan Tsvangirai, was formed in 1999. That had a decisive bearing on the future administration of the Anglican Church. Mr Tendai Biti and Advocate Matinenga, who later became Ministers in the Government of National Unity, were from St. Luke's Greendale led by Vicar- General of the Diocese of Harare Rev. T. Neil. The presence of these key members of an opposition party (MDC) at St Luke's Greendale created an unhealthy situation for the parish, that

is, in the eyes of the soon-to-be-elected Bishop of the Diocese of Harare, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga. We shall discuss this later.

2.15 The election of Rev Kunonga as Bishop of Harare



Figure 1: *Bishop Nolbert Kunonga.*
Picture courtesy of The Telegraph

In the year 2000, the See of Harare fell vacant after the retirement of Bishop Jonathan Siyachitema. Rev. Timothy Neil, the Vicar General, took charge of the diocese and oversaw electing a new Bishop. Canon 14.1 states that

... every Diocesan Bishop shall appoint a Vicar General of his diocese, to hold office for such period and on such terms as he designates, who shall act as such whenever the Diocesan Bishop is outside the diocese or is incapacitated, or resigns or dies.

A complication in this situation was that some of the clergy members who constituted the elective assembly were also vying for the vacant office of Bishop. Hence, after several meetings, the elective assembly failed to come up with a single name with a two-thirds majority.

That signalled a complete failure in the system, which had ripple effects in the smooth running of the Diocese of Harare. Amid all this chaos, the name of Rev Nolbert Kunonga was promoted by Fr Godfrey Tawonezwi. The little-known Rev. Nolbert Kunonga became elected Bishop of Harare (Nhema, 2016).

2.16 Points that worked in Bishop Kunonga's favour

Certain factors worked in Kunonga's favour. First, very little of Rev Kunonga's character was known to the majority of Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare, save for a few who had worked with him during his brief stint in the Diocese. That was to his advantage because no member of the elective assembly would argue against his election on the basis of his character. A second point was the failure of the elective assembly to come up with a single name, in part a consequence of the indecisiveness of the members. The third point was how the Harare Elective Assembly team organised themselves. The meeting to elect the new Bishop was to be held in Gweru. In their preliminary meetings, the Harare elective assembly members had agreed to use one mode of transport, and a minibus had been assigned for the purpose. However, Rev. Godfrey Tawonezvi, for reasons best known to him, decided to leave for Gweru, 243kms southwest of Harare, without the others. He arrived in Gweru while the rest of the members were still waiting for him in Harare (Nhema, 2016).

This marked the beginning of suspicious acts that were to be witnessed at the meeting. Rev Tawonezvi is believed to have distributed letters to other provincial representatives of the elective assembly denouncing and portraying Rev Timothy Neil as a racist. Though they had agreed to present three names, the other members were surprised to hear Rev. Godfrey Tawonezvi throwing in Nolbert Kunonga's name (Nhema, 2016). In the run-up to the elections, the main contender had been Tim Neil, who happened to be a white priest from the colonial era. His detractors used the racial discrimination card to de-campaign him.

The fourth point was that Rev. Timothy Neil was fighting the ruling party ZANU-PF over injustices in the country during this same period. In that alone, people saw in Rev Timothy Neil someone who was anti-black government and wanted to perpetuate white minority rule.

2.17 Objections to Bishop Kunonga's election

The nomination of Kunonga was marred by many debates that raged on. Timothy Neil accused those who had nominated Kunonga of being used by the government to de-campaign him. Timothy Neil is said to have advocated for the disqualification of Rev. Godfrey Tawonezvi, whom he accused of having circulated a letter at the December assembly in which he was accusing him (Neil) of racism. Tawonezvi accused Neil of racism, perpetuating racial injustice in the diocese, and desiring to become Bishop to

continue to dominate blacks, accusations that Neil regarded as just a smear campaign orchestrated by Rev Nolbert Kunonga to block his ascendance to the office of Bishop.

2.18 Confirmation Court

A Confirmation Court was convened in Kitwe, Zambia, on Monday the 29th of January 2001 in accordance with Canon 7.2 of the Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa, which require that “after the lapse of twenty-eight days the Archbishop or Dean of the Province shall proceed to summon the Bishops of the several Dioceses of the Province to appear either, personally or by Commissaries at such a convenient place as he may appoint and then and there to hold a Court of Confirmation” (Constitution and Canons, 1969:39).

Contrary to Rev Timothy Neil’s assertion that the court which met in Kitwe was held in secret, the Canon just cited does not stipulate that the Confirmation Court is to be held within the diocese in which the election would have been conducted. Rev Timothy Neil argued that “The Canon states that the court shall be an open court whereas the court which met in Kitwe was held in secret. Even the Provincial Registrar, whose duty it is to guide the deliberations of the court, did not know it was in session. He only found out that it had met two days later. Why the secrecy and what was being hidden?” (Neil, T., n.d).

A closer look at the Canon in question, Canon 7.2, reveals that there is no mention of the registrar being required to be present in the Confirmation Court. The Canon states that: “the Archbishop or Dean of the Province shall proceed to summon the Bishops of the several Dioceses of the Province to appear.....” (Constitution and Canons, 1969:39). The Confirmation Court was chaired by Bishop Sebastian Bakare, the then Bishop of Manicaland acting as commissary of Archbishop Bernard Malango, who could not be present due to other commitments (Nhema, 2016). Its mandate was guided by Canon 7.4 under the heading Grounds of Objection:

Valid objection may be made on the ground either that the see is not canonically vacant, or that the election was informal, or that the person elected is not of canonical age, or of competent learning, or of sound faith, or of good morals, or is otherwise canonically disqualified, or that he is under such liabilities or contracts as not to be a free agent: provided always that no objection to the validity of the election on the grounds of informality can be entertained unless notice of such objection shall have been

lodged with the Registrar of the Province within twenty-one days after the dissolution of the Elective Assembly (Constitution and Canons, 1969:39).

A few impediments were raised, but some were not substantiated and could not meet the above criteria. Hence, they could not be used to nullify the election of Bishop Kunonga. According to Canon Nhema, there was one objection based on good morals from a man in the United States of America who alleged that Bishop Nolbert Kunonga had abused his daughter while he was still in the United States of America. This case had the potential of nullifying Bishop Kunonga's election (Nhema, 2016). The Province of Central Africa was even prepared to pay the objector's travelling and accommodation bill, but alas, the man failed to appear, and the objection was discarded. It is not clear why the objector failed to make it. One can only speculate that either the person was intimidated or failed to meet the requirements of Canon 7.5. It stipulates the qualifications of the objector as such:

No person shall be competent to object unless he be a Communicant of the Church, of honest life and good repute, and present to the Court sufficient certificates to that effect; and further that he subscribes a declaration that he will accept the decision of the Court as final (Constitution and Canons, 1969:40).

Be that as it may, the Confirmation Court unanimously confirmed Bishop Nolbert Kunonga's election, setting aside Rev Timothy Neil's objection and also others that had been levelled against Bishop Nolbert Kunonga.

Rev Timothy Neil can be described as someone who became prominent in an April 2001 march organised by human rights activists that war veterans subsequently attacked while the police looked on. He was also believed to have been instrumental in helping in the launch of a new non-governmental pressure group that was demanding President Robert Mugabe's resignation as a way of curbing and bringing an end to corruption. These and other reasons led the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Harare to pass a vote of no confidence in the Vicar General of the diocese, Rev Timothy Neil. Rev Timothy Neil responded to this by writing a three-page letter titled, *The Difficulties Facing the Diocese of Harare over the Election of Rev'd Dr Kunonga* to clergy members and circulating it to members of the laity. In this document, Rev Neil argued four points that had violated the Canons of the Province, and his summary submission was that:

At minimum a proper Court of Confirmation must be convened so that even if Rev'd Kunonga does finally fill this office, he will know that he has

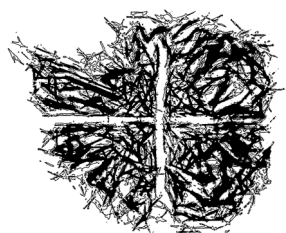
the backing of truth and openness rather than slander, falsehood and deception. It will benefit him, it will benefit us clergy, it will benefit the laity, and it will maintain the honour of the office of Bishop and will secure good government in the church for years to come (Neil, T., n.d).

2.19 Conclusion

In setting the stage for what was to be experienced in the decade under review 2002-2012, one could deduce the volatile situation prevailing in the Diocese of Harare in these undercurrents. Michael Lapsley, writing seven years after independence, raised pertinent questions when he argued that:

Today all the Bishops of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe are black. The state has been decolonised. Can the same thing be said of a church? Neo-colonialism can be a true description of the church as well as a state. In the church, faces have changed, but maybe structures and attitudes to power have not. Does power in the church continue to be exercised from above with minimal influence from below? Do those who pay the piper continue to call the tune in the same way? (Lapsley, 1986).

From this exposition, one can infer that the racial tendencies did not end with attaining political independence. A great deal of work had to be done to bridge the gap between the two races. Bishop Hatendi concurred with this when he acknowledged that some whites were faithful and some were not and would undermine his projects (Hatendi, 2015). The racist debate then made it so difficult for a rational approach to the election of Bishop Nolbert Kunonga. The racist veil overshadowed every discerning voice, and hence nobody was prepared to listen to a white man's objection to the election of a Bishop who was promising to be a Messiah to the Anglican Diocese of Harare.



3 | THE FIRST HALF OF THE DECADE OF TURMOIL: 2002-2007

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to look critically at the first half of the Anglican Diocese of Harare's decade of turmoil, 2002-2012, and show how it then affected the second half of the decade. The first half of the decade under review from 2002 to 2007 was characterised by a great deal of strife, and in-house fighting as Bishop Nolbert Kunonga was settling into his new role as the Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Harare. The chapter seeks to explore the contribution of the unsung heroes of the time, both clergy and laity, whose enlightenment and bravery brought the activities of the Bishop of the Diocese into the limelight. It should be noted that this chapter is mainly informed by interviews, reports and correspondence between various people within and without the diocese.

3.2 “When and Where We Enter”: Bishop Nolbert Kunonga's Charge

The Bishop's Charge outlines his vision for the diocese and how he intends to achieve his set goals. Bishop Kunonga preached a sermon which he titled *When and Where We Enter*. The sermon was a scathing attack on white people while at the same time endorsing the black majority rule of the ruling party ZANU-PF. Anything white was “taken” to be negative, and a stern warning was given to those opposed to the ruling ZANU-PF party. They were unambiguously told that there was no room for them in the Anglican Church. That happened some 20 months after forming a strong opposition party called the MDC in 1999.

In his sermon, Bishop Kunonga argued that:

there is duality in the Harare Church. We are a sick society. We celebrate this duality and reject oneness and fellowship in one faith, one Baptism, one Lord and one Father and One Creator. We exist contrary to the fundamental declaration of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is a disgrace and shame to Christ and the world for the children of God to subsist in twoness. We are not two churches. We are one church with one Bishop (Kunonga, 2001).

Having examined some of the events that took centre stage in the Diocese of Harare, one would wonder whether Bishop Kunonga was sincere in his endeavour to create a united church. The events would show a different story in which, like a pendulum, the Bishop only helped the church swing from one extreme end of racism to the other with different players taking the lead.

That can be deduced from the way he encouraged Africans to desist from demeaning themselves. He went on to preach that:

The church should teach Africans to be proud that we are Africans. Africans must not apologise to be Africans. God created us in His image. Do not hate your origin. Accept your colour. Accept your Africanness that defines your humanity.... The church cannot be proud when its African members debase themselves, demean themselves, denigrate themselves and depreciate themselves. We need to build lives by creating pride in being Africans. Affirm self-confidence in people as an alternative to self-destruction and respect for self to empower people (Kunonga, 2001).

There was nothing wrong in encouraging "Africans" to stand up and be counted, and also, there was nothing wrong in preaching equality of all races before God. But the Bishop went on to argue that:

Mine, as your Bishop, is the idea of protest demanding a fundamental transformation of human relationships. Christians, congregations and priests who divide people along racial lines are sick unto death, and that sickness can be cured by a radical *metanoia*. It is a Christian's singular purpose to reject racism and regionalism as a source of evil, tension and injustice. The sole and primary mission of the church is to seek their destruction (Kunonga, 2001).

As we dissect the sermon, one can pick out some strong warnings being sent to the various groups of people in the diocese. One such warning we see being given to the African priests when Bishop Kunonga declared that:

Priests in the employment of the Diocese will not be accepted if they teach and encourage division among the children of God. We make a sharp attack on the ignorance and treachery of some African priests against one another in the interest of the oppressor and exploiter. Your actions are injurious to this Diocese. We do appeal to these African priests to educate themselves (Kunonga, 2001).

The most problematic part was to come in an indirect attack on white parishioners who would not have their children baptised by Black Priests and the black priests who clamoured to baptise white children. He (Bishop Kunonga) warned that:

As Bishop of Harare, we uphold that it is the duty of all Anglican Christians to utilise their influence and energies against all institutions in Zimbabwe that rudely trample underfoot the claims of justice. We will not receive or tolerate any person, particularly clergy, as an employee who is a racist or tribalist or regionalist in church. How can we be Bishop and a prophet of God when we fear to tell the truth so plain that only a fool would dispute? They are theologically ignorant those who deny baptism of their children by African priests but accept their confirmation by a Black Bishop. African priests cry and hunger to baptise a white baby who they refuse you (*sic*). You have thousands of black bodies to baptise (Kunonga, 2001).

People had every reason to be worried at the utterances of statements like, "God is calling us to possess this Anglican Church, to own it on behalf of Christ." What extent of ownership had the Bishop in mind? One may wonder. The concluding remarks of his sermon were provocative and a direct insult to whites in the diocese. Bishop Kunonga concluded by remarking that "tell Africans to build their heaven on earth by providing food, clothes, shelter and jobs for their own. The 'hat-in-hand' priest approach is out of step with the changing world today. So be cautious on how to talk to a white man" (Kunonga, 2001).

Many people were shocked and could not comprehend the meaning of the message taking cognisance that it came from a man of the cloth and a leader of a Christian denomination. The following questions were raised: Was his ministry going to last? Was the message practical, acceptable and relevant to the context in which the diocese found itself? The research will investigate these questions.

Dr Kunonga's reception by lay members in the Diocese of Harare

A battlefield had been created through the message "When and where we enter". Both parishioners and clergy were now sceptical about the vision of the temporal head of the church in the Harare Diocese. How then was Bishop Nolbert Kunonga received when he first set his ministry in motion? To answer this question, one would need to have served or had an opportunity to meet him in some meetings or services. To the ordinary lay members in the diocese, the person or character of Bishop Nolbert Kunonga was not an issue. They did not know the new Bishop, and also, they trusted the choice of the elective assembly and so welcomed him as their Bishop. They wanted a Bishop, and now they had a Bishop who would propagate the Christian gospel to the best of his ability and guided by the Holy Spirit. With this in mind, they remained loyal members of the church. The ordinary parishioners wanted a sense of belonging to a God-

fearing diocese, giving people equal opportunities regardless of creed or colour. Whether they had understood the sermon was yet to be seen, and time would tell who Kunonga was, hence this research.

Dr Kunonga's reception by white and black clergy

Ordinary clergy in the Anglican Diocese of Harare took sides, whether on racial (black/white) or other reasons; some became sceptical, especially after the consecration charge. Those who were not familiar with church politics were shocked. For some black clergy, Bishop Jonathan Siyachitema had not done justice in resolving the discrimination of black priests by whites. They had thought of him as a revolutionary and a reformer of the church. He was revolutionary in reshaping and liberating the church from the control of the white colonial legacy ingrained in some parishes reserved for white clergy only. He was a reformist in that he was bold, and to them, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga was coming as a saviour in the likeness of a Messiah.

There were still parishes with black Priests as rectors and still invited white priests to officiate at major services or other services disguised as family events such as weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Black clergy members would complain of this kind of behaviour for they felt they were being segregated. Some black clergy would even blame Bishop Siyachitema, Bishop Kunonga's predecessor, for having a soft spot for whites. Hence, it would allow them to recruit expatriates for appointments at the expense of black priests. Some who had been on the Bishop's elective assembly panel, such as Timothy Neil, Joseph Chipudhla, Chad Gandiya and Philmon Mudzowera, took a wait-and-see approach. Some priests were preparing to leave the Diocese of Harare since Bishop Kunonga had made it clear that they were not welcome anymore in the Diocese.

3.3 Rev Timothy Neil resigns from the Diocese of Harare

The first few days and months of Bishop Kunonga in office soon ushered in a new leadership dispensation. An analysis of the events after Bishop Kunonga's consecration would give the impression that Bishop Kunonga had some scores to settle, and this was done at the earliest convenient time for him. The idea of stamping his authority seized him soon after the hype of objections and finally the endorsement of his election; hence

the purging of those perceived to have worked in collaboration with the whites to derail his election had started.

Naturally, a wounded lion is dangerous; the newly elected Bishop wanted the diocese and those outside to feel his presence and authority and adopt his political stance and party. His fury was mainly directed to whites, both clergy and laity, and those blacks, as mentioned above, perceived to be sympathetic to whites. This was now in total contrast to John Weller's view of the role of the church being "able to relate to the regime which had now achieved power, and at the same time carry the 'white' parishes with it" (Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988:335).

Whites were now out in the cold, and for Rev Timothy Neil, swords had been drawn already during the election and post-election phase. The atmosphere was no longer conducive to an amicable working relationship between the Bishop and his Vicar General. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Standing Committee had passed a vote of no confidence in him. Rev Timothy Neil then resigned from the diocese to pursue other interests. However, this resignation was viewed by many as having been instigated by Bishop Kunonga's exerting of undue pressure on Rev Timothy Neil.

3.4 The diocesan Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints under siege

For a diocese to exist and be so named a diocese under the leadership of a Bishop, it has to have a Cathedral, which is from the Latin name for the Bishop's chair or throne, whose "original position was in the centre of the apse behind the high altar" (Cross, 1958:248). The church in which it is situated assumes the name Cathedral church and is regarded as the "Mother" of all churches. Accordingly, the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints became the "mother" church of the Diocese of Harare. History records that on the 23rd of April 1913, the foundation stone was laid. This Cathedral took fifty-one (51) years to finally be officially opened with a thanksgiving celebration on the 20th of December 1964.

Standing in today's Harare, formerly Salisbury, at the corner of Nelson Mandela Avenue/Sam Nujoma Street is a historic and magnificent Cathedral. The irony in the location of this historical Cathedral is its proximity to the Parliament of Zimbabwe, built with almost the same type of stone, overlooking the Africa Unity Square and the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe. That shows the centrality of the Anglican Church in British colonial history. Perhaps, it was not surprising that Dr Kunonga, on becoming the

Bishop of Harare, thought mistakenly that his position was also political (Gunda, 2010).

This brief history of the Cathedral highlights that no one has sole control and ownership of the church. Bishops come and go, Deans, Churchwardens and councillors are appointed/elected, serve their terms, and leave. This is surely in line with the words inscribed at the Cathedral entrance: 'To the Glory of God (A.M.D.G)' with the church being dedicated "to the Glory and Worship of God Almighty and in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and All the Saints of God, hence the name St Mary and All Saints" (Council, 2006:2).

This building became the centre of attraction for Bishop Kunonga as he tried to stamp his authority in the Diocese of Harare. Since he wanted to feel welcome in the diocese, it had to start with the Cathedral Parish. Subsequent events point to the contrary, namely the fighting between Bishop Kunonga and parishioners from the Cathedral.

3.5 Seeing ahead of time:

Rev'd Simukai Mutamangira resigns as Dean

It is important to understand that some events or incidents of history happen either coincidentally or are planned. The enthronement of Bishop Kunonga in 2001 meant that he was to work with both senior and junior clergy of the diocese. Rev Simukai Mutamangira was ordained in 1990 and served the diocese in various parishes and various offices. On account of his meritorious work and passion, he was appointed Dean of the Cathedral, in 1996 replacing Rev Joseph Chipudhla.

Without waiting to experience the episcopate of Kunonga, Rev Mutamangira decided in 2000 to resign. His resignation sent waves to others, especially the Cathedral congregants who questioned the Dean's timing to completely leave the office and the church. However, Rev Mutamangira would argue that, although he sensed that he was not going to be a favourite Dean of the Bishop, he resigned in the name of personal discernment (Mutamangira, 2016). It can still be argued that he could have waited and allowed Bishop Kunonga to settle into his new office before his resignation. Some would still say that Rev Mutamangira knew he would not remain a Dean; fearing the humiliation to come, he resigned ahead of time. Others would support the argument from good spiritual discernment.

Since Bishop Kunonga hired and fired clergy at an unprecedented historical rate in the diocese, perhaps Rev Mutamangira foresaw his prospects.

Rev Simukai Mutamangira remarked that in 1996, as Bishop Peter Hatendi was about to retire from the Diocese of Harare, Rev Kunonga phoned the parish from the United States of America hoping to speak to the late Canon Weston Chatukuta. That was evidenced in the salutations that he made: '*makadini mhofu*' literally translated as 'how are you, Eland', which was Canon Chatukuta's totem (Mutamangira, Rev, 2016). However, when he realised that he was not speaking to Canon Chatukuta, Rev Kunonga tried to persuade Fr Simukai Mutamangira to canvas and campaign for him. Still, he refused. He argued that "if it was within God's economy then there was nothing that was going to stop him from becoming one, if he was pre-destined to the Bishopric" (Mutamangira, Rev, 2016). Surely, this did not go down well with Rev Kunonga, and Fr Simukai Mutamangira knew that he had drawn his ire and knew that he was probably going to be Bishop Nolbert Kunonga's first victim. Therefore he decided to "forestall that eventuality by resigning" (Mutamangira, Rev, 2016).

The (Rev Mutamangira/Rev Kunonga) encounter points to the notion that Bishop Kunonga had tried and failed before to secure the office of Bishop through uncanonical means. That reinforces Rev Timothy Neil's argument raised in the previous chapter that Bishop Kunonga came into the office by questionable/unlawful means. The resignation of the Dean, Simukai Mutamangira, should have sent waves and warning bells to the clergy and laity in the diocese, but nobody seemed to have noticed.

3.6 Once an assistant priest, now the Dean: Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi

Without taking time to settle into the diocese and studying the capacity of the clergy, Bishop Kunonga in 2001 appointed Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi as the new Dean of the Cathedral. That does not mean Rev G. Tawonezvi was not qualified to be Dean; he still served the church. He has held office in the structures of the church, including a position in the elective assembly that elected Bishop Kunonga. However, Canon Daniel Nhema asserts that Rev Tawonezvi nominated and argued for Kunonga's election as Bishop and Bishop Kunonga could have felt indebted to him, hence the reward of the appointment as the Dean of the Cathedral (Nhema, 2016).

The appointment of Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi as Dean of the Cathedral did not come as a surprise to many people in the Diocese of Harare, both clergy and laity, who were privy to the elective assembly proceedings. During his early years of ministry, it is argued that Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi led a group known as 'The young black clergy or The young Turks'. The group was lobbying for the reformation of the church structures. One of the most talked-about was the removal of colonial plaques in the Cathedral. Apart from a sense of indebtedness to Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi, Bishop Kunonga seemed to have desired someone of like thinking. In Rev Tawonezvi, he found a young and revolutionary priest to elevate as Dean (Makoni, 2015). Mr Newton Nyamupingadza also shared the same sentiments as Mrs Pauline Makoni (Nyamupingidza, 2016).

Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi was subsequently installed on the 8th of September 2001 (Cathedral Council Minutes, 2001). This move, however, was not easily embraced by the Cathedral congregation, which had worked with Rev Godfrey Tawonezvi as an assistant priest before he was appointed Rector of St Paul's Highfield. According to Mr Newton Nyamupingidza, the fight between the Cathedral Council, especially the churchwardens, with the Bishop of Harare resulted from the Bishop trying to impose his priest, Rev Tawonezvi, as the Dean of the Cathedral (Nyamupingidza, 2016).

However, the Cathedral Council minutes do not portray the fight which remained as a boiling pot within the Parish and Diocese of Harare. Instead, they reflect a stance in which the churchwardens encouraged other council members to support and help the Dean in many ways. According to the minutes, "the Dean was introduced to the council and the Chairman emphasised and promised to work with the Dean in harmony" (Cathedral Council Minutes, 2001). Perhaps the Chairman just wanted to present a glorious picture to the new Dean even though tension was already in the parish.

3.7 Debate on the memorial plaques in the cathedral

Some events that took place in the Diocese were to expose Bishop Kunonga's attitude towards whites. One such incident happened with the memorial plaques found in the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints.

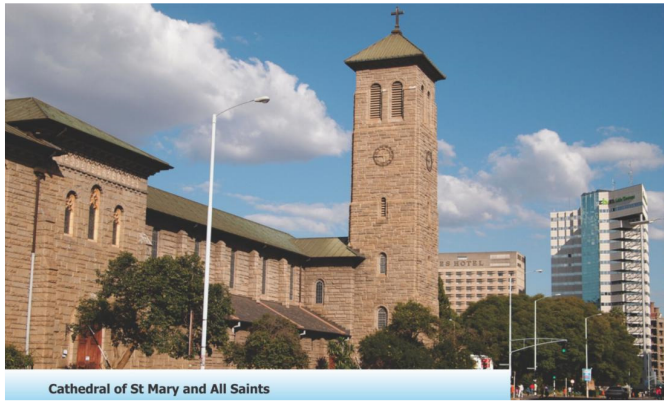


Figure 2: *Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints*

The Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints is a monumental structure whose completion was marked by a great thanksgiving service on the 20th of December 1964. It had many colonial-historical plaques and artefacts. These plaques and artefacts commemorated the Pioneer Column up to World War II. Even the names of dogs and horses used to sniff out blacks during the wars were commemorated through plaques erected in the Cathedral, and white soldiers killed in the Chimurenga wars were also remembered. The Union Jack and the Pioneer flags were still flying in the St. George's Chapel of the Cathedral twenty years after independence.



Figure 3: *Empty Union Jack Flag Box.*
Picture courtesy of Cathedral Secretariat

In the St George's Chapel, this empty frame used to house the Union Jack flag believed to be the first hoisted at Kopje when the Pioneer Column arrived in now Harare in 1890. The flag disappeared in 2001, and nobody has ever claimed responsibility for its disappearance.

Before the attainment of political Independence by Zimbabwe, these plaques and memorabilia were never an issue; if anything, members of the Pioneer Society would support the activities and upkeep of the Cathedral cloisters by donating in cash or kind. According to Mr David Gray, who was the Chairperson of the Pioneer Society when the plaques were removed, "for one to be a member of the Pioneer Society one has to be a direct descendent of a person who came into this country (Zimbabwe) before the 31st of December 1896" (Gray, 2016).

Members of this Pioneer Society would commemorate the arrival of the Pioneer Society in 1890 with a service in the St George's Chapel (Nhamo, 2016). Also commemorated were the service of the British South African Company and the insignia of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment. Their plaques have survived the removal and still stand today in the Cathedral cloisters (shown in pictures below).



Figure 4: *British South African Company Plaque.*
Picture courtesy of Cathedral Secretariat

Whose inscription reads:

In grateful memory of those who administered the government of the Rhodesian territories under the British South African Company Southern Rhodesia 1890-1923 Major P.W. Forbes, Robert Codrington, Sir Laurence Wallace, Sir Drummond Chaplin.



Figure 5: *The Royal Rhodesia Regiment Court of Arms.*
Picture Courtesy of Cathedral Secretariat

Memorial plaques during Bishop Hatendi's time

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the election of the first indigenous black Bishop to the Bishopric of the diocese brought with it that sense of 'belonging' to the church for the black majority. Hence they began to view all these colonial-era memorabilia from a different perspective altogether. Black indigenous congregants began to question the existence and meaning of the plaques. They began to comprehend how offensive these plaques and artefacts were to the independent Zimbabwean Anglican church.

In response to these voices of reason, during Bishop Peter Hatendi's and his Dean, the Very Rev Joseph Chipudhla's time, a compromise was reached by the council to erect a plaque that would commemorate the indigenous black freedom fighters who lost their lives in the liberation struggle. I would want to believe and treat this bold stance the council took as a stop-gap measure to pacify the black parishioners' ever-growing discomfort. Whether this was able to withstand the pressure, the research will demonstrate. The plaque was written in the three major languages spoken in Zimbabwe: Shona, English, and Ndebele, as stated below:



Figure 6: *Plaque to Commemorate Black Freedom Fighters.*
Picture courtesy of Cathedral Secretariat

KUNE VESE VAKAFA MUHONDO
TO ALL WHO DIED IN THE WAR
KUBO BONKE ABAFELA EMPINI

This plaque was placed by the Baptismal font in the main entrance along Nelson Mandela Street in 1982, two years after Zimbabwe had attained its political independence. Indigenous Cathedral councillors who felt denigrated by the system that only recognised whites' effort dogs and horses argued for the need to balance the commemorations in the Cathedral (Mutamangira, Rev, 2016). However, minutes of the meeting of the Cloister Guardians held on the 19th of November 1981 in the Dean's office chaired by the then Dean, the Very Rev John da Costa, points to the fact that the request to erect such a memorial plaque formally came from Bishop Hatendi. The minutes read as follows:

Following the request by the Bishop of Mashonaland, the Guardians recommend that a memorial be placed on the floor of the Cathedral, in front of the font, with the words: (TO ALL WHO DIED IN THE WAR) in Shona, Ndebele and in English – this is to be brought before the Cathedral Church Council and the Chapter for their approval. If such memorial be approved, the Guardians have offered to bear the cost of it from their funds. (The Cloister Guardians Meeting, 1981)

One, therefore, may argue that it was necessary for the plaque to be erected, not seeking a balance as such but for telling history. However, this point can be disputed in that minutes can give a coat of gloss and fail

to depict the true nature of the circumstances leading to the erection of the plaque, which I strongly believe was to reach a compromise.

Young black clergy agitating for the removal of the plaques

The erection of the indigenous plaque by Bishop Hatendi could have only calmed the ever-volatile situation in the Anglican Diocese of Harare but did not produce a permanent solution to the problem. On the 18th of October 1999, under the Banner of the Young Black Clergy Association of the Diocese of Harare, Rev Godfrey Tawonezwi and twelve other priests; E. Ruwona, G. Wachope, J. Muzambi, C. Machoko, W. Mawindo, H. Chifunye, K. Samanga, D. Kunyongana, J. Nyarumwe, P. Nyatsanza, T. Mhuriro, A. Moeketsi and J. Mukunga, wrote to the Dean Rev Simukai Mutamangira advocating and even threatening the removal of the Union Jack and other plaques and inscriptions considered as insulting in the Cathedral church and cloister gardens.

This letter was also carbon copied to Bishop Jonathan Siyachitema and members of the Cathedral Council, and part of it reads:

We are extremely concerned and write that within 14 days of the date of this letter, they be removed and be disposed of by getting them to the museum or the national archives, or they can be given to whoever values them, failing which we will be proceeding to take further action without giving further notice (Tawonezwi, et al., 1999).

A list of the plaques and other items to be removed was attached to a note sent by the Dean to the members of the Cathedral Chapter on the 23 of November 1999, and this was just for their information since the matter was now being handled at the highest level above that of Cathedral Chapter by Bishop Jonathan Siyachitema.

With Dean Godfrey Tawonezwi now in charge of the Cathedral, it was now easy for him to execute what he had always longed and advocated for: the removal of these memorial plaques with the full backing of the Diocesan Bishop, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga. On the 13th of December 2001, the plaques were finally removed from the Cathedral precinct without the knowledge or approval of the Cathedral Council (Nyamupingidza, 2016). This lack of consultation was seen as demeaning the office and role of the Cathedral Council and Cathedral Chapter. It subsequently led to some confrontation between Dean Tawonezwi and The Cathedral Council.

According to Pauline Makoni (Makoni, 2015), the Council had met on Tuesday (11th of December 2001) and resolved not to remove them since

ty were consecrated and part of the Cathedral's history. However, she and other councillors were surprised to see the plaques removed. The Dean and the Bishop refused to shed more light on what had happened. Pauline stated that this was a clear indication that the Dean and the Bishop were not willing to adhere to the Acts of the Diocese. This event marked the beginning of their problems with Bishop Kunonga.

Pauline Makoni (Makoni, 2015) asserted that:

The nature of the relationship between congregation and Priest was now severely challenged. Priests are there to serve, and all of a sudden, we were being told to be subservient, which then goes against our nature of Anglicanism, and at one point, we needed to remind each other of what we were doing in church since prayer had become secondary.

Though the plaques and artefacts were removed during Bishop Nolbert Kunonga's term of office as Bishop of the Diocese of Harare, the strife had been a thorn in the flesh of those who had been in positions of power in the Diocese of Harare. The fact that a letter had been written in 1999 does not vindicate Bishop Kunonga from being liable to respond. Upon assumption of office, the Bishop swore a canonical oath to protect and preserve the laws of the church. It was within his right to assist and guide the Dean and his counterparts in the legal processes of dealing with the memorial plaques and artefacts.

However, because the Bishop himself was also agitating for the destruction of any relics that had any European connotations as deduced from his Bishop's charge mentioned earlier, he never saw the need to preserve the monumental history of not only the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe but also that of Zimbabwe as a nation. Mr Bob Stumbles, who was the Diocesan Chancellor in his request for proof of the existence of approved faculties from Bishop Kunonga, asked:

As you know, for some considerable time, complaints have been forthcoming, not only to you but to others, including the Dean of the Cathedral and the writer in his capacity as Chancellor of the Diocese in regard to the removal of memorabilia from the Cathedral. I promised to ascertain what the position was as I had not had sight of any resolutions required by the Acts and had not had to sign any faculties in regard to the removal of memorabilia from the Cathedral..... During one of our meetings, you indicated to me and subsequently repeated the same at the meeting on the 17th September with Churchwardens present that, contrary to allegations being made, the previous Bishop, Rt Rev Jonathan Siyachitema, had instigated the matter of the memorabilia (Stumbles, Mr, 2003:6).

Asked to produce evidence to support this assertion, Bishop Kunonga became elusive and never submitted the purported resolutions, which led to an assumed conclusion that these resolutions never existed.

Africa Unity Square as a model of procedures

Africa Unity Square is situated in front of the Parliament of Zimbabwe, the Cathedral of St Mary, and All Saints. It is bordered by other institutions, including the prestigious Meikle's Hotel. The Africa Unity Square's design and layout resemble that of the British flag, the Union Jack. Bishop Kunonga and Dean Tawonezvi could have taken a lesson from the ruling ZANU-PF and the government itself. Even after thirty-six years in power, they have not done anything towards re-designing Africa Unity Square, even though the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe periodically opens the Parliamentary Sessions facing the same colonial replica of the Union Jack in the form of the Africa Unity Square.

All the government did was change its name soon after independence from Cecil Square to Africa Unity Square. Though there have been talks of erasing or re-designing the square from the government's side, according to an article in *The Herald* of 3 June 2012, there is no notable progress. "The Africa Unity Square will soon be re-designed to change its format from being a symbol and remnant of British colonialism to reflecting the aspirations of Zimbabweans. A new structure depicting the role played by the heroes of the country's liberation war to replace the outlook of the park has already been designed" (*The Herald*, 2012). One may also ask some pertinent questions: Is the removal of anything to do with colonial rule a sign of patriotism? Or is the failure to do so also a sign of 'colonial phobia'?

According to *The Herald* of 3 June 2012, "when the ZANU-PF spokesperson Cde Rugare Gumbo was asked as to why it had taken 30 years to demolish one of the last symbols of British colonialism he said everything is a process" (*The Herald*, 2012). If only the new Dean at the Anglican Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints had taken due processes such as being taken by ZANU-PF, and as had been advised by the former Dean, the Very Rev Simukai Mutamangira, the situation could not have escalated to reach the levels attained after the removal of the memorial plaques.

Removing any plaques from a Cathedral is possible if due consultation and consideration for removal are undertaken. Plaques are not unique in the Anglican Diocese of Harare but other cathedrals around the Anglican Communion. Hence even their removal cannot steer discord among Christians. The research is aware of other instances where plaques were

and then removed honourably. The following Virginia case study helps understand the processes undertaken by others who found themselves in similar situations. Virginia church in the United States of America, known as the 'Cathedral of the Confederacy', removed plaques with versions of the Confederate flag on them while preserving stained glass windows with some personalities of Robert E Lee and Jefferson Davis as biblical figures. Five points are worth noting:

- St Paul's Episcopal Church in Richmond is covered in Civil War History
- The congregation discussed 23 items that display the confederate symbol
- Have voted to remove six plaques and retire the church's coat of arms
- Leaders also want to build a slaves memorial in Virginia city
- But two murals to Lee, the Confederate general and Davis, the first and only president of the Confederacy, won't be touched (Robinson, 2015).

A close examination of the processes engaged, as mentioned above, shows that the church leaders and parishioners sat down to discuss the issue and came up with a list of the offensive plaques. That was never the case by those who removed or caused the removal of those in the Anglican Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints. If ever they did the consultations, they were never recorded anywhere.

The Cloister Guardians operations are affected

The Cloister Guardians of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints was made up of honourable members of the church whose sole mandate was for the proper supervision and care of the cloisters. The Bishop of the Diocese and the Dean of the Cathedral were members of the committee by virtue of their positions in the church. Under the supervision portfolio, they would sit to consider applications and requests made by family members of a deceased for the interment of their ashes in the cloisters. The committee, in their meeting held on the 6th of April 1954, noted with concern that:

As the decision as to whether or not any particular burial would be permitted in the cloisters would rest largely on the Guardians, it was agreed that a set of rules be drawn up, such rules should be carefully framed in a manner that would provide the means of arriving at a clear-cut decision when

considering all applications for future burials in the cloisters (The Cloister Guardians Minutes, 1954).

How has this removal of plaques and memorabilia affected the smooth running of the Cathedral? One observation would come in the light of interment of ashes in the Cloister gardens; these used to be done according to the field or profession one belonged to under the close supervision of the Cloister Guardians. The Cloister garden was segmented into bays that were clearly marked according to various professions. The inventory conducted by the Cloister Guardians on the 30th of August 1954 helped in this process of segmenting the cloisters. A few examples of the bays found in the cloisters are Farmers' Bay, Nurses' Bay, Red Cross Bay, Doctors' Bay, Royal Rhodesia Regiment Bay, Navy League Bay, Hall of Remembrance, Pioneers' Bay, B.S.A. Police Bay just but to mention a few (The Cloister Guardians Inventory, 1954). In the absence of these clear boundaries, chaos is bound to rule supreme when it comes to burials in the cloisters.

3.8 Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints' 2002 vestry is deferred

The unfolding events at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, with Dean Godfrey Tawonezvi at the helm as he started instituting some changes that the Cathedral congregation never embraced, began to drive a wedge between the Dean and the Council. The 22nd January 2002 Cathedral council meeting minutes began to reflect and expose the non-cooperation by some Council members in executing their duties. It is recorded in the Cathedral Council minutes of the report by the Dean that "he had asked the Finance Chairperson Mrs Sekai Chibaya to get the accounts audited before the Vestry Meeting. Mrs S Chibaya agreed but did not get the accounts audited and did not inform the Dean that the accounts were not being audited" (Cathedral Council Minutes, 2002). What this means is that there was now a ploy to derail the processes of holding an annual vestry as required by the provisions of the Acts of the Diocese (Act 13, 6), which state that "The annual vestry meeting shall: receive, and if thought fit adopt, the audited or certified accounts and balance sheet for the previous financial year ending 31st December" (Acts, 1975:38).

A closer analysis of this statement reveals what could have been the motive behind the reluctance to expedite the auditing of the accounts, which was to delay the holding of the 2002 vestry meeting. Canon Sekai Chibaya reinforced this point when she remarked that because of mistrust that

prevailed between the Cathedral Council and the Dean, coupled with the absence of a good working relationship even in council on any other areas, people were worried that once they disclosed the nature of their funds and how much they had in their bank, then these were bound to be misused (Chibaya, 2016). This strife was evident in the same meeting as Dean Tawonezwi explained how he had tried to set a date for a vestry meeting with the churchwardens.

The churchwardens had to seek an audience with the Bishop over the vestry as they requested permission to defer the 2002 vestry meeting. Asked to explain why they made such a request, Canon Sekai Chibaya's response was:

The problem was that we were not sure whether the choices or nominations that we would make would be acceptable to the Bishop and the then Rector-in charge in the parish, so there was uncertainty among many people that even if we go through vestry will the result of the vestry be accepted by the Church officials as well as by the Bishop? (Chibaya, 2016).

Mr Newton Nyamupingidza believed that Dean Godfrey Tawonezwi wanted to impose Mr Phillip Mutasa, who was not even on the parish roll as one of the Churchwardens (Nyamupingidza, 2016). Though Canon Chibaya wanted to support this assertion, she noted that Dean Tawonezwi never made that pronouncement. This accusation only came after the Dean had brought Mr Phillip Mutasa into the Cathedral at one point, and people were unsure why he had been asked to attend. The congregation understood the relationship between Phillip Mutasa and the Dean. So they viewed the two with a great deal of suspicion, for they suspected that the Dean wanted to bring his people to work with him at the Cathedral (Chibaya, 2016).

Phillip Mutasa was a member of St Paul's Highfields parish from where Dean Tawonezwi came upon being appointed Dean of The Cathedral. During Dean Tawonezwi's ministry at St Paul's Highfields, the two had developed a strong friendship which culminated in Dean Tawonezwi later on introducing Phillip Mutasa to Bishop Kunonga and eventually securing his appointment as a member of the Anglican Diocese of Harare Board of Trustees and eventually becoming the Vice-Chairperson of the Board of Trustees.

If it had been allowed to pass, this move would have violated Act 13.1 (a) which requires that a parish roll be kept in every ecclesiastical division by the incumbent and Churchwardens. It, therefore, follows that whoever is to be nominated to either office of churchwarden or Councillor ought to

be a member whose name shall appear on the parish roll. The Cathedral Council could not approve of this, and hence they devised various ways of trying to defer the 2002 vestry indefinitely. The request by the Churchwardens to defer the 2002 vestry was never granted, and, according to Canon Sekai Chibaya, no reasons were proffered by the Bishop (Chibaya, 2016).

3.9 Dean to a Bishop:

Rev G Tawonezwi is elected Bishop of Masvingo

Having failed to contain the situation at the Cathedral as shown by the failure to hold a vestry, Rev Tawonezwi, with the backing or influence of Bishop Kunonga, was nominated for the position of the Bishop of Masvingo. That clearly supports the view that the election of Bishops in Zimbabwe then was unduly influenced by other Bishops or clergy. It is on record that Bishop Kunonga was also elected because of Rev Tawonezwi and Dr Bishop Bakare's influence. For Bishop Bakare, Kunonga was "educated", a Doctor of Philosophy. In the case of Rev Tawonezwi's election, it can be assumed that he was the favourite revolutionary in supporting Kunonga. The point is that Bishop Kunonga, by influencing the election of Rev Tawonezwi as Bishop of Masvingo just as he had done in the Diocese of Manicaland, which saw Elison Jakazi being elected Bishop of Manicaland, was scheming to expand an empire in which he would then become the Archbishop who is all-powerful. This point will be explored further in due course.

But some Cathedral congregants did not take the election as genuine. They questioned: why would a long-serving clergyperson in the Masvingo area, Rev David Manyau, be transferred to the Cathedral? Why was Rev Tawonezwi, with his struggles at the Cathedral, be made Bishop of a newly formed diocese?

When the nomination court was called, Sekai Chibaya and Nesta Hatendi drove to Masvingo to defend their objection, which they had lodged with the Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa, Archbishop Bernard Malango. Sekai Chibaya (Chibaya, 2016) conceded that all their efforts came to nothing since they were never accorded the chance to say anything at the nomination court. Hence, Rev Godfrey Tawonezwi was duly elected Bishop of Masvingo after it was felt that the diocese was long overdue in being instituted as per the 1981 resolution mentioned in the previous chapter, which saw the birth of The Diocese of Manicaland and The Diocese of Central Zimbabwe formerly known as Diocese of Lundi.

Members of the Cathedral were very agitated by this development since they never thought the Province would come to nominate and elect Dean Tawonezvi to be the Bishop of the newly formed diocese. This, however, was an indication that the Cathedral members would stop at nothing in fighting for justice and transparency within the Anglican Church.

However, we need to ask, was Rev Tawonezvi not good enough or qualified to be a Bishop? Here it has to be noted that according to the requirements of the Constitution and Canons of CPCA, Rev Tawonezvi did qualify to be a Bishop of any Diocese in the Province for Canon 6.1 simply states that "the Bishop of any Diocese in this Province may be elected or chosen from among the male communicants of any Diocese in the Province or of any other Diocese in communion with this Province" (Canons, Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa, 1969). Therefore, any objections raised had to be on moral grounds, which were never raised in this case.

3.10 Cathedral council is suspended in unclear circumstances

Diocesan matters did not change for the better. People at the Cathedral were displeased by whatever and whoever had to do with Bishop Kunonga. So the arrival of Rev David Manyau did not pacify the irritated congregation. They saw the elevation of Dean Tawonezvi and the coming of Rev Manyau as political and unwarranted interference. One would have thought things would revert to normalcy with a new person at the helm, but the situation did not improve. As events would show, on Sunday the 23rd of June, 2002, as Fr David Manyau, who had been appointed to oversee the affairs of Cathedral in the absence of a substantive Dean, conducted the service, the congregation led by the church choir and the church councillors disrupted the service by singing continuously and uncontrollably resulting in the service being cancelled.

When Bishop Kunonga received information on this new development, he also visited the Cathedral on a Sunday. As he was conducting the service, the Cathedral Choir boycotted the singing and even refused to say the responses expected from them. The rest of the parishioners, together with the Churchwardens and councillors, joined the boycott. According to Sekai Chibaya, Bishop Kunonga's wife, Agatha Kunonga, had to sing and say the responses, assisted by just a handful of altar parties in a Cathedral with a sitting capacity of over five hundred people (Chibaya, 2016).

This irked Bishop Kunonga, who subsequently suspended from office the Churchwardens Mr Ambrose Chikukwa and Mr Newton Nyamupingidza and the entire church council comprising of Merjory Chombe, Sekai Chibaya, Llewellyn Nhamo, Albert Nhamoyebonde, Winnie Murape, Graham Gilmor, Chenai Chitakunye and Pauline Makoni Stanley Tsingo, George Mapuwire, Walter Gwete and Solomon Rondozi. Five senior choir members were also suspended, namely Thompson Mapuranga, Emmanuel Makanza, Florence Gambiza, Bernard Kafesu and Canford Danga (Chibaya, 2016).

According to Canon Sekai Chibaya, this step was an expected response from Bishop Kunonga, whom she said would never directly talk to you but act. Their bone of contention was that he should have called them for discipline if they were to be disciplined and speak to them before deciding to suspend them (Chibaya, 2016). Among the other charges levelled against the Churchwardens and Council was sabotaging and frustrating the Dean in his mission to lead the Cathedral.

3.11 Cathedral of St Mary's 2002 annual vestry is held in August

On the 18th of August 2002, a vestry meeting was held in the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, with Mr Bob Stumbles presiding over the elections at the orders of Bishop Kunonga. In attendance were one hundred and eleven Cathedral parishioners, including the Diocesan Registrar, Mr Mutizwa. The vestry re-elected Mr Ambrose Chikukwa and Mr Newton Nyamupingidza, the same former Churchwardens previously suspended in January of the same year. According to Canon Sekai Chibaya, “people wanted to make sure that our own people would continue to lead the Cathedral and it was to send that very message to him that we stand by the people that you don’t want” (Chibaya, 2016). That meant that the members of the Cathedral Parish would not bow to the whims and pressure from Bishop Kunonga. The vestry election, which was conducted above board, of the same people he didn’t want, was a clear pronouncement of their stance, and obviously, the Bishop was obliged to accept the ruling of the people though it was not what he wanted.

3.12 Bishop Kunonga's appeal to the secular courts on an ecclesiastical matter

Some, like the biblical Paul, would disagree with the model of involving civil courts by Christians. But with a Bishop of Kunonga's character, it was a quick remedy, for he treated the church as an enterprise rather than as part of the body of Christ. The newly elected Churchwardens Ambrose Chikukwa and Newton Nyamupingidza, in the presence of the Diocesan Chancellor Mr Bob Stumbles, had a cordial meeting with the Bishop. However, in the ensuing days, Bishop Kunonga took the Churchwardens and the Cathedral Council to court. He applied for an injunction barring the said members from attending church services at the Cathedral. Bishop Kunonga lost this court matter whose judgement was passed in absentia, for he did not attend the court hearing because he could not argue his own case (Chibaya, 2016). The Cathedral members were represented at the Harare Magistrates courts pro bono by Beatrice Mtetwa, which meant that people outside the Cathedral were beginning to become more aware of what was happening in the church.

This action by Bishop Kunonga was a clear violation of the Canons of the Province of Central Africa and the Diocesan Acts, which have stipulated procedures to be followed in resolving cases as mentioned above. It is clear that the Bishop did not consult with his legal advisers but simply reacted out of emotion, which is why there was no legal representation for him at the Harare Magistrate's Courts.

3.13 Why try to subdue the Cathedral council?

A critical analysis of the duties of a Churchwarden as enshrined in the Acts of the Diocese would not reveal much of the conflict that arose between Bishop Kunonga and the Cathedral Churchwardens. The Acts seem to provide a clear distinction of roles and duties of the Churchwardens, and these applied to all Churchwardens in the Diocese of Harare. Act 14.10 (a) states that "the Churchwardens are the officers of the Bishop from whom they derive their authority. They are also the representatives of the laity in the ecclesiastical division" (Acts, 1975:43).

It is clear from this that the holders of this office of Churchwarden have a dual role in the church's life. The first role is that of being an officer of the Bishop. As officers of the Bishop, they are obliged to give the Bishop

due respect and “to ensure compliance with all regulations and instructions issued by the Bishop or standing committee to the ecclesiastical division” (Act, 1975:44).

The second role of the Churchwardens is being representatives of the laity who elect them at an annual vestry meeting. The mere fact that Churchwardens are not appointed by the Bishop but elected by laity means that they also derive their authority from the laity. With the duties and roles of the Churchwardens clearly set out in the Acts, the question remains as to why try to subdue the Churchwardens at the Cathedral? Dr Llewelyn Nhamo argues that Bishop Kunonga’s eyes were set on Paget Pax funds. He knew that without the support of the Cathedral Churchwardens, his chances of ever having access to the Paget Pax investments were very slim (Nhamo, 2016).

The two Cathedral Churchwardens have veto powers on matters with the Paget Pax in a Trust board of ten members. Clause 13 (b) of the Paget Pax Notarial Deed of Trust states that “..... any decision relating to Pax House and the adjacent land or funds in connection therewith shall not be binding upon the trustees unless the two representatives of the Cathedral Parish shall have voted in favour of such decision”. This then exposed the motive of the Bishop: to make the Churchwardens submissive to him. It may be argued that it was solely to access the Paget Pax trust funds and use them as wished and not being accountable to anyone.

3.14 Bishop Kunonga became a virus: The Chancellor’s reaction

The issues dividing Bishop Kunonga from the Cathedral can be seen clearly from Mr Bob Stumbles’ seventeen-page letter of 7 February 2003 addressed to Bishop Nolbert Kunonga. In the letter, Mr Bob Stumbles, who was then the Diocesan Chancellor of the Diocese of Harare, raised many issues resulting from Bishop Kunonga’s failure to adhere to the Canons and Constitution of the Province of Central Africa. His preamble read as follows:

Various matters have been drawn to the writer’s attention over a considerable period of time. I refrained from commenting in the expectation that you would be seeking advice from me as Chancellor of the Diocese or that those in appropriate positions in the Diocese and Province would give due attention to various letters sent to them, copies of which I received and would promptly exercise their rights and duties. As many letters on different issues and subjects of considerable importance regrettably have evoked

no response, the time has come to break silence. This would not have been necessary had correct procedures been followed. A number of the disputed topics could and should have been resolved through discourse, communication and, if not resolved thereby through Ecclesiastical Courts at your instigation. The need to write this letter has been accelerated by the fact that you have caused notice to be given of the 59th Diocesan Synod 2003 to be held on Saturday 22nd February 2003 (Stumbles, 2003).

Mr Bob Stumbles' letter was premised and formulated on six guiding tenets, chief among them being number four and five, which read thus:

That the Fundamental Declarations, Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa; the relevant Rules and Resolutions of the Province and the Common Ecclesiastical Laws are binding upon and are to be upheld and followed by all in authority in the province; and in addition, the Acts, Regulations and Resolutions of the Diocese of Harare are binding upon and are to be upheld and followed by all in authority in the Diocese: That ecclesiastical laws recognise that the *audi alteram partem* rule (hear the other side) should be observed (Stumbles, 2003).

Indeed, several issues were raised, pointing to clear defiance of the ecclesiastical rules. Some of the issues include the 2003 February synod, the Cathedral of St Mary's Annual vestry meeting, and matters of Ecclesiastical Courts and the memorabilia, tablets and plaques, to mention but a few.

3.15 Autocratic leadership: rules and regulations are flouted

Signs showing that all was not well in the Diocese of Harare were beginning to manifest in the calling of the two Diocesan Synods in less than a year. On the 12th and 13th of April 2002, a synod was held at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, and on the 19th of November 2002, a notice advising of the forthcoming synod to be held on the 22nd February 2003 was issued. According to Act 2.3(a), "Diocesan synod shall meet once in each year, unless the Bishop after consultation with standing committee shall decide otherwise; nevertheless it shall meet not less than once in two calendar years" (Acts, 1975:1).

This initial notice seems to have been made in accordance with the Acts that require a ninety-day notice before the commencement of the synod. The challenge only came when no proper notice was given or received to move the synod from 22nd to the 21st of the same month of February 2003. Mr Stumbles then argued that:

No notice concerning the change in date has been seen by me but in any event any notice sent after the 19th November (and the change to 21st February is a very recent development) does not comply with the Acts for less than 90 days notice has been given. Unilaterally changing dates in this instance is a stark breach of Act2.3(a) (Stumbles, Mr, 2003).

A number of other concerns were noted, all of which hinged on the need to adhere to the Acts and Canons, which were being flouted by the administrators, chiefly Bishop Kunonga himself.

3.16 The whole diocese under siege: too early for Bishop Kunonga

This situation created an opportunity among the clergy to settle their scores or reposition themselves using the Bishop. Without even taking time to get to know his clergy brothers, Bishop Kunonga started purging the priests one by one, accusing them of various misdemeanours. One would have thought that his anger was directed to mainly “whites”, but alas, this was not the case. The researcher of this thesis, stationed at St. Mary’s Chitungwiza, can testify to one incident. He was invited by Bishop Kunonga to his office and was accused of interfering with neighbouring parishes, particularly at St Monica Chitungwiza, where Fr. Webster Mawindo was heading.

Among the list of accusations was that he was receiving and welcoming new members to his church without referral letters from their previous rectors and was receiving support from these parishioners coming to join his congregation. In this encounter, the point to note is that this was the first official meeting between the two, and it was hardly two months since Bishop Kunonga had taken up office.

Normally, the first meeting would be restricted to introductions to the priest and get to know about his family, strength, vision with his parish and how he supported the Bishop’s ministry and vision. The meeting degenerated into a heated exchange of words. The priest then declared to Bishop Kunonga that he (Bishop Kunonga) wanted to instil fear in him. He said he was unprepared to accept that and would only respect him as a priest and brother in Christ or first among equals.

Diocesan Clergy under Siege

Three main groups of clergy emerged during this period under review. The development of these groups was all to perpetuate the divide and rule tactic.

The first group comprised the old clergymen, those who had been trained at St John's Seminary in Zambia and those from other dioceses who had been in the diocese for a very long time. Many of those in this category were Bishop Kunonga's contemporaries. They included Fr David Manyau, his classmate, Canon Daniel Nhema, who was his mentor as a Deacon at St Francis Glen Norah, Canon Madzivanyika, Canon Chipudhla, Canon Mudzvovera, Fr Chad Gandiya.

The second group were the young clergy members who had trained at Bishop Gaul College, also known as the National Anglican Theological College. This group constituted almost the majority when Bishop Kunonga assumed office as Bishop of Harare. It will be prudent to note that some priests in this group were agitating for a substantial change in the administration style of the diocese. During the early days of Bishop Kunonga's term, some members became proponents of Bishop Kunonga's policies.

They viewed the Bishop as a game-changer, one who was to operate transparently. One such person was Fr Archford Musodza, who would shower praises on Bishop Kunonga because of his academic qualifications. Due to the symbiotic relationship that the two fostered, Fr Archford was appointed the first-ever black Rector of St Luke's Greendale replacing Fr Timothy Neil, who had resigned. However, this relationship did not last very long; within a few years, Fr Archford Musodza realised that the Bishop and himself were not following the same line of thought and were also not operating at the same spiritual level. He was to denounce the Bishop's policies to the extent of calling him (Bishop) a 'dog and uneducated'. By then, Fr Archford Musodza had been appointed Principal of Bishop Gaul College, a position he had to soon resign from on account of unprecedented pressure from Bishop Kunonga.

Soon, Bishop Kunonga realised that clergy members in this group opposed his ministry as they continued to question his problematic decisions. Being qualified and energetic, they had no reason to fear or cower away from engaging the Bishop at whatever level of discussion. They would not pay canonical obedience if and when they saw that it was out of line with the dictates of the church. This was mainly due to their spiritual formation at the time of training at Bishop Gaul College.

Around the same period, Bishop Kunonga embarked on a major recruitment exercise of the clergy, the majority being priests who had been dismissed or resigned from the Catholic church due to disciplinary action

taken against them. These were to constitute the third category of priests in the Diocese of Harare. They would generally pay their allegiance to Bishop Kunonga for having rescued them from the doldrums by offering them jobs in the Diocese of Harare.

These divisions were to have an impact later on during the decade under review.

(a) Persecution of Black Clergy

The divisions between the house of clergy culminated in some clergy members in the second group (those trained at Bishop Gaul College) being considered uncooperative and targeted for unspecified actions. This research will make a critical analysis of a few of these priests. The first black victims of Bishop Kunonga's purge were Rev. Petros Nyatsanza, Rev Tawanda Gezi and Rev James Mukunga. Rev Petros Nyatsanza was the Rector of St Luke's Mufakose after serving as an assistant to Rev Timothy Neil. After a protracted fight, he left the diocese for the United Kingdom. At this juncture, all the white priests had either resigned or retired from the Diocese of Harare. Some opted to work as non-stipendiary priests.

(b) Rev Tawanda Gezi

According to Rev. Tawanda Gezi, his problems with Bishop Kunonga started when he was still a Bishop-elect when he called him from Mutare advising him to chase all the whites at St Luke's Greendale, and this was during the week (Gezi, 2016). That came as a shock to the clergyman, who was an assistant and would take orders from his rector. It raises the question of how this instruction was to be implemented. Rev T. Gezi was, however, bold enough to challenge the orders he was receiving from a Bishop-elect who at that time was still unknown to him. His response was very assertive in that he told the Bishop-elect that "I can't because I believe that Jesus Christ died for all races which means that our Lord Jesus Christ was not a racist and hence there was no need for him to go about fighting whites for no apparent reason" (Gezi, 2016).

This response could have upset the Bishop-elect, who was probably looking for an entry point at St Luke's Greendale to settle his scores with his contender. Rev T. Gezi (Gezi, 2016) stated that the following Sunday, after the famous call from Mutare, he was on duty as celebrant and preacher. Rev Timothy Neil was seated in the congregation. It was only after the service that he heard Rev T. Neil announcing and welcoming the Bishop-elect Kunonga, who had sneaked into the church at St Luke's Greendale.

According to Rev Daniel Nhema (Nhema D. , 2016), "Kunonga was spying on Rev Timothy Neil and his assistant Rev Tawanda Gezi to see if they were going to say anything negative about him to incite the congregation". However, on this day, the Bishop-elect was proved wrong because Rev Timothy Neil handled him well. Coupled with the fact that he saw Rev Nhema, his mentor in the congregation, it helped calm what could have been a nasty situation at the parish (Nhema D. , 2016). It could have been that Bishop Kunonga was being paranoid and was filled with the notion that the congregation at St Luke's Greendale did not like him.

Just after three days in office Bishop Kunonga transferred Rev Tawanda Gezi from St Luke's Greendale to St Aidan's in Chitungwiza, an appointment which he gladly accepted (Gezi, 2016). This move was to usher in a new dimension or form of persecution. Rev Gezi, upon settling at St Aidan's and coupled with his experience as a missionary at St Luke's, inaugurated some transformational programmes, which were then misconstrued as having a plan to turn the parish into a Pentecostal church. He cites one case which happened as he had been invited by Rev Abel Muparadzi, who was in charge of Daramombe Mission District, for a revival week. During this revival week, some people came to surrender their traditional African materials as they embraced Christianity. According to Rev Gezi, this event did not go down well with the headmaster, who then wrote a thirty-two-page report to the Bishop complaining of what had taken place during the week-long revival (Gezi, 2016).

Bishop Kunonga continued to use this document in laying charges against Rev Gezi and pushed for his resignation. According to Rev Gezi (Gezi, 2016), this move to push him out did not yield the desired results because he remained adamant and insisted that Bishop Kunonga write him a dismissal letter. That was not acceptable to the Bishop because of the financial implications involved. However, this did not resolve the impasse because he soon reported being stalked by unknown persons using unmarked vehicles (Gezi, 2016).

A report was made at Makoni Police station. The police asked him to note the vehicle's registration plate, but Rev Gezi reported that the vehicles stalking him had no registration plates. According to Rev Gezi (Gezi, 2016), that led the police to dismiss the case without further investigation. The police assumed that these stalkers were members of the dreaded security arm of the government known as the Central Intelligent Organisation, commonly known as the CIO. Rev Gezi asserted that after these

chilling experiences, he informed Bishop Kunonga. The latter conspicuously told him to go and sort his mess and told him not to entangle himself in politics (Gezi, 2016).

Unknown to Rev Gezi, all of his sermons were being clandestinely recorded. This only came to light when one of his parishioners had been earmarked for promotion within the government, and a background check was being carried out on him. This parishioner, in one of the background check interviews, after mentioning that he was a member of St Aidan's led by Rev Gezi, was shown recordings of his (Rev Gezi)'s sermons by the members of the CIO dating back to the time he joined St Aidan's (Gezi, 2016).

The interview process revealed the identity of the stalkers. That enabled Rev Gezi to contact some influential people within the CIO who promised to investigate and deal with the matter. They did, and the stalking stopped. A snap survey of these events can reveal a thread of victimisation of all those believed to have been close to Tim Neil. Rev. Nyatsanza and Rev. Gezi had both served as assistants to Tim Neil at St. Luke's Greendale, and there was a strong suspicion in Bishop Kunonga's camp that Tim Neil was influencing them to be rebellious against him.

When attacks continued unabated against Rev Gezi, the only option left for him was to resign. The resignation came after Rev Gezi had been transferred to take charge of Mvurwi parish and had to move within a few days of receiving the transfer letter. When Rev Gezi challenged the move on the basis that the Bishop did not consider that he had a wife who was working in Harare and school-going children whose welfare he had to sort out before going to Mvurwi, it exacerbated their struggle.

Meanwhile, as the date to move was getting closer, Rev Gezi (Gezi, 2016) asserted that he received a phone call from Mrs Chidawanzi, the wife of a prominent politician in Mashonaland Province, advising him not to come because a team of ZANU-PF youths had been lined up to demonstrate against him upon arrival at the parish. The intended demonstrations were that he was being viewed as a member of the opposition, the MDC. Gezi refuted these accusations (Gezi, 2016). After getting this anonymous and sinister phone call, Rev Gezi just resigned from the Diocese of Harare.

The researcher has dwelt on this case study in a deliberate attempt to highlight and make visible all the players who knowingly or unknowingly were working to develop Bishop Kunonga's goals further.

(c) Rev James Mukunga

Rev. James Mukunga, the Rector of St Peter's Mabelreign, also resigned after having had a fistfight with Kunonga in his office to the extent of breaking the Bishop's pectoral cross. During the fight, Mukunga accused Kunonga of being a liar and murderer. These strong accusations came against a backdrop of events in Rev James Mukunga's ministry as a priest in the Anglican Diocese of Harare.

The salutations in Rev Mukunga's letter to Mr Bob Stumbles dated 25 August 2003 headed 'Why Bishop Kunonga is trying to victimise me – Part i', conveyed a spirit of boldness and a strong desire to resolve the challenges that were engulfing the Anglican Diocese of Harare. Rev Mukunga wrote:

I hope you are well. Mr Stumbles, I submit to you the following information as the only brother and friend that I believe God is using in our time to stand for the truth, transparency, integrity, justice, righteousness and indeed the promotion of God's love for mankind. I must say I respect you, Mr Stumbles, for executing your profession in a manner that many people in the Diocese of Harare will always remember and cherish down the memory lane. The following information I am supplying you with is not confidential. You can use it wherever it benefits the people of God in the Diocese of Harare and as long as it helps the removal of wickedness and vice. Please be assured that I shall be readily available to testify and witness for every piece of information contained herein (Mukunga, 2003).

A litany of reasons was enshrined in the letter as to why Rev Mukunga was being victimised. Some of the reasons proffered were so serious and defied all imagination coming from a man of the cloth. One such reason was as Rev James Mukunga claimed:

On three occasions, Bishop Kunonga came to Kadoma while I was rector of All Saints' Kadoma parish, requesting that I assist him by submitting the following names of people to the War Veterans in Kadoma. His instruction on the piece of paper he wrote me was clear: "I want them killed..... I do not mind", he said as he scribbled the following names:

- a. Mr Bothwell Mbuwayesango Churchwarden of St Luke's Greendale Parish
- b. Sh-liyn
- c. Mr Chikukwa – Churchwarden Cathedral Parish
- d. Mr Nyamupingidza – Churchwarden Cathedral Parish
- e. Mr Nhamoyebonde- Cathedral Parish

- f. Mr Gwete – Cathedral Parish
- g. Dr Nhamo – Cathedral Parish
- h. Mr George Mapuwire – Cathedral Parish
- i. Mrs Pauline Makoni –Cathedral Parish
- j. Mr Chigumadze. T- St Luke’s Greendale Parish
- k. Mrs Chibaya (Mukunga, 2003).

Looking at this list which was given to him in the presence of his wife, Rev Mukunga felt that it was not in line with his calling and hence kept the list in his files, arguing that “I felt my duty was to pastor the flock and not to slaughter it” (Mukunga, 2003). Looking at the list, one can see the thread connecting the two parishes of Cathedral and St Luke’s Greendale and this thread being the need to eliminate resistance from all quarters. It must also be stated that some members of the Cathedral Council who are mentioned in Rev Mukunga’s letter confirmed having received death threats through anonymous letters and telephone calls.

According to Mr Nyamupingidza, at some point, Mr Chikukwa, himself and other councillors would receive death threats. On one occasion, they were summoned to Harare Central Police Station by the Criminal Investigation Department officers on allegations of plotting to kill the Bishop. However, when the officer saw the team, especially Mr Nyamupidza and Mr Chikukwa and having made their background checks, they refused to investigate the matter, arguing that the accusations were baseless (Nyamupingidza, 2016). Mr Bob Stumbles did mention the visit to the police by members of the Cathedral Council as he questioned the allegation: “at the end of March and into April 2002 the Churchwardens, some councillors and members of the congregation were called to the Police for questioning under the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) on the suspicion of their knowledge of a plot to assassinate the Bishop” (Stumbles, Mr, 2003). Pauline Makoni also testifies that in October 2002, she received death threats, which made her more determined to fight the system and injustice perpetrated by the Bishop.

On realising that nothing was happening in terms of the instructions he had given to Rev Mukunga, Bishop Kunonga is reported to have gone back to Kadoma but this time demanded to be connected to the leaders of the war veterans. Rev Mukunga’s had this to say:

I went with the Bishop to Rimuka (there in Kadoma), and he asked me to stop the parish car that I was driving at the Zanu-PF offices. We got out, and he approached a senior member of the war veterans in Kadoma known as Cde Choline or, as they affectionately call him, Cde Cho. Unfortunately

for Bishop Kunonga Cde Cho told him that he was not prepared to carry out such a task. He was asked why he wanted War Veterans in Kadoma, and his reply was: 'so that it will be hard to trace' (Mukunga, 2003).

This refusal by the war veterans to be associated with criminal acts may have shocked Bishop Kunonga because, during that time, war veterans were being associated with thuggish behaviour against anyone who was perceived to be against Zanu-PF and its ideologies. Bishop Kunonga was adamant about having these people eliminated. To show how serious Bishop Kunonga was in having his mission accomplished, he went back to Kadoma, which is 141kms from Harare, this time demanding the assistance of the Zimbabwe National Army personnel. He approached Rev Mukunga "Baba (Fr) Mukunga, you once worked with Manyame Air Base congregation. Is there any soldier you think can assist me kill the Cathedral hooligans?" (Mukunga, 2003).

The Bishop was given Mr Innocent Chiganze's name, not because he was willing or capable of eliminating the people on the list mentioned earlier, but because Bishop Kunonga had insisted on having the name of a senior member at Manyame Air Base, which is in Harare. Bishop Kunonga went on to invite Mr Chiganze to his offices at Pax House. Rev Mukunga narrates that "after the meeting, Mr Chiganze (a staunch Anglican and former Churchwarden of Hatfield) called me and said, 'Baba, this Bishop is crazy, he called me to say, please kill the Cathedral hooligans ... that's not my job. After all, my brother Timothy worships there'" (Mukunga, 2003). Mr Innocent Chiganze confirmed that indeed the request came along his way, but he refused to entertain such a request because the security sector's mandate is to protect and not kill people (Chiganze, 2016).

Among other charges levelled against Rev James Mukunga was that of being absent without official leave. This charge emanated from a trip that Rev Mukunga undertook to Nairobi, Kenya, for an HIV/AIDS workshop held from 02/08/2003-10/08/2003 under the auspices of Bishop Gaul College, where he was also a lecturer. Rev Mukunga asserted that he had made all necessary arrangements for the church services scheduled during his absence in Kenya with the Churchwardens and had even tried without success to contact his Archdeacon (Mukunga, 2003).

Another charge raised against Rev Mukunga was the misuse of St Peter's parish vehicle when Rev Mukunga and Rev Archford Musodza had been involved in an accident while in Bulawayo attending the Diocese of Mata-

beleland's Synod. Rev Mukunga claimed to have been on official duty after being sent with Musodza to attend the said synod. Rev Mukunga argued that:

On the 2nd of May 2003, Mr Gwedegwe invited me to his office, and in the presence of Fr Musodza, asked me to drive Harare delegates to the Bulawayo Synod of May 2003. His request was based on the fact that my parish truck was a diesel one and, therefore, would be more efficient to use. So he went to Bulawayo on the mandate of the Acting Diocesan Secretary (Mukunga, 2003).

On the other hand, Bishop Kunonga refused to accept that explanation, insisting that Rev Musodza had been sent to represent The Diocese of Harare at the Bulawayo Synod.

As these events and charges unfolded, Rev Archford Musodza was also getting his fair share of accusations. Rev Mukunga recalls a telephone conversation he had with Bishop Kunonga which he claimed to have lasted for two hours in which he was told in no uncertain terms to stop associating with Rev Musodza whom he suspected to be working hand in hand with the Cathedral councillors who, according to Bishop Kunonga, were working towards his deposition (Mukunga, 2003). That was subsequently followed by a phone call from Mr Gwedengwe to Rev Musodza. He informed him that the Bishop was very angry and unhappy with Fr Musodza, Bishop Peter and Rev Mukunga, for he suspected them of having secret meetings to depose him.

With all these accusations and counter-accusations, one can see that there were poor relationships between the Bishop and some clergy members in the Diocese of Harare, particularly those who had ties with the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints and St Luke's Greendale Parish. This impasse was merely based on suspicion and fear of the Cathedral councillors and those who were perceived to be plotting to depose the Bishop of Harare. Rev. Archford Musodza, who had been appointed rector of St. Luke's after the resignation of T. Neil, was later to resign. Also to resign under unclear circumstances was Rev. Lameck Mutete, the rector of St. Paul's Highfields. He had served as an assistant at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints.

The third group comprised the clergy, who were deliberately recruited to try and neutralise the second group mentioned above. In this group, we find former Catholic priests coming to beg for consideration to enter into

the ministry after having committed sexual or some other punishable offence or deciding to break the vow of celibacy by getting married. Priests who had never received any form of training but were just militant and had become supporters of the Bishop were also in this group. Bishop Nolbert Kunonga took advantage of these priests and would ask them to pledge their loyalty to him since they were being offered these jobs at his mercy.

(d) Rev Justine Matyatya

One of the priests to be victimised was Rev Justine Matyatya. His sentiments come through clearly in his letter of 2nd December 2003 to The Rt. Rev Nolbert Kunonga. The preamble to the letter makes it clear how he felt: "I am writing to remind you of the way in which I have been treated by the Diocese which has caused me, my wife and children much anxiety and suffering" (Matyatya, Rev, 2003). This frustration can be further deduced by Rev Matyatya's 26-point letter. He accused Bishop Kunonga and his team comprising Rev Caxton Mabhozi and the then Diocesan Secretary Rev Morris Gwedegwe of various acts of abuse and victimisation. Some of the alleged acts involved coercing clergy members to write a letter passing a vote of no confidence in the Diocesan Chancellor, Mr Bob Stumbles.

Another issue raised in the letter was the threats to Rev Matyatya's family, torture of his grade three daughter, who had to change to her fifth school in three years (Matyatya, Rev, 2003). In his letter, Rev Matyatya (Matyatya, 2003) also brought to the fore the way disciplinary procedures were handled to a large extent, violating the Canons and Acts of the Diocese of Harare but purporting to be guided by the same. When Rev Matyatya was summoned to attend a court hearing, he snubbed this and argued that:

On the 7th November, the same day the hearing took place, you wrote with alacrity to say the Commission had sat. You wrote that the Commission was properly constituted. I dispute this. Who were the judges? Were they impartial? Were you one of them? I argue there was no impartiality, and the Commission was not properly constituted. You say you listened to evidence from a number of parishioners from St Philip's Tafara who were invited to come and give evidence. How many were there? What are their names? Who invited them? Presumably you did (Matyatya, Rev, 2003).

Rev Matyatya did put up a fight, as did other Cathedral members, Rev Gezi, and Rev James Mukunga. His letter of resignation from the Diocese of Harare dated 29th November 2004 showed how bold and adamant

clergy and laity in the diocese had become due to their subjugation to spiritual and physical torture.

From the contents of this letter, it appears as if Bishop Kunonga had decided to resurrect a case of sexual immorality which had been laid against Rev Matyatya but which, however, had fallen by the wayside in his recommendation letter to Bishop Sebastian Bakare of the Diocese of Manicaland. Rev Matyatya (Matyatya, Rev, 2004) questioned Bishop Kunonga, “why you did not state this in your letter which you carbon copied to Bishop Bakare baffles me. Why are you so vindictive? Was this a way of trying to have me rejected by the merciful Bishop of Manicaland?”

Rev Matyatya went to open a barrage of questions in which he questioned the track record of the Bishop:

When you say my track record as a Priest in the Diocese of Harare leaves a lot to be desired. What do you mean? Between you and me, whose track record leaves a lot to be desired? If my track record leaves a lot to be desired which I deny, then why are you still withholding my Letter of Orders, stipend from November 2003 till October 2004 and other ancillary benefits? I was ordained Priest on 26 April 2003, and up to date, you have refused to let me have my letter of Orders to the Priesthood. Do you want to ruin my ministry? So, whose track record leaves a lot to be desired? God alone should be the judge. I pray that you will take time to carry out some introspection and deal with the issues I have raised before and that I am raising now (Matyatya, Rev, 2004).

(e) Bishop Peter Hatendi

Retired Bishop Hatendi was not spared from abuse by Bishop Kunonga’s supporters in the name of Rev Henry Rinashe, the Vicar General of the Diocese of Harare. On the 18th of September 2004, Bishop Peter Hatendi wrote to Rev Rinashe complaining about his conduct when he had confronted him at St Phillip’s Tafara. Events had reached that stage where members of the Anglican Church who were thought to have been anti-Bishop Kunonga had been chased or forced out of their churches. However, these had continued to congregate either outside their churches or other suitable places. At St Phillip’s Tafara, there was such a group that had revolted against Bishop Kunonga after his assumed failure to deal with alleged misappropriation of funds by their former Rector Rev Barnabas Munzwandi.

Some congregation members wanted Rev Barnabas Munzwandi to be held accountable for the monies that the audit had revealed had been

missing. However, Bishop Kunonga was adamant that there was no such abuse of funds. That then led to a fierce fight even after a new rector, Rev Matyatya, had been appointed to oversee the running of the parish. Rev Matyatya went straight into the eye of the storm and immediately became a victim, as was Bishop Peter Hatendi as he sympathised with the desperate group. Some parts of this strongly worded letter need to be captured for one to appreciate and have a feel of how the situation became so volatile:

This is an open letter in reply to the questions and statements you put and made to me this morning in the presence of some members of your congregation who flanked you. Your attitude and voice were confrontational, to say the least, as you set aside the customary pleasantries. In short, you are concerned about my authority for doing what I did.

What can I do for you? You asked me. Did you put this question to all who gathered at your church at Tafara this morning? Why me? Believers go to church every Sunday to pray, worship, learn about God and to glorify Him together with heavenly hosts, saints and martyrs. I am Christian, whether you like it or not. I prayed with, and for the group, you had just expelled from your church, and I invoked God's blessing upon them. I did not want you to do anything for me, but I wanted my God to do everything they and I needed desperately. Some of them were in tears. They needed God's grace, intervention and salvation from oppression and exploitation. You cannot provide me with these things, can you? (Hatendi, Bishop, 2004).

In the first part of the letter, retired Bishop Hatendi categorically stated his position by standing for justice and the oppressed. Several other accusations had been levelled against retired Bishop Hatendi, such as that he was retired and that it was not his first time to which he responded and declared that he was not a retired Bishop but an unlicensed Bishop and second that:

I said requiem Mass and buried Mrs Esther Puwai because you expelled her husband from your church in Glen View. I prayed with the group you expelled from your church this morning. In both cases, I responded to requests, and I shall continue to respond to requests that are made in the name of Christ. You are concerned about parochial, diocesan or provincial boundaries. I am concerned about satisfying the moral and spiritual needs of the poor in spirit (Hatendi, Bishop, 2004).

Bishop Hatendi's unwavering support to both clergy and parishioners earned him respect within the Diocese of Harare.

During this time, a few affected members began to experience the full wrath of Bishop Kunonga's administration, in which churches were being turned into clubs for specific groups of people. The admission by Bishop

Hatendi that, “I did not know this side of your personality which you displayed this morning. We worked and prayed together before my retirement. I cannot believe that you are the same person. Worldly power corrupts, and absolute (worldly) power corrupts absolutely.” Hatendi (Hatendi, Bishop, 2004) shows the extent to which people had changed and lost their calling in pursuit of their personal glory. Admittedly one can see that disgruntled church members were now seeking solace from a retired Bishop from whom they sought advice and spiritual guidance.

Diocesan Parishes under Siege

Diocesan parishes and institutions were not spared in the purging by Bishop Kunonga. Some were affected as Bishop Kunonga aimed at the priests in those parishes. Parishioners, in many cases, would have built a harmonious relationship with their priests, which could not be easily destroyed overnight. As the research reveals, some purging was driven by ulterior motives, including having control of all the finances in these parishes by appointing a rector who would be obliged to honour any requests from the Bishop’s office.

(a) Christchurch Borrowdale

The Anglican Diocese of Harare was to experience unprecedented events such as transfers of white clergy to predominately black parishes; one such transfer was that of the rector of Christchurch Borrowdale, Rev David Bertram. The adage that says new brooms sweep clean was to be experienced in the Diocese of Harare. There was an attempt to transfer one of the then longest-serving white clergy, Fr. David Bertram, from Christchurch Borrowdale to St. Paul’s Highfields, a completely Shona-speaking congregation. This was met with stiff resistance from Fr. Bertram, who opted to remain at Christchurch Borrowdale. Black clergy were also partly involved in these moves, for they also wanted an opportunity to minister not as assistants but as rectors of these “white” parishes. That, in a way, was to try and push Rev David Bertram out as per the *Where and When We Enter* sermon. As the research shows, Christchurch Borrowdale was critical because it was considered one of the richest parishes in the diocese, and it would contribute immensely to the finances of the diocese. It would make sense if one were to speculate that Bishop Kunonga wanted to appoint a priest loyal to him, which would enable him to have access to the parish’s finances.

(b) St Paul's Highfields

St Paul's Highfields was not spared from the purging in the Diocese of Harare. A scene was created when a directive to remove the churchwarden, Mr Jonathan Makoni, was given to the then Rector in 2004 against the congregation's wishes. According to Charity Matambanadzo, "Jonathan Makoni was very vocal and would challenge decisions made by the church leadership without fear or favour" (Matambanadzo, 2016). The parish had to work a way out of this crisis by asking Mr J. Makoni to step down officially, which was stage-managed for the benefit of peace to prevail in the parish. However, the parishioners refused to elect a replacement for Mr J. Makoni, arguing that they had done their vestry and that in Mr J. Makoni, they had their churchwarden.

The parish refused to budge, so they continued to consult Mr Makoni in administration matters though Diocesan officials did not officially recognise him. The stage-managing was done to appease the informers who had been planted in troubled parishes by Bishop Kunonga to transmit information about the life of the church without using the formal channels of communication. In one incident, Bishop Kunonga himself paid an unceremonial visit to the parish and tried to sneak 'unnoticed' into the church during a Sunday service. However, for a Bishop of a diocese to think that he could sneak into an Anglican congregation within his diocese is absurd and unheard of.

Why St Paul's parish? This parish is situated in one of the oldest and biggest suburbs of Harare. Before the emergence of parishes such as St Faith's Budiriro and St Andrew's Glen View, St Pauls was regarded as the biggest parish in the diocese and the Province in terms of numerical and geographical size. Therefore, assuming that one had total control of the parish, it would translate to having control and right to influence it in whichever direction of one's choice and would also help in influencing other parishes to follow whichever route the biggest parish would have taken.

3.17 Recruitment of diocesan staff became questionable

In 2001 the Diocesan Standing Committee was made to create a position of diocesan evangelists, whose duties, among others, were to move around the diocese evangelising. The creation of the post was noble and strategic in light of the nature of the church's mission which is to propagate the Christian gospel to the far ends of the world. Bishop Kunonga

proposed Mr Morris Brown Gwedengwe as a potential candidate and argued that he was well trained for the mission. Morris Gwedegwe was eventually appointed though his background was unknown to many in the Standing Committee save for the Bishop who had highly recommended him. He worked just for a few months as a diocesan evangelist and at the same time consolidating his authority in the diocese.

In one of his leadership training courses at St. Stephen's Chitungwiza, he uttered words which insinuated that he was now an overseer of all the clergy when he told the gathering of sub-deacons that if they happen to see or know of any clergy misbehaving, they were to inform him immediately, and he was going to deal with them. The pronouncement by Morris Gwedegwe, like the sermon delivered on the day of the consecration of the Bishop, sent shock waves to all those who were in attendance. From that moment and meeting, members of clergy and laity started to question the organogram of the Anglican Diocese of Harare.

Mr Morris Brown Gwedegwe is ordained

Bishop Kunonga then wanted to elevate Gwedengwe to the office of Diocesan Secretary. However, he knew the clergy's presentations very well that they wanted to have a clergyman taking over as Diocesan Secretary since they felt that the incumbent Diocesan Secretary was not sincere in matters with clergy. So Bishop Kunonga ordained and subsequently appointed Gwedengwe as the Diocesan Secretary. He was to become instrumental in pushing Bishop Kunonga's agenda. The office of the Diocesan Secretary was to play a significant role in the development of policies that were to be initiated in the Diocese of Harare. Gwedengwe's name is generally associated with everything that Bishop Kunonga did; he was regarded as his think tank, one who could instigate transfers of priests from one parish to another.

3.18 The purging of the laity through diocesan guilds

Anglican Diocese of Harare members fall into various guilds depending on sex, age and marital status. It comprises mainly of the Mother's Union, which forms the backbone of the church by being the majority constituting almost 50% of the Anglican membership with the balance being shared between the Men's Guilds, Vabvuwi and Bernard Mzeki, and the Youth.

Mothers' Union

The Mothers' Union group, whose aims and objectives are "to promote the advancement of Christian marriage, motherhood and family life as a means of teaching the Christian faith in the spirit of the five objectives" (Mothers Union Constitution: 2009:2), is the backbone of any church and diocese at large. Its objectives are to uphold Christ's teachings and create and maintain a favourable atmosphere for stable family life. By virtue of being the Bishop's wife, Mrs Agatha Kunonga then assumed the presidency of the Mother's Union Guild. Problems were experienced from that department, and the relationship between the Mother's Union President and her followers became sour. There was a lot of grumbling from the Mother's Union members, although it was not well articulated at first. This sour relationship was to later have a bearing on the life of the church as problematic decisions were being made.

Vabvuwi Guild

Vabvuwi Guild, literally translated as "Fishers of men", a Puritan group with members who do not take alcohol or eat pork products, was among the first to embrace Kunonga as Bishop like everybody else. However, as time went on, they began to feel that the Bishop aimed to drive the guild into an abyss using clergy members. Hence there was now mistrust between the group and all members of the clergy with the Bishop included.

Bernard Mzeki Guild

This group was named after the Anglican Martyr Bernard Mzeki, who died on the 18th of June 1896 in the Mangwende area. When it was formed, the intention was to cater for those men who could not fit into the strict Puritanical requirements of the Vabvuwi Guild but still being ardent followers of Christ. When this group was introduced at St Mary Hunyani parish in 1999 by the late Rector Rev. Vasco Musiwacho, it appeared as if for the first time a men's group was being introduced in the diocese, and yet the Vabvuwi Guild had been in existence for a long time in the diocese. This kind of group ideology would probably represent the thought pattern of those in the diocese leadership, which eventually caused a rift between the two men's groups. Bishop Kunonga would then capitalise on this rift to pursue his divide and rule tactic, and instead of finding solutions to the challenges, he seemed to enjoy every moment of it, for it diverted the attention of these two men's groups from him.

Youth Guild

The three main groups mentioned above were like the kingmakers in the diocese. The youth, by nature, would listen and follow instructions given by their seniors. Under the Youth Guild, there is a girls' guild known as St Veronica, but it has since changed its name in 2014 to St Agnes, which falls under the watchful eyes of the Mother's Union. On the boys' side, there are two groups that naturally follow the two men's groups. St. Peter's, which falls under Vabvuwi and St. Benedict, which falls under Bernard Mzeki guild. However, there are also those boys and girls who are not affiliated with any of these youth people's guilds. They all meet under the Banner of Anglican Youth Association of Harare (AYAH). The role of the youth was very minimal in the administration of Bishop Kunonga. They were never a force to reckon with in the diocese. Those youths who were not amused with what was happening in the church simply left to join other churches.

Chita Chezvipa Zvemoto CZM

This group originated from St. Agnes Gokwe in the Anglican Diocese of Central Zimbabwe (formerly Diocese of Lundi) under the spiritual guidance of Rev Muyambi, and most of its members were at St. Monica's Chitungwiza, therefore putting St. Monica in the eye of the storm. On the 1st Of March 2001, Mr Shepherd Nhamoinesu, the then Churchwarden of St Monica's Parish, wrote to Rev Philemon Mudzovvera, the Archdeacon of St Monica's Parish, describing events that had taken place the previous Sunday during their service. As the Churchwardens were giving notices, Mr O Chapungu informed the congregation about the authorised and known church guilds in Harare Diocese, the Mother's Union Vabvuwi Bernard Mzeki and Youth. Nhamoinesu wrote that:

Mr Chapungu stressed that they had spoken to Mr O. Kuwana and the Archdeacon, Ven Mudzovvera, and the two had given them permission to ban any illegal Guild functioning in Harare Diocese. At this stage, he mentioned a Guild he called the '*Moto*' (Fire) Guild. This Guild was operating illegally. The followers/members put on a cross tied to a red string. The members had divided the church and were infiltrating seriously into people preaching about the cross and the Guild..... Mr P Kandawasvika, taking his turn, told the Church that these cross bearers had '*Ngozi*' (demons). No dead body will be buried with a red string or cloth. The Cross bearers were shallow minded like fish. As a fisherman, he was very aware of this. He said a lot of things nagging Cross Bearers (Nhamoinesu, 2001).

The bone of contention was the guild's perceived power of healing and the wearing of crosses. Looking at the announcement critically, it was bound to ignite a fight, and it happened on Sunday the 25th of February 2001, marking the beginning of a stand-off between the rector with his few friends on one side and the cross-bearers on the other side leaving the rest of the congregation confused as to whom to follow. In his letter to the Archdeacon, Mr Nhamoinesu tried to elucidate the role and ethos of the guild in the church, which was probably misunderstood by the diocesan leadership. He explained that:

A number of people in this parish have been Cross Bearers for more than ten years. They have worked with different Priests. They support the Church fully – check the records. There have never been any problems. As L.C.M, we have a rule of life, which we follow very much. We are there to show the World the cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified (Matthew 5 verse 14:16). Cross Bearers are tertiary, or supporters or third order members of a Religious Order recognized in the Anglican Communion. Like other supporters of a religious Order, Franciscans /CRs, we have a rule of life. '.....the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved, it is Power of God' 1 Corinthians 1:18 (Nhamoinesu, 2001).

This letter was followed by another one dated 23 April 2001, again addressed to the Archdeacon but now carbon copied to the Bishop-elect Canon Kunonga, the Standing Committee and The Rector Rev Mawindo and signed by ten members of the St Monica's Parish Council. The issue was the grievances against the Rector Rev Webster Mawindo, who had assumed leadership in January 2000 from Rev Gabriel Mashingaidze, who had retired from active ministry. The councillors accused the Rector, among other points, of misuse of the pulpit, arguing that "our view is that the pulpit should be used for purposes of preaching and teaching the word of God, but the Rector Rev Mawindo thinks otherwise. He uses this Holy place as a platform to insult, scold and generally verbally attack members of the congregation (abuse of the pulpit)" (Ignatius Gate, etal, 2001).

The letter also referenced an incident at the Parish on the 22nd of April 2001 in which the police arrested 43 youth members after having reacted to an announcement made by Rev Mawindo that all youth activities had been banned with immediate effect. This pointed to the fact that there was no cordial working relationship within the parish. Of interest is the fact that Bishop Kunonga was addressed or referred to as Bishop-elect. This means that problems at St Monica's parish in Chitungwiza started in 2000

before Bishop Kunonga's election and subsequent enthronement. Therefore, like the matter of Cathedral Plaques, he delved into deep waters without taking due diligence. The St Monica's case left some scars on Bishop Kunonga's ministry as a Diocesan Bishop of Harare because it was never resolved amicably.

On 22nd of May 2001, Rev Mawindo applied to the circular courts for a peace order against sixteen members of his congregation, which sat on 30th July 2001 and subsequently granted the peace order on an interim relief basis as follows:

That pending the confirmation or discharge of this order that each and all of the Respondents are barred from:

1. Going to the Applicant's residential and premises. That is St Monica's Anglican Church Stand No 942, Unit G Seke, Chitungwiza
2. Uttering threats to the Applicant, his family or his employees, whether such threats are uttered personally, telephonically, in writing or in any other way whatsoever
3. Doing or causing to be done anything calculated to breach the peace, and
4. The Respondents shall pay the costs of this Application jointly and severally the one paying the others to be absolved (EX-PARTE COURT APPLICATION FOR A PEACE ORDER, 2001).

Upon being served with the peace order application, the respondents filed a notice of opposition through their lawyers. Chief among their arguments was that the Harare Magistrate had no jurisdiction to entertain the case which arose in Chitungwiza and was wholly within the jurisdiction of the Chitungwiza Magistrate, and the Draft Order should not have been granted (Notice Of Opposition, 2001). Other arguments from the respondents basically looked at the authenticity of the charges levelled against them, and they responded to each one of them as they gave their side of the story and, at one point accusing Rev Mawindo of being economical with the truth and not being honest with the court.

This matter was referred to the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Harare for adjudication, and it was given a maximum of two months to resolve the matter. However, from correspondence between both parties' lawyers, it can be deduced that even after the stipulated two months, the Standing Committee had not pronounced its decision or solved the mat-

ter. One such letter from Zamchiya Costa Legal Practitioners and addressed to Atherstone and Cook Legal Practitioners can testify to the delay in dealing with the matter as it reads:

We confirm that at the hearing wherein Mr Wernberg appeared for Webster Mawindo it was agreed that this matter would be given a maximum period of two months for the Standing Committee to adjudicate upon the dispute. It is now well over two month period that the parties had agreed, and in the circumstances, we advise that we have been instructed to bring this matter before the Magistrates Court and ask the Magistrate to bring this matter to finality (Kututwa, 2001).

This case of St Monica's raged on to dominate the first half of the decade under review. In the meantime, other priests became entangled in the matter, with priests like the former Rector Rev Mashingaidze and the Spiritual leader of Chita Chezvipa Zvemoto Rev Muyambi being accused of interfering with the smooth running of the parish. In a letter to the Archdeacon Ven Thomas Madei Churchwardens at St Monica's requested that:

1. Rev Muyambi be banned from entering St Monica's Parish unless authorised by the Bishop.
2. His followers, Chita Chemweya Wemoto (sic) (easily identified by wooden crosses on red strings) be banned from holding any influential positions at St Monica's Parish.

Suspension of Vestry Meeting this year because of information received by Churchwardens that the cult has been secretly working very hard underground to manipulate it and remove the Churchwardens from their office (Chapungu O., et al., 2004).

The third reason presented in the letter as being the reason to defer a vestry meeting is suspicious regarding the intended goal. One cannot be wrong in assuming that the writers of this letter were also harbouring some ambitions to remain in offices as Churchwardens of the Parish by suppressing potential candidates.

Looking further, on the 20th of April 2004, the Diocesan Secretary Mr M.B. Gwedengwe, followed up the Churchwardens' letter by writing a strongly worded letter to Rev Muyambi in which he asserted that "if your presence at the Church sparks some problems each time you pass through or visit St Monica's, we feel and advise that Reverend Muyambi should desist with immediate effect from visiting St Monica in Seke" (Gwedegwe M. , Mr, 2004).

Mr Gwedegwe went on to state the position of the Diocese of Harare pertaining to the guild by affirming that “the Diocese of Harare does not recognise the Chita cheZvipo zveMoto Guild” (Gwedegwe M. , Mr, 2004). All this correspondence was being carbon copied to the Bishop of Harare, Bishop Kunonga, and his silence in the matter validates that he was giving the persecutors of this guild his support.

Several meetings were held to try and break the impasse. However, all these efforts yielded nothing because neither party would budge. The guild could not be cowed into hiding: the more they were persecuted, the more they got sympathy from other congregation members. Ultimately, this also stalled progress at the church, a point which the Churchwardens admitted in their letter to Archdeacon Ven Madei. The Churchwardens conceded that “it must be noted that disturbances caused by this cult have retarded progress at St Monica’s over the past four years or so, for example the construction of the Church Hall” (Chapungu. O. etal, 2004). Though the Churchwardens and the rector laid the blame squarely on the guild, which they referred to in a derogatory manner as a cult, they also failed to realise their shortcomings in addressing the spiritual needs of the congregants.

3.19 Diocesan institutions not spared in the purging

As the consolidation of power was being rolled out, Diocesan Institutions, mainly schools and the sole Diocesan orphanage, were not spared. The Diocese of Harare has ten secondary schools. Four of these are boarding schools and nine primary schools, which operate under the supervision of the Diocesan Education office. The diocese also has three private schools with Anglican roots. According to Mr Fred Saruchera, “the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education has a mutual agreement with the church and all church run-institutions that allows for the appointment of The Head and Deputy Head from their denomination for as long as they hold the pre-requisite qualifications” (Saruchera, Mr, 2015). Bishop Kunonga was to interfere with the system in an effort to support those who would not object to his demands. That will be explored further in the next chapter as the research critically examines events during the second half of the decade under review 2007-2012.

3.20 Demonstrations at Bernard Mzeki Shrine

Pursuant to their struggle to bring the Diocesan crisis to the fore, the councillors of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, in collaboration with the like-minded people in the Diocese of Harare, organised a demonstration during 2002 and 2003 Bernard Mzeki annual festivals. According to Canon Sekai Chibaya, the 2002 demonstration was not as large as the one they organised in 2003, the reason being that at the time, very few Anglicans would understand what was going on.

It appeared then as if the challenges were only restricted to the Cathedral and that only the Cathedral councillors were fighting the Bishop and not vice versa. However, as time went by, more disgruntled Anglicans began to understand the root problem. By 2003, parishioners from parishes like St Monica's, St Andrews Glen View and St Phillips Tafara were joining in to form a formidable force. The participation of members of St Monica's parish in the demonstration is supported by evidence from the Church-wardens' letter mentioned above in which they stated that "last year at Bernard Mizeki Shrine, they were part of the underground group which held demonstrations against the Bishop" (Chapungu. O. etal, 2004).

On the 16th of June 2003, this group of disgruntled parishioners staged a demonstration at the shrine in Marondera by holding up placards denouncing Bishop Nolbert Kunonga and his leadership style. Asked as to the objective of the demonstration, Dr Nhamo admitted that it was to raise awareness of the situation in the diocese (Nhamo, 2016). Indeed awareness was achieved. In the Daily News Online, an article appeared with the headline "Anglican flock stages demo against Kunonga." The article stated that "disgruntled Anglican church parishioners last Saturday held demonstrations at the Bernard Mzeki shrine in Marondera against one of the church's senior Bishops, Nolbert Kunonga, whom they accused of politicising the ministry and neglecting his pastoral duties" (Shumba, Zimbabwe: Anglican Flock Stages Demo Against Kunonga, 2003).

The placard carriers were strategically positioned along the route used by the sanctuary team comprising the servers, sub-deacons, Priests and Bishops, as they process in for the main service. Dr Nhamo (Nhamo, 2016) asserted that "we had written all our grievances on the placards for the world to see and we believe that they saw and that Kunonga was embarrassed to see and read the placards". Some of the placards read: "Kunonga preaches sermons of hate and bans choir and councillors" and 'Kunonga

is a law unto himself; breaks church rules” (Shumba, Zimbabwe: Anglican Flock Stages Demo Against Kunonga, 2003).

3.21 The 38 charges levelled against Bishop Nolbert Kunonga

As the crisis intensified with the Anglican Diocese of Harare, those Cathedral members who had visited Kitwe in Zambia to lobby for a hearing from the Archbishop and other Bishops continued to struggle for justice to prevail in the church. All the issues and cases mentioned above and many never made public were then summed up and compiled, culminating in a thirty-eight-point charge sheet that was then used to advocate for an ecclesiastical court against Bishop Kunonga. This charge sheet was addressed to the Registrar of the Provincial Court of the Anglican CPCA, and the preamble and summary of the charges were as follows:

We, the undersigned, do hereby bring against NOLBERT KUNONGA, Bishop of the Diocese of Harare in the Church in the Province of Central Africa (the Province), the charge that he has committed one or more or all of the following offences set out in Section 1 of Canon 24 of the Province, namely:

1. He has publicly and deliberately maintained doctrines contrary to the teaching of the Church and continues so to do; and/or
2. His acts, omissions and words reflect an apostasy from the Christian faith; and/or
3. He has contravened and continues wilfully to contravene enactments of the Provincial Synod and/or of the synod of the Diocese of Harare and/or refuses to obey the lawful commands of his Superior; and/or
4. He has refused, without good or sufficient reason, to perform for communicant members of the Church in the Diocese of Harare and not under censure of the Church, acts pertaining to the Ministerial office; and/or
5. He has conducted himself and continues to conduct himself in a manner which gives just cause for scandal or offence, and/or has behaved and continues to behave in a manner unbecoming to a bishop or clergyman (Stumbles, 2004).

According to Mr Bob Stumbles (Stumbles, Mr, 2004), “On or about 21st October 2003 a Complaint and Charge Sheet alleging that the Bishop of Harare had committed one or more or all 38 offences was signed. By that date, at least 7 Priests and 79 Church Councillors/Parishioners had signed the Complaint and Charge Sheet”. This charge sheet was subsequently sent to the Provincial Registrar of the Province of Central Africa on the 3rd of November 2003.

Upon receiving the charge sheet from the Provincial Registrar, the Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa, The Most Rev Dr Bernard Malango, then wrote back on or about the 9th of December 2003 to the registrar arguing that he wanted to ascertain the facts to enable him to deal with some issues. In that light, he proposed to send the Provincial Secretary to Harare "to spend a few days meeting all those involved in the issue. He requested the Bishop of Harare to arrange for the Provincial Secretary's visit" (Stumbles, Mr, 2004).

This proposal was met with suspicion and caught the ire of those who had raised the charges against Bishop Kunonga, querying the objective of the visit. Mr Bob Stumbles then raised a point of order and raising some observations for consideration as noted below:

- a. There was no need for the Provincial Secretary or the Archbishop to ascertain the facts behind the 38 charges/complaints that have been formally lodged. The facts will come to light when the court proceedings commence.
- b. There has to be a Court hearing, and the Provincial Registrar is the person who will be advising the Archbishop on the procedure to be followed *inter alia* in terms of Canons 24 and 28 and the Rules of Practice, Procedure and Evidence.
- c. It was submitted that it is unheard of for a Judge in any Court of Law to seek facts in advance of a Court case from those witnesses who are subsequently to appear before him. Yet this is precisely what the Archbishop was proposing to do. This procedure was improper as it was tantamount to undue interference with witnesses by the Court.
- d. It is improper to order a defendant to arrange a visit for and provide transport and accommodation for a person such as the Provincial Secretary in these circumstances as the latter comes as the eyes and ears and spokesman of the Archbishop.
- e. As most, if not all, the witnesses who will be giving evidence are from Harare or its immediate surroundings, the court hearing from a logistical point of view should be held in Harare (Stumbles, Mr, 2004).

This advice coming from the Provincial Chancellor, Mr Bob Stumbles, appeared to have been snubbed by the Archbishop who, just like Bishop Kunonga, was also accusing him of interfering and even coaching those who had raised the charges on how to proceed with the case. Mr Bob Stumbles refuted these allegations, raised in a letter written on the 29th of January 2004 to all the Bishops in the Province advising them that "the situation in Harare has gone from bad to worse. I am sad to say that I have allowed the Bishop to appear before the Ecclesiastical Court because of the demand one disturbing factor is that Bob Stumbles is couching (sic)

those who signed for the allegations of how to go about the whole matter when they appear before the Court” (Stumbles, Mr, 2004).

The fact that the Archbishop conceded that the situation in Harare Diocese was now dire was probably sweet news to all those fighting for justice and upholding of the Acts of the Diocese and Canons of the Province. Dates for the much anticipated Ecclesiastical Court were not announced, and this caused a lot of anxiety and frustration among those who had raised the charges.

In an anonymous and undated document circulated in the Diocese of Harare in 2004, anger could be felt as it raised pertinent issues. Thus, “In only three years with Bishop Kunonga, the following has happened (thirty point issues were noted) Why is there so much chaos in Harare Diocese? Bishop Kunonga is killing (sic) the church and the Province is standing by and watching. When is the Provincial Court, so justice can happen (sic) in Harare Diocese? What is the future of the Church in Harare?” (Personal file).

The Ecclesiastical Court date and venue were finally announced. It was to be held on 25th of August 2005 at Royal Harare Club. A Malawian Judge, James Kalaile, was poised to sit as the Ecclesiastical Court judge. However, to the dismay of many parishioners in the Diocese of Harare, the Ecclesiastical Court failed to see the light of the day. It was reported in the press that the “Malawian Judge James Kalaile quit, citing squabbles between the prosecution and the defence over procedure” (Reporter, 2006). Augustine Mukaro of the Zimbabwean Independent states that “Kunonga’s lawyer James Mutizwa demanded further evidence on 16 of charges being levelled against his client as separate submissions, arguing that would be in compliance with secular courts. Prosecutor Jeremy Lewis opted to submit the charges as one bunch, resulting in a heated argument, forcing the judge to withdraw” (Mukaro, 2007).

Judge James Kalaile is reported to have announced that “I have no intention to continue with the case. The Archbishop will have to appoint another judge because I have never encountered these problems in all cases I have presided over. So I withdraw” (Mukaro, 2007). After making this pronouncement, Judge James Kalaile then dismissed the court, throwing the diocese into a quandary. The Zimbabwean Paper reported that “The complainants against Kunonga are having to endure deliberate tactics from church authorities. The Archbishop of Central Africa, Bernard Malango, who was supposed to re-appoint another judge, made a u-turn

in December last year (2005) declaring he would make a ruling on his own" (Reporter, 2006).

Indeed a ruling was pronounced exonerating Bishop Kunonga from any wrongdoing. However, it was unfortunate that this pronouncement was never communicated to the complainants or their lawyers, who only heard of the judgement through the press. A report in the *Pravada* confirmed that "The Anglican Church has dropped charges of incitement to murder and besmirching the name of the church levelled against a Zimbabwe bishop" (Source, 2005).

It was reported in the article that the Archbishop had declared that "the matter is closed and cannot be revived" (Source, 2005). In his letter to the Provincial Bishops, Archbishop Malangotated that "anyone seeking to bring charges against a bishop must not raise purely administrative issues masked as canonical offences" (Correspondent, 2006). Mr Stumbles reacted to this, arguing that "this veiled threat against the persons whose very complaints the archbishop once recognised as triable (sic) is ill-founded and misleading and the laws of the church province make no distinction between 'canonical' and 'purely administrative' offences" (Correspondent, 2006).

Be that as it may, the ruling from the Archbishop drew the ire of Mr Bob Stumbles, who made it clear that "the archbishop's unilateral ruling violated the laws of evidence, the laws of the Church and natural justice. It is submitted that his ruling is null and void and that the archbishop has not fulfilled his lawful obligation as holder of that office" (Correspondent, 2006).

The attempt to suppress the court case by Archbishop was too glaring for everyone to fail to see. Commenting on the challenges that bedevilled the Diocese of Harare Archbishop, Bernard Malango conceded, that yes, there were challenges in the diocese emanating from the fact that Bishop Kunonga failed to adhere to the advice that he gave him mainly not to make changes but just to observe (Malango, 2015). With the issues piling up in the Diocese of Harare, the Archbishop affirmed that "I tried my level best to defend him (Bishop Kunonga) The duty of the Archbishop is to defend his Bishops and Priests and so all the Priests and Bishop within my Province were protected" (Malango, 2015).

3.22 Conclusion

The revelation by Archbishop Bernard Malango did put to rest all the speculation that he might have been protecting Bishop Nolbert Kunonga. For the researcher, it became clear that whatever Bishop Kunonga was doing was hinged on his backing from higher authority. However, this is not to say the Archbishop agreed with everything going on in the Anglican Diocese of Harare. Chances are very high that there was a misrepresentation of facts of the situation on the ground. The events and life situation in the Archbishop's own diocese at that time could have created a smokescreen in the way he viewed and dealt with the Harare situation.

Being of Malawian origin, the Archbishop was working as Bishop of the Diocese of Northern Zambia from the time he was consecrated in 1988 to 2002. There were some internal pressures within his Diocese of Northern Zambia for him to leave the diocese and join a diocese in his native country Malawi. That was meant to enable the people of the Diocese of Northern Zambia to elect one of their own. In 2002 a vacancy arose in the Diocese of Upper Shire in Malawi, and the Archbishop joined the diocese through the process of translation.

It can be speculated here that each time Bishop Kunonga would report to the Archbishop that he was being persecuted for no apparent reason, the Archbishop was bound to recall his own experiences and challenges of being forced to relocate on nationality or tribal grounds. Bishop Kunonga tried to promote the view that people in Harare were persecuting him because he was not a "Manyika" but a "Zezuru", which of course was and is not true. His crime was ignoring church dictates and the friction he had caused among the priests and parishioners in various parishes within the Diocese of Harare.

On the other hand, the Diocesan Chancellor Mr Bob Stumbles' role could also be questioned. He was also part of the system that was in leadership when the likes of Bishop Hatendi and black clergy were being subjected to all sorts of humiliation. The 'white' administrators of the Diocese of Harare prior to and during Bishop P. Hatendi's tenure of office presented a seemingly calm and civilised appearance but was horrible. Moral chaos had existed before, but these were never attended to. While Bishop Kunonga was trying to redress the situation, he found himself on the extreme opposite, leaving the major middle ground unoccupied.

It must be emphasised at this juncture that the challenges discussed above were only confined to a few priests and parishes, which tends to

muffle the few voices of reason among the multitudes of Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare. The seed sown and the awareness campaigns by those few individuals were to act as an enlightenment process to the rest of the Diocese of Harare members.

4 | THE SECOND HALF OF THE DECADE OF TURMOIL: 2008-2012 (PART 1)

4.1 Introduction

The second half of the Anglican decade in turmoil, the years 2008 to 2012, was characterised by several events, chief among them being the historical attempt led by Bishop Kunonga to withdraw the Anglican Diocese of Harare from the CPCA under unclear circumstances and the brutal persecution of those who refused to follow Bishop Kunonga. This chapter seeks to critically evaluate the events of the time, examining possible reasons and considerations that led to altercations. This chapter is again mainly based on interviews and questionnaires.

4.2 The structure of the Church of the Province of Central Africa

An appreciation of the structure and governance of the church will help clarify some of the issues that surrounded the decade under review. The CPCA was constituted in May 1955 when a memorandum of understanding was signed by the Bishops of Mashonaland, Matabeleland, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, dedicated “to the Glory of God, and for the furtherance of fellowship, comity and mutual support among them and for the strengthening of the Church in its work of witnessing in Central Africa the redemption wrought for all men in Christ” (Constitution and Canons, 1969:1).

The Province is part of the Worldwide Anglican Communion. The Provincial Bishops attend the Lambeth Conference held every ten years in London, United Kingdom. Through their act, the Bishops declared in May 1955 that:

The dioceses aforesaid are by our act and determination united in the Province of Central Africa with the intention that its organisation should be developed in accordance with the constitution hereinafter contained as a Province of the Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England and with the Anglican Communion throughout the world (Constitution and Canons, 1969:2).

The Archbishop of Canterbury, regarded as the first among equals, presides over this conference and accordingly acts as the Head of the Anglican Communion. Currently, the Anglican Communion comprises

38 Provinces covering the entire globe. The CPCA comprises fifteen dioceses in four countries, namely Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Botswana. On account of population size, Zimbabwe and Zambia each have five dioceses, with Malawi having four and Botswana one. In view of this, there can never be any Anglican diocese outside a Province. The Province is headed by an Archbishop who oversees its general administration.

4.3 General dissent as Bishop Kunonga's ecclesiastical court collapses

Though Archbishop Bernard Malango, as Head of the Province, was able to suppress the 38 charges levelled against Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, this development still impacted Bishop Kunonga's ministry negatively and did not seem to go away. Bishop Kunonga's accusers vowed to pursue the matter through other means. Mr Bob Stumbles, a leading opponent of Bishop Kunonga, declared in one of his submissions that "the time has come to speak out against what is turning out to be a travesty of justice... the Archbishop had no right under church laws to make this ruling and Kunonga's trial must resume" (Correspondent, 2006).

With the cloud of an ecclesiastical court hanging over Bishop Kunonga's head, one can only speculate that he could not have been at peace with himself and naturally had to think and act very quickly. It can also be speculated that whatever decision he was going to make had to be informed and motivated by certain considerations, chiefly the pending resignation of Archbishop Bernard Malango. The researcher would need to investigate and analyse this matter.

4.4 The pending resignation of Archbishop Bernard Malango

The Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa, Archbishop Bernard Malango, was due to retire in January 2008, after serving the church since 1971 when he was made Deacon and subsequently served seven years as Archbishop. This was to create a major void in Bishop Kunonga's support base. A critical evaluation of the scenario reveals the possible options which Bishop Kunonga could have taken. The first option was to stand alone without the Archbishop's support, resign, and avoid being embarrassed in an ecclesiastical court. However, considering Bishop Kunonga's character and all the mayhem he had caused, and having tasted power and authority as well as the declaration he had made at his enthronement that

“God is calling us to possess this Anglican Church, to own it on behalf of Christ” (Kunonga, 2001), this option proved to be the least likely.

The second option was for him to be elected the successor to Archbishop Bernard Malango. This option was also very unlikely considering that Bishop Kunonga had made more enemies than friends during his short stint at the helm of the diocese, not to mention his track record, which was being tarnished by all the pending legal cases.

The third option by default became the only plausible route to take, and that was forming his own Province and thereby becoming the head of his own church outside the pronounced provincial structures of the CPCA, thus taking possession of the church according to his calling. To attain such a position would call for a great deal of strategic planning and manoeuvring, some of which can be microscopically sensed from various actions and accusations, all pointing to the goal of possessing the church.

4.5 A call to honour the out-going Archbishop Bernard Malango

A strategy was also put in place by Harare Diocese to try and coerce the Province of Central Africa to honour Archbishop Bernard Malango, who, as mentioned earlier, was due to retire in January 2008. That was to come in the form of the dissolution of the Province paving the way for the establishment of National or Territorial Provinces, thereby honouring the Archbishop by having him stand as the last Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa. The attention of the Provincial Bishops was drawn to this matter of dissolution, and other points raised by the Diocese of Harare in a circular dispatched from the Provincial Secretary, Rev Fr Eston Dickson Pembamoyo, on Friday 2nd of February 2007 to all Bishops of the Province as having been discussed in the previous Episcopal Synod but remaining unresolved.

Points were noted as having been the outcome of the Episcopal Synod, all pointing to the view that the Province of Central Africa was huge in terms of geographical area and that there had been an overdue need for the formation of National Provinces (Pembamoyo, 2007). However, what was at stake was the preparedness of other member countries to embrace this move. Looking at the letter, something of interest stands out, which leaves more questions than answers, this being the arguments and reasons for honouring the Archbishop as coming from the Diocese of Harare and the *modus operandi* in which the province was to be dissolved. The circular captured the three points as:

- The Archbishop, as he had indicated, was going to retire soon, in January 2008. He was the oldest and one of the longest-serving Cleric in the Province who needed to be honoured in some way.
- The National Provinces were sooner or later going to be established as it was reported. Therefore, to do something of historical value and to honour the current Archbishop, it would be best if the Province of Central Africa came to an end with the incumbent as the last Archbishop of Central Africa and National or Territorial Provinces started.
- Since not all members (Dioceses) were ready for the National Provinces and that, by regulation, the National Provinces could not be set up if any one of them was not ready, there was a need to go Territorial Provinces, and the Archbishop would install Archbishops for the Territorial Provinces and retire (Pembamoyo, 2007).

A closer look at this proposal from the Diocese of Harare reveals an urgent reason to push for the dissolution of the Province. It can be argued that Bishop Kunonga was hopeful that Archbishop Malango, being his friend, was likely to appoint or cause him to be elected as one of the National or Territorial Archbishops. If this was to be the case, then his accusers were to end up in an embarrassing situation in that all processes to take him back to an ecclesiastical court would be decided by him as the New Territorial Archbishop. However, this was not to be the case. The proposal never saw the light of the day.

4.6 The historic diocese of Harare August 2007 synod

The Anglican Diocese of Harare August 2007 Synod was historic because many acts of unethical conduct were witnessed and allowed to proceed unrestrained, thereby leaving more questions than answers in the minds of many synod delegates.

A synod is the governing board of a diocese whose function is “to approve or not approve from time to time all such Acts of Provincial Synod as require the approval of the diocesan synod; and to pass such Acts and do such other things as may be required for the order, good government and efficiency of the diocese” (Mashonaland, 1975:1).

On the 4th of August 2007, the 61st diocesan synod was held in Harare at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints. This synod was held at a time when there was a great deal of tension within and without the Diocese of Harare. This will forever be remembered in the history of the Anglican Diocese of Harare. Those who attended the sessions struggled to under-

stand what was at stake, nor could they clearly explain what was happening. However, it can be assumed that this synod was to set in motion the plans by Bishop Kunonga and his team to cut ties with the Province of Central Africa. According to Mr Fred Saruchera, some synod delegates from friendly parishes were planted and coached on how to argue in support of or against a motion before the synod (Saruchera, Mr, 2015).

During the synod, a motion on the “official teaching of the Diocese on sexuality” (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007), moved by Fr Prosper Muzambi and seconded by Fr Tendai Mutongomanya, took centre stage and dominated discussions. In mentioning the two men, I do not want to imply that they were in any way wrong in moving the motion on homosexuality. Homosexuality is just but one challenge among many bedevilling the Christian community in the diocese and the world over. But it is how the debate seemed to have been crafted by those in charge, namely the President of Synod himself, Bishop Kunonga and the moratorium’s stance on the challenges of homosexuality while disregarding some of the issues affecting the church.

The minutes of the synod revealed many participants, especially those who were given the opportunity to speak or contribute to the motion from the same perspective. Also of concern was that the captions of synod minutes were only of those who had spoken in favour of a certain stance that was not yet clear to the puzzled majority in attendance. A case in point was Mr Mark Oheyst, a white delegate from Christchurch, Borrowdale, who tried to urge the synod not to be emotional but to look at issues objectively and with the rationality they deserved. Mr Oheyst never got to finish his presentation as Rev Morris Gwedegwe sprang from his seat and snatched the microphone from him while using abusive language because he was white (Shambare, 2015).

To support the assertion by Mr Saruchera that it appears that members had been positioned to speak in a certain way, only a few individuals were given the platform to speak, and each one of them would present dimensions that were never in the motion per se. The whole synod was in turmoil. But one could sense that this issue was premeditated. The inner-circle speakers who knew the motive stood one after the other directing the debate towards the intended goal. Talk of breaking away from the Province came from the floor, and a quick review of the minutes can shed more light on this point as recorded:

Mrs Pswarayi urged the meeting not to compromise on sex and to debate on what is sinful. Mr Lovemore Matsika of St Mary's Highlands supported Mrs Pswarayi and added that Harare should reject this (homosexuality) outrightly and break away from those who are for it completely. Mr Albert Mazula was urged to place an exception of Bishop's charge in the media. He added that homosexuality would be contrary to African culture, a position probably influenced by the impending Provincial Synod in September to be held in Malawi. The house says we do not compromise on the word of God and on homosexuality in Toto (sic). Ven Harry Mambo Rinashe declared that the Diocese of Harare would have nothing to do or associate with any Diocese in the Province which accepted homosexuality (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

An agenda was very obvious in the deliberations. Someone had a vision of what was to be achieved, and delegates were being steered to adopt and share the same sentiments. The President of the Synod, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, also added his weight to the debate and remarked that

"two years ago one (homosexual priest) was almost consecrated by (sic) the Bishop of Lake Malawi. Others are still calling for that priest to come back and be a Bishop of Lake Malawi. 2/3 Bishops in this Province are supporting this, but the majority of the bench is not in support of this (homosexuality)" (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

As quoted above, Bishop Kunonga's words were a clear attempt to drive the delegates to an emotional stage to revolt against the so-called sympathisers of homosexuality. From examining the quotation, one can see anomalies, especially in the number of Bishops who were said to support those opposing the consecration of a Bishop-elect in the Diocese of Lake Malawi. How can one-third be a majority against two-thirds? Unless this was a typographical error which is unlikely because the minutes were proofread and passed as a correct record of what took place on the day.

Another anomaly in the minutes concerns an observer representing the Diocese of Manicaland, Ven Godfrey Chiwanza. He is recorded as having contributed to the debate on homosexuality. He remarked that "our Diocese vehemently ejects (sic) homosexuality (I suppose it was meant to read rejects). We do not accept donations from pro-homosexuals. If they do so, that is our point of departure" (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

In a proper and normal synod set-up, observers sit in a demarcated area to avoid mixing with delegates. They do not contribute or vote on any deliberations of the synod. The question, then, is why Ven Godfrey Chiwanza was allowed to contribute when he was just an observer? One can

insinuate that it was again part of the scheme to portray a picture of a national concern regarding the administration of the Anglican Province of Central Africa.

Another issue surfaced as the debate raged on: whether the Synod should adopt the matter as a Resolution, Act or Measure. The Acts of the Diocese define the three terms as follows:

- a) “Measure” means any decision of synod which is intended to have a mandatory effect but is deemed by synod for any reason whatsoever unsuitable for inclusion in the ecclesiastical law of this diocese.
- b) “Resolution” means any expression of the judgement or opinion of the synod which is intended to have an appreciative, hortatory or advisory, and not mandatory, effect.
- c) “Act” means any decision of synod which is intended to have a mandatory effect as part of the ecclesiastical law of this diocese (Mashonaland, 1975: i).

Delegates battled out which one to adopt, and even those who had been of the same view appeared divided on this matter. Indications are that those planted to steer the debate probably had not put much thought into the legal terms to be adopted. Rev Morris Gwedegwe, who was also the Diocesan Secretary with the support of Mrs M. Mendoza, advocated the term “measure”. Their argument was, “let’s not dilly-dally as is the case in other Dioceses of our Province” (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007). Delegates pushing for an “Act” were being fronted by Mrs Pswarayi and seconded by Fr John Nyarumwe, Mr Mutamaenda and Mrs A. S Tome. They asked, “why ‘measure’ and not ‘act’ because this smacks of other issues regarding human rights, let’s not take a ‘measure’ for a sin; we need something binding” (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007). Mr J.P. Mutizwa then added his voice by clarifying the matter and remarked, “if we enact this as an ‘Act’ we are leasing it, we better for now take it as a measure and then pass it on to the Province where it will be raised to the status of a Canon” (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

Out of pain and anger, Rev Shambare had no kind words for Mrs Pswarayi. He lamented that “all this life I respected Mbuya Pswarayi, but for goodness sake, the old woman left me with a lot to ask. Probably let me ask; Mbuya, do you understand that you are old enough not to be used in such a destructive manner? I thought your crown was ready, but sorry, you do not deserve it if I may judge you” (Shambare, 2015). This kind of sentiment was to represent the general feeling of Anglican parishioners in the Diocese of Harare.

Rev B. Shambare (Shambare, 2015) remarked, "in the heat of the argument, the Bishop gave a snap survey of what was prevailing in the Communion, looking at other Provinces who had taken a stance against homosexuality in countries like Uganda and Nigeria before asking the delegates the question, what do we do now?" Bishop Kunonga was recorded as urging the delegates not to be emotional in this matter of faith and doctrine and also urging them to understand the gravity of the matter. He added "people have expressed their thoughts, but what does Harare do? Should we take the initiative for an exodus, a complete breakaway? How do we respond to this if the Province has a contrary view?" (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

In response to these questions, the Registrar, Mr Mutizwa, advised that:

We belong to the Province of Central Africa, and do we belong to this Board (Province)? If we do, then let's follow what is prescribed by the Canons and Constitution. If we do not belong, then we can do what we want. Be that as it may, I suppose that we take this as a 'measure' so that we take this to the Provincial Synod (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

In his response, Rev Shambare argued that "at first it appeared that J. Mutizwa was not aware of the intentions, so he sought, but without success, to convince the house not to enact the matter. He tried to explain three words; Resolution, Measure and Act. However, the confused house opted for an Act" (Shambare, 2015). However, looking at Mr Mutizwa, the registrar's rhetorical questions seemed to be directing people as to what course of action to take, especially the part where he is quoted as saying, "if we do not belong, then we can do what we want" (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007). That was a clear indication that he supported the pulling out of the Province, which also shows that the team had looked at the pros and cons of the matter from a legal perspective.

This matter was then put to the vote, and the delegates voted unanimously for an 'Act' which was drafted as:

This Synod has unanimously agreed to make a Diocesan Act that from the 4th of August 2007, the Diocese of Harare disassociates itself and severs relationship with any individual, group of people, organisation, institution, Diocese, Province or otherwise, which indulges in, sympathies or compromises with homosexuality. The House of Bishops also consented (P Muzambi, Mr Muzenda, 2007).

According to Ven Vincent Fenga, "this motion left a number of delegates puzzled, for they could not comprehend the way the discussion was being

steered” (Fenga, Ven, 2016). Ven Fenga went on to assert that, “It was glaringly obvious to all those who were level-headed that the Bishop had already made a decision which was to break away from the Province of Central Africa and all he wanted was support from members of the Diocese” (Fenga, Ven, 2016). That was apparent from the leading questions meant to guide the delegates and, as mentioned above, steer their emotions to cut ties with the Province completely. All these deliberations were in preparation for the pending Provincial Synod, which was scheduled to be held on the 7th of September that same year in Malawi and had a bearing on the deliberations and outcome of the Provincial Synod.

4.7 Provincial synod held in Malawi: September 2007

The Constitution and Canons of the Province define the Provincial Synod as, “By ‘Provincial Synod’ is and shall be meant an assembly Provincial of the Houses of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity (being communicants) of the Province of Central Africa, constituted, convened, and held according to rules laid down in this Constitution” (Constitutions and Canons, 1969:7).

The 2007 Provincial Synod was held in Mangochi, Malawi, on the 7th of September and the Anglican Diocese of Harare went there in full force in a hired bus, clearly to add support in an anti-homosexuality demonstration. Among the delegates was Mr Caesar Zvayi, a reporter with The Herald, one of the daily newspapers, who also happened to be a member of St Peter’s Mabelreign in Harare. It can be noted from a Pastoral Letter issued by Bishops Godfrey Tawonezwi of Masvingo, Bishop Wilson Sitshebo of Diocese of Matabeleland and Bishop Ishmael Mukuwanda of Diocese of Central Zimbabwe that the discussion on homosexuality was never at the centre of debate at the Provincial Synod. The Pastoral letter explained thus:

The Church of the Province of Central Africa condemns homosexuality. This has always been the position of the Province and continues to be so. At the just ended Provincial Synod, homosexuality was not part of Synod Agenda and no Bishop, Priest or lay person condoned homosexuality. No homosexuality lobby by anyone ever took place at the Provincial Synod. The Province upholds Christian teaching on marriage guided by Scripture and Canon 22 of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (Godfrey Tawonezwi; Wilson Sitshebo; Ishmael Mukuwanda, 2007).

The deliberations at the Provincial Synod could have been a smack in the face for those who had gone to Malawi anticipating a show-down. Be that as it may, the Harare delegates, with the support of those from the Diocese

of Mutare, caused a scene when they demanded that the Province pronounce its position on homosexuality, a development which the other delegates questioned: Just pronouncing a position on a matter which had not been on the agenda sounded illogical (Saruchera, Mr, 2015). Indications were made at the synod by the two dioceses that they were contemplating severing ties with the Province. This then prompted the production of the Pastoral Letter from the three Bishops mentioned earlier.

4.8 "Homosexuality breaks up Anglican Province" (The Herald)

The presence of a Herald reporter, Caesar Zvayi, in Mangochi, Malawi, as one of the delegates from Harare Diocese, could not have meant anything to the generality of delegates at the Provincial Synod. However, one began to question the logic and reasons for his presence and can be forgiven for assuming that he was supposed to make sure that events at the Provincial Synod were given all possible publicity. It can also be assumed that Kunonga wanted to use the article's publication in The Herald back home in Harare as a springboard to justify the withdrawal of the Diocese of Harare from the Province of Central Africa. The Herald newspaper article of 10th September 2007 carried an article over the headline 'Homosexuality Breaks up Central Africa Anglican Province'. The author, Caesar Zvayi, made some sensational remarks claiming that "The Anglican Province of Central Africa broke up yesterday following the withdrawal of Harare Diocese and expressions of intent to pull out by other dioceses that accused the province of failing to censure some bishops dabbling in homosexuality" (Zvayi, 2007).

Whether it was by design or not, one wonders, the article went on to state that "according to the standing orders of the Province of Central Africa, once one Diocese withdraws, the province becomes null and void and will have to be reconstituted under a new name and structure" (Zvayi, 2007). Looking no further in the same article, Caesar Zvayi draws parallels by citing, though incorrectly, that "the withdrawal of Harare Diocese is the second time a diocese had severed ties with the province following what the now Archbishop of Nigeria, the Most Rev Peter Akinola, did years back when he dumped the Province, again over the issue of homosexuality" (Zvayi, 2007).

What Caesar Zvayi did not state was that this had never happened in the Province of Central Africa. If it was correct that Bishop Peter Akinola had severed ties with this Province, then the dissolution could have taken

place back then. The Province of Nigeria is different from the Province of Central Africa, although the issues at stake were the same. With this information, it appears as if Bishop Kunonga had become obsessed with the idea of breaking away from the Province and had just ‘cut and pasted’ what Bishop Peter Akinola had done in Nigeria and thought it would work out to be the same in Zimbabwe.

A critical analysis of the Article would paint a gloomy picture with examples being proffered to try and tell a story that it was already a done deal that the Province of Central Africa had crumbled. In the article, one reads that:

In highly charged presentations to the Provincial Synod that opened and ended here on Saturday, Bishop Elson Jakazi of Manicaland- who moved the motion for the dissolution of the province, and Vicar General of Harare Diocese Venerable Harry Mambo Rinashe, who seconded, took the outgoing Archbishop, the Right Reverend Dr Bernard Amos Malango, and the homosexual lobby within the province to task over the issue (Zvayi, 2007).

It can be deduced from this quotation that the real issue was calling for the “dissolution” of the Province, and the epitome of scheming was bringing up or smuggling those issues that supported the cause and at the same time appealed to the general laity and one such issue being homosexuality.

This report and the general style of reporting was criticized by The Revd Fr Eston Dickson Pembamoyo, the Provincial Secretary of CPCA. In his article titled, *Official Response to September 10 Article in The Zimbabwe Herald* published in the Anglican News Service, he wrote:

I should first of all state that the Bishops of the Church of the Province of Central Africa at their recent Episcopal and Provincial Synod Meetings resolved to make it known to all and sundry that the Province stands by its previous statements, Lambeth Conference 1998 Resolution 1.10, which commend to the Church the subsection report on human sexuality which, whilst rejecting homosexuality practise as incompatible with Scripture, calls on our people to minister pastorally and sensitively to all irrespective of sexual orientation and to condemn irrational fear of homosexuals, violence within marriage and any trivialisation and commercialisation of sex; the Lambeth Resolution further states that it does not advise the legitimisation or blessing of same-sex union nor ordaining those in same-gender union; the Resolution also commits the Church to listen to the experience of baptised, believing and faithful persons, regardless of sexual orientation as full members of the Body of Christ (Pembamoyo, 2007).

However, it is this resolution which Bishop Kunonga in an interview with Caesar Zvayi dismissed and described as a "face-saving move, saying the province's failure to discipline Bishop Mwamba and to resolve the Lake Malawi impasse proved that the cancer had spread in the province" (Zvayi, 2007).

Still, in response to The Herald article, Fr Pembamoyo went on to state that, "The Bishops also in the same vein reaffirmed the Church of the Province of Central Africa's commitment to the 'Windsor Process' and in this regard categorically stated that it did not want to be pulled to any one side of the divide and was committed to listening to the process, dialogue and reconciliation" (Pembamoyo, 2007).

Fr Dickson went further to look at issues that had been reported in The Herald article and set the record straight in a seven-point response as set out below:

1. Contrary to The Herald's report that the Anglican Province of Central Africa broke up on the 9th September 2007, the fact is the Church of the Province of Central Africa remains strongly intact.
2. Contrary to The Herald's report that the Diocese of Manicaland, along with one other Zimbabwean diocese, expressed its intention to quit the Province, no such intention was expressed at the Synod.
3. Contrary to The Herald's report that according to the standing orders of the Province of Central Africa, once one diocese withdraws, the Province becomes null and void and would have to be reconstituted under a new name and structure, no such standing order exists. However, should there be any intention of the Province being dissolved, such an act, according to the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, would require the due legal process and procedures being followed, which, among other things, would involve a proposed amendment which would have to be provisionally approved by the Provincial Synod having been approved by the Synod of each Diocese in the Province and confirmed by the Provincial Synod by a two-thirds majority of those present.
4. Contrary to The Herald's report of the existence of a homosexual lobby led by the Bishop of Botswana, Trevor Musonda Mwamba, the Rt Rev. Dr James Tengatenga of Southern Malawi and two Zimbabwean Bishops, the fact of the matter is that there is no known homosexual lobby in the Church of the Province of Central Africa and any insinuations of there being such a lobby are highly regrettable and libellous.
5. Contrary to The Herald's report of the existence of an anti-gay lobby led by Bishop Nolbert Kunonga of Harare, the fact of the matter is that there is no known anti-gay lobby in the Church of the Province of Central Africa.

6. Contrary to The Herald's report that in their addresses, The Rev. Emmanuel Sserwadda of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America and the Rt. Rev. Michael Doe, General Secretary of United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG), had implored the Synod to drop the issue of homosexuals from the agenda in exchange for funding of Church projects, and that a day earlier the Rev. Chad Gandiya of the USPG Africa Desk had expressed similar sentiments; this is totally false. The fact of the matter is the three invited speakers to the Provincial Synod talked about ways and means of improving and strengthening existing partnership links.
7. It is highly regrettable that The Herald could publish such a misleading, false and pernicious article. The article falls gravely short of basic professional journalistic demands of balance, fairness and honesty (Pembamoyo, 2007).

Having looked at both the article by Caesar Zvayi and the response to the article by Fr Dickson Pembamoyo, one is left wondering, as mentioned earlier, as to the motive of misrepresenting the facts of what had taken place in Mangochi, Malawi, not only to the Anglicans in and around Zimbabwe but also to the ordinary citizens of Zimbabwe and the Worldwide community. At this juncture, credit can be given to the leadership of the Province Central Africa for coming up in full defence of the Province and what it stands for in relation to the issue of homosexuals.

4.9 Rev Gwedegwe's seething response to Fr Pembamoyo's article

However, despite this response, those advocating for the dissolution of the Province and the withdrawal from the Province had other ideas. In a letter to the Assistant Editor of The Herald who was referred to as Cde Innocent Gore, Fr Morris Brown Gwedegwe wrote:

As discussed yesterday, below is the response and additions of what took place in Mangochi, Malawi. What Cde Caesar Zvayi captured is the truth. We kindly ask you to publish the same, and I have sent a copy to Fr Eston Pembamoyo in Malawi. You can edit to suit professional reporting and maybe check how I present names to avoid backfires as discussed. But what I have said is reality of what transpired at Mangochi. I will be sending more articles in different mails on the same homosexuality issue (Gwedegwe, 2007).

The fact that Fr Morris Gwedegwe discussed with the Assistant Editor of The Herald reinforces the point that they were scheming something to justify the withdrawal and that they wanted it known to the whole of Zimbabwe. The quotation above also shows how naïve the Diocesan officials

were in that they were afraid of a backlash and, in a way, tried to make sure that names were correctly captured. What is also clear was that Fr Morris Gwedegwe had assumed the role of supplying information to the editor.

In his defence of The Herald article, Rev Gwedegwe argued that:

Those who want to go to hell or translate this province into Sodom and Gomorrah, God will meet you along the way. Harare Diocese is gone. These were not emotional statements but facts which The Herald could have published to substantiate its story. What it did was very good to alert those at home, not only Anglicans but all Christians, that homosexuality is an abomination (Gwedegwe, 2007).

If the so-called 'facts' were readily available, The Herald article could have used the information in their first publication. However, it seems this information was yet to be supplied by the informer and only to be made available in the form of a response to the article's publication. However, considering his standpoint, the information was bound to be biased and more inclined to support their position.

Fr Gwedegwe's response to Fr Dickson Pembamoyo's criticism of The Herald story was full of a vitriolic attack of the episcopal bench. Fr Gwedegwe started his note by declaring that he was present at the meeting and mainly accused Fr Dickson Pembamoyo of falsifying his report to Anglicans Worldwide. He argued, "because he has criticized the truth, I am forced to counter his false presentations of what transpired in the Provincial Synod of September 8, 2007" (Gwedegwe, 2007).

Fr Morris Gwedegwe went on to argue that:

There was no agenda given beforehand. The said agenda was given 30 minutes before the commencement of business. To be precise, there was no agenda. Such a meeting requires the agenda to be published two months before the date of Synod (Canon 1:1). If we were going to follow rules, the synod would have been adjourned to allow the agenda to be properly tabled" (Gwedegwe, 2007).

From Fr Gwedegwe's perspective, only one item then was to be discussed: the CPCA will be dissolved. On this note, it would therefore mean that Fr Dickson Pembamoyo was correct in pronouncing that the motion to withdraw the Diocese of Harare and Manicaland was not on the agenda. What was tabled by Bishop Jakazi and seconded by the Vicar General of Harare, Fr Harry Rinashe, was for the dissolution of the Province, which would require the correctly argued legal processes and procedures to be followed as stipulated in the third point of his response mentioned earlier.

It would be malicious for Fr Gwedegwe to present as a fact, as he did, that “because it was very clear to the Archbishop and it was imminent to all Bishops that the Province of Central Africa could no longer hold with the invasion that had crept, all wanted pronouncement that the Province of Central Africa is now dissolved” (Gwedegwe, 2007).

In his argument, Fr Gwedegwe concluded that, just because Archbishop Malango was now on his way out, he, therefore, was no longer interested in the well-being of the Province and hence he never bothered to quiz those who were proposing to move a motion for the dissolution of the Province.

Of interest to note is that Rev Gwedegwe went at length to try and ‘unravel’ all the statements that could have been said even outside the Provincial Synod, all in an effort to demonise the Bishops of the Province. This in itself poses a challenge in that Rev Gwedegwe was regarded as the Chief Architect of the move to pull the diocese out of the Province, with pointers in his article directing that as stated below:

The Archbishop, the Most Rev Dr Bernard Amos Malango was aware. The Provincial Secretary Fr Eston Pembamoyo was aware that there was going to be an explosive debate from Bishops, Clergy and Laity present in the Synod. Why didn't the Archbishop immediately make clear his stance irrespective of his retirement? In God we don't retire. He spoke of love and keeping people united. He failed to see the cracks in the Anglican Communion. He hoped for unity which is not paramount with the current position taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

He has compromised a lot by accepting the Civil Partnership motion in his Synod, which compromises his position vis-à-vis homosexuals. He has also attended a secret service for gay priests at St Peter's, Eaton Square – Church of England, quotes Ruth Gledhill of the Times 18 September 2007 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams, is to hold a secret Communion service for gay clergy and their partners in London. Dr Williams will celebrate the Eucharist at St Peter's, Eaton Square - The Church of England parish that is known as the spiritual home to some of the country's most liberal and wealthy Anglican elite.

There, he will give an address titled ‘Present realities and future possibilities for lesbians and gay men in the Church’. I, Rev Gwedegwe, raised concern citing events that had taken place in Tanzania at the Primates' Meeting (February 2007), when our own Archbishop Bernard Malango refused to participate in the Eucharist that was celebrated over by Archbishop Jefferts Schori of TEC, The Episcopal Church USA (ECUSA). Was he wrong? If Harare says we are going, is it wrong to sever relationships with homosexual movements? Father Pembamoyo, is it money? Why

should there be noise? Because it's Harare and Bishop Kunonga? Let's be real when it comes to God's commandments. Bishop Kunonga said very little besides supporting what the people of Harare wanted, 'to sever relationships with those who sympathise or compromise on homosexuality issues' period. That is what Harare Diocese did. Those who want to follow, we welcome you (Gwedegwe, 2007)

Archbishop Bernard Malango is reported as having refused to participate in the Eucharist celebrated by Archbishop Jefferts Schori, and if this was the case, then we are not told whether he then withdrew the Province from the Anglican Communion. However, facts on the ground indicate that he did not withdraw the Province from the Anglican Communion. What he did was to register his displeasure. Suppose the Diocese of Harare and friends in Manicaland were sincere in their quest for a clean and untainted Province. In that case, they could have simply registered their displeasure in the like manner as Archbishop Bernard Malango and remained in the Province.

4.10 Money has been used ...

Rev Morris Gwedengwe then played another card to prove and substantiate his point, this time attacking the Provincial Synod's guest speakers. He raised the issue of money having been used to destroy the Province. He argued:

What experience do we want to gain from abomination? God condemns, and who are we to change goalposts? Maybe money can lead us to change because the Archbishop Bernard A. Malango goes on to hit hard on money, the evil in the pudding. Hear what the Most Rev Dr Malango says: 'Money has been used to destroy the Lake Malawi Diocese. Henderson has poured tens of thousands of pounds into the Diocese in order to buy a bishopric' (Gwedegwe, 2007).

This quotation was just an introduction to what he was aiming at as he then went on to argue that:

It has been my desire that money should not control the situation but the Christian faith alone. Money is the root of all evil. Bishops of Central Africa embraced persons who alone are devoting thousands and thousands of US dollars and pounds to achieve their goal. For example, Rev Chad Gandiya is bringing funds from USPG (United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, USPG) targeting HIV/AIDS and Priests' training. Where was he when Dioceses had problems? (Gwedegwe, 2007).

There is an adage that says, ‘It is never too late to mend.’ So to partially answer the question, ‘Where was he when Dioceses had problems’; one can assume that this was probably the best time the USPG had sought to help the Dioceses in the Province with financial resources to mitigate the scourge of HIV/AIDs and the need to support in priests’ training. However, it may also be prudent to note that many organisations and link partners withdrew their support to the Diocese of Harare in response to the negative attitude which was being displayed by Bishop Kunonga and all the negative fights that were going on in the diocese to protect their reputations.

Another thing is the mandate of the organisation USPG and what it stands for. From the name USPG, one can deduce its mandate, which is to support, where necessary, the propagation of the gospel. If then the Provincial Synod was to deliberate on means and ways of enhancing the processes of evangelism, then one would say the presence of USPG representatives was welcome to help each other find common ground in this church’s mandate preach and spread the gospel.

Asked to comment on the accusation by Gwedengwe, Bishop Gandiya had this to say:

I think it’s malicious, not true, and I think there is a lot of twisting of facts. Let me put the record straight: I admit I was an employee of The United Society of the Propagation of the Christian Gospel in London and USPG worked with all the former Provinces, the church that the USPG Missionary founded in Africa. I was the desk officer for Africa and the Indian Ocean. My work was to co-ordinate and support the work of the Church and not of USPG but the local Church.

USPG made it possible through grants from the training of Priests to education in general and to equip the African Church, to Hospitals for instance in Lake Malawi in Malosa, USPG supported the whole process of the construction of a Hospital. It was my job to visit the Provinces at least once or twice a year, and it so happened that I was visiting Malawi at the time of the Provincial Synod. In the meeting, I was only invited in to be welcomed and introduced, and I left. I am not even aware of what they discussed. My boss was the one who had been invited by the Province to explain the work of USPG and the new direction it was taking. So for them to imply that I came to influence people on issues of homosexuality is utter nonsense (Gandiya, Bishop, 2017).

Commenting on the accusation that he was using money to influence delegates, Bishop Gandiya vehemently denied this and pointed out that he only went to the bank to change money for his travel expenses to Archbishop Malango’s Diocese. It so happened that while he was at the bank,

he met a group of Zimbabwean delegates, among them Fr Harry Rinashe, who then jumped to the conclusion that I was changing money to give to the delegates at the Provincial Synod (Gandiya, Bishop, 2017).

After having raised the issue of the presence of USPG, Rev Gedegwe went on to challenge Rev Chad Gandiya when he noted:

Hold on a minute, did you know that sometime in 1997/98 or thereabouts, Rev Chad Gandiya, whilst he was the Principal at Bishop Gaul College in Harare, he invited gays from South Africa to come and share with trainee priests in Zimbabwe. The trainee priests who were there boycotted Eucharist services conducted by Rev Gandiya in protest. The same Gandiya comes with money to the Province of Central Africa and assumes that we are blind. No, we are not blind (Gwedengwe, 2007).

Bishop Gandiya responded to this accusation, arguing that:

You and I know that this is utter nonsense. You were a student then. I never invited a group of South African gays or straights to come and address students on issues of homosexuality; that's utter nonsense. But you and I also know from time to time we did hold seminars on HIV/AIDs in trying to help ordinands prepare for what they would encounter in the Ministry. If that is interpreted as encouraging ordinands to practise homosexuality, then they are old moor to be picket (extensive waste to be buried into the ground), and I am also quite convinced that they had an agenda to find faults in what we were doing and so they were simply grasping at straw because nothing like that ever took place, no student ever demonstrated against me or refused to take Communion for whatever reason and so this should be dismissed because it's utterly false (Gandiya, Bishop, 2017).

This allegation by Rev Gwedegwe generates more questions than answers. First and foremost, this researcher was in the said College during the time frame mentioned and never experienced such boycotts. Rev Chad Gandiya, being the Principal of the College, would invite different people and representatives of various organisations to come and speak to the trainee priests. However, none of the invited people ever came with the notion of advocating homosexuality. Several trainees of that time who are now priests, including Canon Julius Chimudzimu Zimbudzana, have all denied this. According to Canon Zimbudzana, "Gwedegwe was a chief manipulator, and he just wanted to tarnish Rev Chad Gandiya's image knowing very well that he (Rev Chad Gandiya) had many overseas contacts and connections" (Zimbudzana, 2017).

Looking at Canon Zimbudzana, one might want to question the authenticity of his account, considering his current position in the Diocese of

Harare. He is currently working in the Diocese of Harare as a priest and holds several positions, which include being an Archdeacon of Harare East (an appointee of Bishop Chad Gandiya) and a Capitular Canon of the Diocese. However, Canon Zimbudzana's account was supported by Rev Tawanda Gezi, who was also part of the group of trainees in college during that time frame mentioned by Rev Gwedegwe. Rev Tawanda Gezi argues that Rev Gwedegwe's allegations should be dismissed with the contempt it deserves since this was a creation of his own mind (Gezi, 2016).

Rev Chad Gandiya being the Principal of Bishop Gaul College, meant that he was answerable to all the five bishops in Zimbabwe who constituted the college's Board of Trustees. If the allegations by Rev Gwedegwe were true, why is it that there seems to be no record or mention of the Rev Chad Gandiya being brought before a disciplinary hearing to answer to the charges? Another point to note is that not only was Rev Chad Gandiya answerable to the five bishops from Zimbabwe alone during the period mentioned but there were also priests from Zambia such as Rev David Ndlovu and Rev Harry Zulu, who were undertaking further studies there. This situation would automatically bring into the fold their Bishop as well. The researcher does not believe that all these Bishops would have turned a blind eye to these serious allegations and can only concur with those who rubbished the assertions by Rev Gwedegwe.

This, however, was only a fragment of a litany of charges levelled against most of the participants and speakers at the Provincial Synod. Some of those who were attacked included Bishop Michael Doe, Secretary of USPG and Rev Emmanuel Sserwadda, the Episcopal church's Partnership Officer for Africa. These two were accused of having promised to bring millions of dollars into the Province of Central Africa "for as long as Bishops identified what they want to use the money for" (Gwedegwe, 2007).

What was embedded in Rev Gwedegwe's mind was that the statement 'for as long as Bishops identified what they want to use the money for' implied indirectly that the Bishops were to identify programmes meant to promote homosexuality. However, one can argue that the promised money was never meant to promote homosexuality or any related programmes, for there is no mention of this in Rev Gwedegwe's letter. This money was for projects meant to mitigate HIV/AIDs suffering among the infected and affected members of our Christian Communities.

In clear defiance of protocol, the Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams and Archbishop John Sentamu of York were not spared from the

vitriolic attacks. In the same letter, Rev Gwedegwe charged that "Archbishop Rowan Williams recently did a Communion Service for the gays in one of the richest areas in London: Richest areas means he comes out of this place rich. Gay and lesbian movements have become gold mines for Rowan Williams and other Archbishops and clergymen worldwide" (Gwedegwe, 2007). However, the Provincial Synod in Malawi was not meant to solve global challenges surrounding homosexuality. If anything, it was meant to cement relationships despite all these challenges.

Rev Gwedegwe also took the opportunity to swipe at the Pastoral Letter from the other three Bishops in Zimbabwe, published in the *Financial Gazette* of February 20, 2007. He argued:

My Lord Bishops (Masvingo, Matabeleland and Central Zimbabwe) cannot write a pastoral letter now. It is too late. Debate was done, and it is known who supports what. Money was received. Those who received the money cannot betray their paymasters in case they are left in the cold. They have to write pastoral letters lying to people who are not aware of what is happening. We don't need wolves in sheepskin now; we need shepherds who tend the flock in truth. Williams is following the gold mines (gay areas) preaching and listening. That is Lambeth. We can do our own African Anglican Meeting and follow the scripture (Gwedegwe, 2007).

That again gives the impression that there was no turning back on the withdrawal of the Diocese of Harare from the Province of Central Africa. From Rev Gwedegwe's perspective, people had made up their minds and were definitely going to support their cause, hence the declaration "it is too late." However, history was to reveal the true state of mind of the general members of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Harare and sister Dioceses in Zimbabwe.

4.11 Philip Mutasa, Vice-Chairperson of trustees, raises a red flag

Just as the Zimbabwean Bishops were concerned, on the 17th of September 2007, Phillip Baki Mutasa, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees, wrote to the Archbishop seeking guidance on the matter of properties held by Harare Diocese Trust's Board on behalf of the Province of Central Africa as defined in the Constitution and Canons Article 23. He also questioned the silence and non-rebuttal of statements issued to the press by Bishop Kunonga, particularly those that had appeared in *The Herald* newspaper of 10 September 2007. Phillip Mutasa went on to quote *The Herald*:

1. Bishop Kunonga was asked, 'I understand the Province of Central Africa took a stand against homosexuality, and at the just ended Synod, a resolution was drafted to that effect. Why did you leave?' In response, Bishop Kunonga is quoted as having said, "There are several reasons why we pulled out as Diocese...."
2. In response to the question, "There are five dioceses in Zimbabwe that can constitute a province according to the Constitution of the Province of Central Africa. Does that same constitution bind you? If not, what is the way forward?" Bishop Kunonga reportedly said, 'we are out of the Province of Central Africa right now, we are going to form a new province'" (Mutasa P. B., 2007).

At this, Mr Mutasa pleaded with the Archbishop that "the above is a matter which is causing a lot of confusion, and we seek your guidance and clarification to enable us to proceed in a manner consistent with the dictates of your office" (Mutasa P. B., 2007).

Mr Mutasa was to get a response from Bishop Trevor Mwamba, who was the Bishop of Diocese of Botswana, then on the 24th of September 2007, in his letter stated that he was responding in his 'capacity as a Bishop of the Province and lawyer' (Mwamba, 2007). Bishop Trevor Mwamba wrote:

The position is very simple and clear. As you rightly cite, Article 23 of the Articles of the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa vests all properties held by a Diocese in the Province of Central Africa. Dioceses in the Province concerned do not own property. All property in the Dioceses belongs to the Province of Central Africa. Accordingly, Article 23 states, 'Every Diocesan Synod, or Diocesan Trust's Board appointed by such Synod, shall be a body authorised to exercise on behalf of the Provincial Synod the powers designated in these Articles of the Constitution, and in the several Clauses of Schedule C annexed thereto, in respect to property given or acquired for the benefit of the Church in that Diocese'. The Trust's Board of the Diocese of Harare position therefore, authorised as it is by Church of the Province of Central Africa, to exercise on behalf of the Provincial Synod, will be first to protect the legal rights of the Province of Central Africa to every property in the Diocese of Harare. Secondly, to ensure that every person in the Diocese of Harare is aware that the pull-out/breakaway of the 'Diocese of Harare' has no legal basis in the Constitution and Canons of the Province (Mwamba, 2007).

In this response, it appears as if this whole exercise was going to be smooth sailing, in which Bishop Kunonga was just going to hand over all the properties of the Diocese of Harare. Bishop Trevor Mwamba and all the other Bishops may not have taken time to scrutinise the statement by

Bishop Kunonga that "we are out of the Province of Central Africa right now, we are going to form a new province" (Mutasa P. B., 2007). That was a loaded statement and meant that Kunonga would not walk out of the Province of Central Africa, leaving the Diocesan properties behind.

It must be noted that Mr Mutasa's letter was written on the 17th of September 2007, a few days before Bishop Kunonga formalised his withdrawal. The news was only in the papers and not yet official. Hence the Province could not have done anything except to watch as the events unfolded. Also worth noting is the probability that Mr Mutasa knew the kind of person the church was dealing with, that if he (Bishop Kunonga) sets his mind on something, then there was no turning back for him. This follows some experience that he had after acquiring vehicles by the Diocesan Trustees without his knowledge as Vice-Chairperson.

In his letter of 7 June 2007 addressed to the Diocesan Secretary, Rev Fr Barnabas Machingauta, Mr Mutasa queried why the trustees had purchased three vehicles at a total cost of 8.5 billion Zimbabwean dollars. This should be understood in light of the hyperinflation that hit the country during the decade under review (namely the years 2002-2012), side-lining other activities that had been set as first on the list of priorities such as clergy stipends which were not being paid in time. He argued that:

I am surprised that motor vehicles have, instead, been purchased, thus superseding the agreed priority area. It is clear to me these vehicles are not a priority given that the Bishop had a car purchased 3 years ago as an exceptional case from Trustees' free cash resources. To date, there has been no mention of any problems with this car. The Diocesan Secretary's vehicle had been discussed with you, and it had been agreed to repair the Diocesan Secretary's vehicle at the cost of \$27million. At most, the expenditure from Trust Funds would have been \$27million, which amount can be sustained from free cash resources. The figure of \$8.5 billion is obviously shocking and unwarranted. It appears that you have liquidated Trust Funds, and I am not aware of any Trust Deed providing for this expense (Mutasa P.B., 2007:2).

The arguments raised by Mr Mutasa above show that this person was operating with a clear sense of responsibility to safeguard Diocesan investments as per his mandate as Diocesan Trustee. However, he was to raise a point of order further when he realised that he was now being side-lined when it came to authorisation of expenditure. He wrote:

I further express my disappointment and concerns at an emerging trend since your assumption of office. This trend relates to transactions for which I raised queries on their integrity to the purpose of Trust Funds. I have not

received any responses from other Trustees whom you are not alerting about my queries on the integrity of the transactions. I am not sure whether the office of Vice Chairperson of the Board of Trustees has any meaning or role in this background. It is necessary to observe the proper procedures on financial governance, as has been the case before your appointment. What this means, clearly, is a regularisation of signatories to the Trust Accounts and observance of limitations of the Deeds. The matter pertaining to vitiation of trust deeds is a matter which I consider quite serious as this will decimate Trust Funds and go against the obligation which Trustees have towards Trust Funds (Mutasa, 2007a).

This wilful disregard of procedures relating to Trust Funds had a bearing later on in the smooth running of the diocese. The composition and patronage of some of the trustees were also to have a detrimental effect on the stance to be taken by the board in safeguarding the diocesan properties when Bishop Kunonga announced the withdrawal of the diocese from the Province of Central Africa.

4.12 Bishop Kunonga formally “Withdraws” the Diocese of Harare

Despite assurances from other Bishops in Zimbabwe that there was never going to be a debate to lobby for or condone homosexuality in the near future, on the 21st of September 2007, Bishop Kunonga formally wrote a letter of withdrawal from the Province of Central Africa. This letter was addressed to The Most Reverend Dr B.A. Malango, who was now on the verge of leaving/retiring from the Province and by then was no longer in a position to deal with this letter. Bishop Kunonga wrote, “by copy of this letter, the Diocese of Harare would like to formalise its exclusion from the Church of the Province of Central Africa as minuted in the records of the Provincial Synod of 2007 September the 8th which we trust you hold” (Kunonga N. , 2007).

This letter was pregnant with accusations of purported acts and statements by some Bishops of the Province, chief among them being Bishop Trevor Mwamba of Botswana. Bishop Kunonga wrote:

Most Reverend Father in God, as a Diocese, we are worried by the position taken by Bishop Trevor Mwamba regarding the issue of homosexuality and its damaging implications on the Province. It is important to note that the Bishop here referred is a member of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, which states as its fundamental declaration, “We hold the faith of Christ as taught in the Holy scriptures preached by the Apostles, summed up in the Creeds and confirmed by the undisputed General Councils of

the Holy Catholic Church (Canons, Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa, 1969:3).

Your Grace, what has been happening on the ground as regards the said member of the Episcopal bench, has been indeed the contrary as portrayed by statements he has made (Kunonga, 2007a).

One does not solve challenges by withdrawing from the Province. Suppose indeed this was true that the statements being uttered by Bishop Mwamba had damaging implications coupled with some ripple effects on the Province. In that case, Bishop Kunonga could have raised this as a matter of concern. He could also have followed this with a suggestion to the Archbishop for the ecclesiastical court to sit and charge the said Bishop Mwamba for contravening the declaration under an appropriate charge.

In the letter, Bishop Kunonga went to great lengths explaining the reasons that had led to the decision to break away from the Province. Chief among the reasons was how some Bishops, particularly Bishop Trevor Mwamba, had handled homosexuality that arose within the Province during his tenure as Dean of the Province.

A closer analysis of the letter shows that issues had indeed arisen, and the Province had dealt with them. One such case was the election of Nicholas Henderson on the 29th July 2005 to be Bishop of Lake Malawi, which was challenged because he embraced homosexuality, and the Confirmation Court declined to affirm his election, as shall be discussed later in this chapter.

Bishop Kunonga acknowledged these efforts, which to an outsider were more than enough to convince or remove any shade of doubt on the stance of the Province of Central Africa. Looking at the Pastoral Letter by the three Zimbabwean Bishops, it was clear the issue of the Diocese of Lake Malawi was being dealt with, and according to the Bishops, "a Diocesan Synod was recently held in the Diocese of Lake Malawi. And all the faithful in the Province are called upon to pray for Lake Malawi Diocese and members of the Elective Assembly whose duty is to elect a Diocesan Bishop" (Tawonezwi, G.; Sitshebo, W. & Mukuwanda, I. 2007).

In the same letter, Bishop Kunonga castigated representative present from ECUSA at the Provincial Synod held in Malawi, and he noted with concern that:

Our knowledge of the interests and agenda of ECUSA made us very concerned when through their representative, Rev Emmanuel Serwada, they marked their presence at the Provincial Synod. We have read elsewhere of

the concerted efforts being made to subvert and undermine orthodox African bishops with promises of a lot of money in exchange. The presence of ECUSA, therefore, was no mean coincidence but a fulfilment of this agenda, and we refuse to be part to this daylight robbery of our conscience and faith by silver shekels (Kunonga, 2007a).

In this letter, we are not told whether the ECUSA representative spoke of the desire to promote homosexuality or give any indication of his motive and that of his organisation. The researcher can only speculate that this frenzy emerged against a backdrop of the need to push for the desired goal to form a different Province by Bishop Kunonga. Bishop Kunonga categorically stated in his letter of withdrawal that:

Consistent, therefore, with our 61st Session Diocesan Synod on the 4th of August 2007, in accordance with the Scriptures and the will of God, we were mandated by our Synod to disassociate and sever ties with any individual, group of people, organisation, institution, Diocese, province which sympathies or compromises with homosexuality. We, the Diocese of Harare, would like it to be put on record that with effect from the 4th of August 2007 and as confirmed by the Provincial Synod, we are withdrawing from the Church of the Province of Central Africa. We have no hard feelings about our departure from the Province (Kunonga, 2007a).

Of great concern is that the quoted synod session did not grant any mandate to the Bishop of Harare or anyone from the diocese to cause the withdrawal but to register its regrets with the proliferation of homosexual tendencies in the Province. This shall be evaluated in greater detail below.

4.13 Bishop Jakazi of Manicaland joins Bishop Kunonga

As had always been speculated, Bishop Kunonga was not alone in this move. The Bishop of Manicaland, Bishop Elson Jakazi, who had moved a motion for the dissolution of the Province, followed suit by formally withdrawing his diocese from the Province of Central Africa. In his letter of 23rd September 2007 to the Archbishop Dr Bernard Malango and copied to all Bishops of the CPCA, Bishop Elson Jakazi wrote:

The above subject refers: To put to rest speculations from your office, the Church of the Province of Central Africa and the rest of the Anglican Communion, this letter comes to you as confirmation that the Anglican Diocese of Manicaland has withdrawn from the Church of the Province of Central Africa with effect from the 21st of September 2007 (Jakazi, 2007).

Also attached to this letter were the resolution by the Manicaland Diocesan Standing Committee and a statement of emphasis on homosexuality. Part of the statement reads:

We totally support the position taken by our Bishop, the Rt Rev E. M Jakazi, on the matter as proposed, seconded and debated at the Provincial Synod in Malawi on the 8th September 2007. Therefore, in solidarity with him, we affirm that we condemn the practice of homosexuality and disassociate ourselves from any individual, organisation, association, Diocese, Province or Partners who sympathise, promote or practice it.

That being the case, we, as the Anglican Diocese of Manicaland, hereby give notice of withdrawing from the Church of the Province of Central Africa, which has failed totally to take a firm and clear position on this matter of the practice of homosexuality in the Church of God (Jakazi, 2007).

This resolution, the product of a Standing Committee meeting held on the 21st of September 2007 (the same day the Anglican Diocese of Harare wrote its letter to withdraw from the Province formally), was supported by four points which were cited as being the reasons for the withdrawal of the Diocese of Manicaland, namely:

1. It is condemned by our principal Canon, the Bible/Scripture.
2. Canon 22 of the Church of the Province of Central Africa is at variance with homosexuality. This Canon regulates marriage between a man and a woman with no exception.
3. The practise of homosexuality is taboo in our culture as Zimbabweans and as Africans.
4. This practice is also against the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Jakazi, 2007).

A close examination of the unfolding of the events clearly shows how the two dioceses were collaborating to withdraw from the Province. The researcher strongly believes that it was not by coincidence that the letters were written or dated within two days of each other.

However, one is prompted to ask this question: was Bishop Elson Jakazi involved in this scheme wholeheartedly? The question arises against the backdrop of his acceptance of an invitation from Massachusetts Scholarships for African Students in America (MSASA), a committee of the Episcopal Divinity School (EDS) and the Diocese of Massachusetts in conjunction with the Dioceses of New York, Central Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia. The invitation was for Bishop Jakazi to return to Boston for the sole purpose of "renewing old friendships and to dialogue freely about the current divisive issues in the Anglican world" (MSASA, 2007).

The visit was meant to run from the 19th of October to the 14th of November 2007. In a statement generated by MSASA chronicling the storm that was to characterise this visit, it is made clear that the people in Massachusetts had been looking forward to Bishop Jakazi and his wife. However, developments taking place in the Province of Central Africa were of great concern to them. Part of the Statement reads:

Meanwhile, clouds were gathering in Central Africa. In September, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga of Harare, joined by Bishop Jakazi, pressed the Provincial Synod to take a strong provincial stand against homosexuality. When the Provincial Synod failed to do so, Bishops Kunonga and Jakazi (after holding diocesan synods) then submitted letters of notification of withdrawal from the Province of Central Africa. We heard of this development with sadness and trusted that the matter could be amicably resolved. In the absence of an archbishop, with only a dean as the provincial ecclesiastical authority, no action was taken for almost four weeks. The response came on October 18th 2007, saying that it is unconstitutional and uncanonical for a diocese to withdraw from the province without a lengthy legal process involving the vote of every diocesan synod, a 2/3 vote of the provincial synod, and the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. One can, however, withdraw on one's own as an individual (as some have done in the USA). In those terms, the actions of the Bishops of Harare and Manicaland were accepted, and their bishoprics were declared vacant (MSASA, 2007).

One can assume that the committee was not amused with the withdrawal of the two Bishops from the Province, for it had some ecclesiastical challenges to invite or to welcome and host a renegade Bishop in one's diocese. The shocker for Bishop Jakazi and his wife came when they only heard of the verdict of their actions when he had arrived in New York, and according to the statement, "they were naturally shocked" (MSASA, 2007). The statement went on to say that:

The Diocese of New York did not welcome them, so the Committee arranged their transport to Boston. We had invited them, and we sincerely welcome them as friends in Christ, but it is a complex ecclesiastical matter. The Bishop of Massachusetts cannot receive them officially while things are unclear in Zimbabwe. The Jakazis, therefore, cannot make any official appearances here, but if they want to continue their tour, which is entirely up to them, we are ready and anxious to entertain them as planned and encourage open and friendly dialogue (MSASA, 2007).

Surely, it baffles one's mind to imagine that Bishop Jakazi could have gone ahead and made the trip to the United States to dine with the very same people and churches he was castigating in his withdrawal letter. At

the same time, though assuming the role of being a synod in Session, the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Manicaland overstepped its mandate in making such a bold decision without going back to the people to get their views on the issue at stake.

Questions have been asked whether the generality of members from these two dioceses was fully informed of the provincial position on homosexuality and the consequences of their letters of withdrawing from the Province of Central Africa. Second, people like Vaida Mbodza, a parishioner at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, would always question the moral rectitude of Fr Morris Gwedegwe and his qualifications to attack the morality of the episcopal bench, given that he had issues in his moral life. Vaida Mbodza claims that they had lived near Fr Morris Gwedegwe in Mutare before he became a priest and was shocked to hear that he was now a priest arguing that, "Gwedegwe used to abuse his wife by subjecting her to all sorts of harassment such as locking her outside their matrimonial house regardless of the outside weather" (Mbodza, 2016).

4.14 Case study of the Diocese of Lake Malawi election

A case study of the election of the Bishop of the Diocese of Lake Malawi will help elucidate and clear the mist as to the position of the Province of Central Africa on homosexuality. This was especially so because Bishop Kunonga did mention this case in his withdrawal letter under a sub-heading 'Unscrupulous Activities: Lake Malawi'. After drawing the attention of the Archbishop to Canon 7, which allows for valid objections to be raised in the election of a Bishop, Bishop Kunonga went on to argue:

The case of Lake Malawi Diocese is of concern to us. It is, in fact, Nicholas Henderson's July 29, 2005, election as bishop of Lake Malawi was challenged on the grounds of homosexuality and the confirmation court, which you presided over, declined affirmation of his election (sic). For us, this was final and in accordance with the rules of the church and clear plea to the voice of reason and to the teaching of God.

It is against this background that we are baffled to hear that the same Bishop under contention proceeded to hold a Synod with the Diocese of Malawi on the pretext that the mandate had come from the Provincial Episcopate. Obviously, this is a clear case of a misrepresentation of facts. It is the Agenda of the so-called Lake Malawi Synod that we are very suspicious about. The Synod's sole agenda was to seek redress of the Confirmation Court (Kunonga, 2007a).

If one is to go by this concern, one would have thought that the best route to go was to advise the Archbishop on how to maintain his stance and that of the Province rather than to use the case as one of the reasons or to reinforce their decision to withdraw from the Province.

On the 29th of July 2005, the Diocesan elective assembly of the Diocese of Lake Malawi elected Rev Nicholas Henderson as its new Bishop taking over from Bishop Peter Nyanja, who had succumbed to cancer. According to K.K. Steven, “Nicholas’s election sparked controversy in the Diocese as the court of confirmation refused to endorse him after others alleged that he supports gay movement in the church” (Steven, 2008).

The detailed reasons for the refusal were cited by Pat Ashworth, who stated that:

A confirmation court on 29 November 2005, presided over by the Archbishop of Central Africa, the Most Rev’d Bernard Malango and comprised provincial bishops, declined to confirm Mr Henderson because his ‘active association as the general secretary of the Modern Church People’s Union (MCU) made him unsuitable for confirmation because this actively demonstrated that he was not of sound faith (Ashworth, 2007).

This controversy split the church in the diocese, with one group fighting in Nicholas Henderson’s corner while the other group was against his election. Steven went on to suggest that “from my point of view, I think the issue of racism has also taken centre stage as the factions in the parish are called ‘Wa mzungu’ meaning anyone supporting Nick and ‘wa wakuda’ referring to anyone who supports a Malawian to take over as the Bishop of the Diocese” (Steven, 2008).

A similar thread can be seen in what happened during the election that ushered in Bishop Kunonga after Rev Timothy Neil had been de-campaigned and accused of being a racist. Commenting on the controversy in the Diocese of Lake Malawi, Peter Bergman made some interesting observations that:

Henderson has not worked in Malawi for 20 years; rather, he made a number of visits over the years, was friends with the late bishop and raised substantial sums of money for local projects. He does not speak any of the local languages. I suspect some people thought (probably with reason) that he would bring some money into that impoverished country, but these are post-colonial days, and ‘progressives’ shouldn’t support this even if some see it as a ‘wedge’ issue (Bergman, 2006).

Nicholas was to comment on the controversy stating that:

I was amazed to learn that I had been accused of being 'pro-gay'. I can conclude that it is a very easy but completely disingenuous way of smearing people. I have never been involved in any 'gay' campaigning or anything to do with the issue. Nevertheless, the court of confirmation made no effort to ask me or what I was or believed and simply accused me of being of 'unsound faith' even though I was not allowed to be there (Steven, 2008).

The Nicholas Henderson controversy took five years, only ending with the election of The Venerable Fr Francis Kaulanda, Archdeacon of Lilongwe, as the Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Lake Malawi on the 1st of August 2009 at St Peter's Lilongwe in Malawi. This, however, was not to say the challenges were over, as some observers felt that the election of Bishop Kaulanda had divided opinions between the conservatives and the liberals. Petroc Trelawney noted that:

The choice of the new Bishop has split the Anglican Church in Malawi. The appointment of the conservative Bishop Kaulanda has been equally controversial and the subject of a legal injunction, with detractors claiming he is not qualified for the job. This is more than just a local row. It comes in the wider context of a battle for the very future of the Anglican Church in Central Africa. Should it lean in a more moderate European direction or base itself on so-called 'African values', where only men can be priests, scripture is interpreted rigidly, and homosexuality is condemned? (Trelawney, 2010).

Even with that information Bishop Kunonga went on to castigate the Province. What could have been going on? Where was he anchored? Was there any quest for belonging in Bishop Kunonga? One might have asked. One might also ask, what is the correct interpretation of scripture? Is it rigid, or are there other possibilities and who decides?

4.15 Clergy and Laity respond to Bishop Kunonga's Letter

As expected, the formal withdrawal letter caused some dis-ease within and beyond the Diocese of Harare and the Province of Central Africa at large. In Harare, when news filtered back to the delegates to the August 2007 Diocesan Synod, people were shocked. It was all over the news that Kunonga had withdrawn from the Province. According to Rev Vincent Fenga, people asked by whose authority had the Bishop withdrawn from the diocese since the motion had not given the Provincial Synod delegates

the mandate to withdraw but to register displeasure and make known the Diocese of Harare's position period? (Fenga, Ven, 2016).

Blessing Shambare concurred with these sentiments adding that even though Bishop Kunonga tried to justify his decision, the reasons were not readily acceptable (Shambare, 2015). This began to cause friction in some Diocesan Boards, such as the trustees and Standing Committee. The main bone of contention remained the issue of authorisation to withdraw from the Province of Central Africa. The division among the clergy began to have a bearing as to which group was going to emerge from this issue as victors and kingmakers.

One section of the clergy supported the move by Bishop Kunonga, according to Canon Shambare, who argued that in this group were priests who had strong personal ties with the Bishop such as Rev Biggy Kamukombe, Rev Prosper Muzambi, Rev Mukunyadze, Rev Munyanyi, Rev Morris Gwedengwe, Rev Mutongomanya who was married to Bishop Kunonga's daughter, Rev Mabhozi who was the Dean of the Cathedral, Rev Harry Rinashe who was the Vicar General of the diocese, just to mention but a few (Shambare, 2015).

The other section's membership was not so apparent. Kunonga had created this environment of distrust of one another between the house of clergy, which worked very well for him, and because of fear of victimisation, members of the clergy would opt to remain undercover. However, the grumbling on the matter of withdrawal of the diocese from the Province became so loud, and it was only a matter of time before it erupted like a volcano.

4.16 The Diocesan Chancellor adds his voice to the debate

Amid all this commotion, a voice of reason had to be sought, and this came from none other than Mr Bob Stumbles, the Diocesan Chancellor. He wrote an article titled "Kunonga Withdrawing from Anglicanism", which was circulated through emails with the subject Diocese of Harare on the 15th of October 2007. Mr Stumbles implored people as under noted:

Please read and distribute copies if you are able to, and also publish where you have the opportunity to access the media. It is so important that people are aware of the truth of the situation and the relevant church laws before the "synod" proposed to be held on Saturday, 20 October 2007. It is worth

noting that if church law is correctly followed, no synod can be held as early as next Saturday (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

This passionate appeal from Mr Stumbles brought to the fore the role of the media in this whole saga where there was the need for information dissemination mechanisms. As noted earlier in this chapter, Bishop Kunonga had done his groundwork and was working with the state-controlled media, mainly to inform the people of his every step while others were scrounging for space in the public media. Mr Stumbles brought up a pertinent point that people be correctly informed. However, with all the chaos, how were people going to discern the truth? It would only call for God's grace for people to be able to discern the truth.

Mr Stumbles went on to give a summary of the case and issue as follows:

1. The issue confronting the Diocese of Harare is NOT one of homosexuality in the Anglican Church of Central Africa, even though this issue challenges Christians throughout the world.
2. The purported "breakaway" by the Bishop of Harare from the Province of Central Africa cannot be recognised in the Laws of the Anglican Church, and any such move would result in a "schism", severing all ties with the worldwide Anglican Communion.
3. Any person, clergy or laity, associating with this move would themselves also sever all ties with the Anglican Communion.
4. Resolutions of the Harare Diocesan Synod of 4 August 2007 in this regard are, for several reasons, severely flawed, and any actions flowing from these are invalid.
5. It cannot be claimed that the Diocesan Synod has given any mandate to any person to "withdraw the Diocese of Harare from the Province of Central Africa", either while attending the Provincial Synod of 8 September 2007 or at any other time.
6. A "special Synod" called for Saturday 20 October 2007 cannot legitimately be held because the required notice has not been given.
7. The question members of the Anglican Church (and any other concerned persons) must answer with God's help is, 'Is this a genuine concern to protect the flock from error, or is it about power and money?' (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

The long and the short of the story is that Mr Stumbles had managed to hit the nail on the head with a complete and well-informed analytic response to the letter of withdrawal of the Diocese of Harare from Bishop Kunonga to the Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa. According to Mr Bob Stumbles:

His (Bishop Kunonga) main issue with the Province is the stances he alleges it has taken on homosexuality. He says he will form a new Province (probably by dividing this geographical area of the Diocese of Harare into several smaller dioceses). This so-called new province would not associate with the existing Province. It would choose its own archbishop (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

Of great concern for Mr Stumbles and many staunch Anglicans was the fate of both clergy and lay members of the would-be newly formed province. In a detailed write-up from Mr Stumbles, which the researcher also believes, formed the baseline of the Province of Central Africa's argument, Mr Stumbles noted with concern that:

The present Diocese of Harare would no longer be Anglican because it would unilaterally have severed all links with the present Province and with the Archbishop of Canterbury. It would not own the church properties in the Diocese as these belong to the Province according to the Acts of the Diocese. Is this what Anglicans in the Diocese seek? The move will divide the Anglicans presently worshipping in the 5 Dioceses of Zimbabwe. Those parishioners in the dioceses which remain within the Province will still remain recognised as Anglicans.

Those who are in the Diocese of Harare, Bishop Kunonga's intended breakaway diocese, could, through the choice of their Synod and Bishop, be ex-communicated from Anglicanism. The Bishop himself and all the priests of the Diocese of Harare run the risk of being accused of the offences of schism (acceptance of membership in a religious body not in communion with the Province); apostasy; wrongfully contravening laws of the Province, and of conduct giving just cause for scandal or offence, or, otherwise unbecoming a clergyman. Resignation or withdrawal from the Province does not stop a court inquiring into these offences. If found guilty, a sentence of excommunication from the Anglican Communion and the stigma attached to this is possible. Talk of joining another Province in any other country will not change the situation. The Kunonga followers in his realm will still be non-Anglicans. They intend to ostracise themselves from the Province. They will, in turn, subject themselves to ostracism (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

This analysis of possible/impending repercussions to those advocating for the withdrawal were made so clear for everyone to see. Mr Stumbles did not mince his words in warning Bishop Kunonga and his followers of the number of flaws that were so apparent before them. One would, however, want to look at the quotation above and see the obstinate points. As enshrined in the Acts, the new formation was bound to lose its claim and control over the Diocesan properties. Over and above that, they were

bound to be dragged before an ecclesiastical court whose possible outcome was also tabulated.

Interestingly, Mr Stumbles assumes that those who were Bishop Kunonga's confidants were fully appraised of the plans and possible consequences when he claimed that:

No doubt Bishop Kunonga, his vicar-general, the Very Reverend Harry Rinashe, the Registrar of the Diocese of Harare, Mr James Mutizwa, and other confidants and advisers to the Bishop are fully aware of the consequences and approve of the plan to sever complete relationship from the Province. But are the majority of Anglicans in the Diocese aware of the Bishop's ambition and the effect it will have on the spiritual life of Anglicans? And were all members of the recently held Synod of the Diocese made fully aware of the plan before, during or immediately after the Synod session held in Harare on 4th August 2007? (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

The issue of communication was also of great importance and not only that but also that which was to be communicated to the general members of the Anglican Church. The researcher could not envisage a situation whereby Bishop Kunonga would lay all his cards on the table for everyone to see as they pondered on the question posed by Mr Stumbles, "Do all Anglicans within the diocese meekly agree to be banished from the Province?" (Stumbles, Mr, 2007). A short answer would be 'NO'. Anglicans would not agree to be banished from the Province. This is why Bishop Kunonga would withhold the most vital information and strategy from reaching some parishioners in the Diocese, including some clergy members. No wonder the Very Reverend Harry Rinashe, though being the Vicar General, professed ignorance of Bishop Kunonga's master plan and even accused the provincial leadership of side-lining him when they rolled out their programme to reclaim the diocese and its property through various channels to be discussed elsewhere in this research.

4.17 The 4th of August Synod following the Malawi Provincial Synod

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the synod held on the 4th of August was in preparation for the Provincial Synod to be held in Malawi. It would be prudent to look at the resolutions passed at this synod in relation to the proceedings of the Provincial Synod. Mr Stumbles, commenting on the Synod Agenda, item 8(b), which was a pastoral notice of motion, "That

the Diocese of Harare does not recognise homosexuality as an acceptable Christian norm and hence does not recognise marriages from such relationships', argued that:

After much discussion, this was passed on a 'voice vote', not a unanimous vote nor a two-thirds majority vote. This resolution endorses the existing laws of the Church of the Province, which state the same belief in Canon 22, namely that 'marriage, by divine invitation, is a lifelong and exclusive union and partnership between one man and one woman. The laws and regulations of the Province are based on this belief'. Where then is this difference between the belief of the Diocese on homosexuality and that of the Province, which Bishop Kunonga harps upon and gives as a reason to break away from the Province? (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

The inference from analysing the quotation above is that those advocating the dissolution of the Province had no basis in arguing so. There seems to be no difference in their line of thought and what was enshrined in the Canons of the Province of Central Africa. Mr Stumbles, after having looked at some of the motions that emanated from the Diocesan Synod, noted with concern that "the Diocese has no power to speak for other Dioceses. The resolution does not state what position Synod should take, but it is clear from the wording Synod did not give the Bishop authority to withdraw the Diocese from the Province" (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

In his letter to Archbishop Bernard Malango, the drama and mystery were noted when Bishop Kunonga attached a resolution that had no relationship to the one presented and debated on at the August 2007 Diocesan Synod. The Pastoral motion 8(c) concerned the finalisation of the revision of the Diocesan Acts to the effect that "amendments to the laws of the Diocese as proposed by various Ecclesiastical Divisions should be forwarded to the Registrar for finalisation" (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

The one attached to the letter purporting to have been passed under 8(c) reads:

Harare Diocese Synod Held on the 4th August 2007. Under Pastoral Motions item 8(c). This Synod unanimously agreed to make a Diocesan Act that, with immediate effect, the Diocese of Harare disassociates itself and severs relationship with individual, group of people, organisation, institution, Diocese, Province or otherwise which sympathises or compromises with homosexuality. The House of Bishops consented" (Kunonga, 2007a).

An analysis of the two motions reveals that there was no resemblance at all and hence the need to understand the motive behind the "mix-up" if ever there was a mix-up of motions. The resolution submitted to the Archbishop cannot have been passed under 8(c) because "it is not relevant to the original motion. It cannot be held to be an amendment to the Acts of the Diocese with effect or at all because such a motion has to be approved by at least two-thirds of the members of the Synod and is it not possible to say beyond doubt that on a 'Voice Vote' there was such a majority" (Stumbles, Mr, 2007), argued Mr Stumbles.

The process, procedure and legality of the motion were questioned as follows:

Every notice of motion, which does not appear on the Synod Agenda, must first be submitted in writing to the Bishop and, by implication, read out to the Diocesan Synod if the Bishop accepts the substance of it. Was the wording of the resolution sent to the Archbishop read out to members of the Synod? Were all the members aware of the contents? Was this resolution voted upon, and if so, was there a vote count to make sure two-thirds of the members were in favour of the wording? And why does Bishop Kunonga deliberately write that the motion sent to the Archbishop is the full text of 8(c) on the Agenda when it is not? No resolution shall have any force if it is contrary to or in conflict with any laws of the Province of the Church. The resolution sent under cover of the letter of 21st September is in conflict with those laws. It is therefore invalid (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

Pertinent questions were raised in this quotation, highlighting the gravity and challenges ahead of the diocese. The wording of the resolution was never made known to the synod members, and what delegates voted for under the said motion 8(c) was to do with the amendments of the Acts, which many delegates felt were now archaic and definitely needed revision. However, taking advantage of the vote to slot in something else was mischievous for Bishop Kunonga to do. One may then wonder as to the motive behind why Bishop Kunonga chose to mislead the Archbishop by attaching misleading papers and information. It can only be inferred that this was all in an effort to paint a picture that the synod had fully granted him authority to act on its behalf to sever ties with the Province of Central Africa.

Mr Stumbles observed the following shortcomings:

If indeed the 'off the Agenda resolution' was lawfully passed by Synod. Which is questionable; it has several flaws. Nowhere does it categorically empower the Bishop to sever relations with the Church of the Province of Central Africa. Had that been the intention of Synod, the

resolution surely would have said so. Instead, it set out that the Diocese is to disassociate itself and sever relationships from whomsoever sympathises or compromises with homosexuality; a very general statement. Firm evidence of sympathy or compromise by any person or organisation should be brought to Synod for debate, and only then would Synod be in a position to vote on whether or not it should sever its relations with that specified person or organisation. The Synod of the Diocese has not stated that the Province itself allied itself to, sympathised or compromised itself with homosexuality (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

The learned Mr Stumbles made these critical evaluations of the matter and, in the process, revealed lacunae in the submissions of Bishop Kunonga. Further to this, an observation was made in this article, chiefly that Bishop Kunonga no longer wanted to be associated or have anything to do with the Province of Central Africa. In that case, the only noble thing for him to do was tender his resignation both as Bishop and Priest of the Anglican Church in the Province. “Indeed, he should do so as he continues to break his solemn oath whereby he promised and consented to be bound by and to govern the Diocese in conformity with all the laws and canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa. He no longer intends to be bound by these” (Stumbles, Mr, 2007).

The failure to adhere to the canonical oath on its own was a punishable offence that would result in one being defrocked.

4.18 Special Synod held on the 20th of October 2007

The Special Synod was subsequently held on the 20th of October 2007, even with the objections coming from all angles questioning its legitimacy considering that Kunonga had not adhered to the requirements of the Acts in calling a meeting of the synod. It must be noted that Bishop Kunonga was beginning to realise that the path he had taken was not an easy one. Questions were being asked by the Province, especially regarding the fact that the Diocesan Synod had not sanctioned his plans to withdraw from the Province. The urgency in holding the Special Synod could have been to quell the tempers of those in the Province by trying to persuade/force the synod delegations to vote for the withdrawal from the Province. According to Fr Jonah Mudowaya, during this Special Synod, those who seemed to be against the idea were told to shut up by Bishop Kunonga. Fear was also instilled into the delegates, and they were coerced to support Bishop Kunonga (Mudowaya, 2016). This synod was also now

working in retrospect because the news had filtered back to the people that Bishop Kunonga had withdrawn from the Province. This then meant that those delegates present were mainly interested in knowing by whose authority he had withdrawn the diocese caused a scene in the meeting.

4.19 The Kariba Declaration

Meanwhile, Bishop Kunonga had organised an HIV/AIDS workshop for clergy and their wives in Kariba on the 22nd of October 2007, just two days after the Special Synod, held on the 20th of October 2007. The late Mrs Nyanhete, the wife to one of the priests in the diocese, was the workshop's coordinator, which turned out to be a farce. The priests were to realise later that this whole exercise was a strategy meant to garner support for the withdrawal from the Province by Bishop Kunonga and his team. According to Fr Jona Mudowaya, Rev Rinashe, the Vicar General, on the last day of the workshop, addressed the priests in the absence of their spouses and told them that the Bishop was not happy with the lack of support in the just ended Special Synod. It was then that Rev Machingauta then proposed to write a letter which was to be signed by all priests pledging their support to the Bishop of Harare, Bishop Kunonga (Mudowaya, 2016).

Just to show how cunning Bishop Kunonga's team was, as priests were disembarking from the bus they had used to travel to the workshop, they were asked to append their signatures on a blank sheet of paper which was going to be attached to a letter which Rev Machingauta proposed to write. Many priests queried the logic of signing a blank sheet of paper that Rev Machingauta defended by arguing that it meant to save time and money for those who lived out of Harare. Out of fear, many priests ended up signing this blank piece of paper. This paper and the contents added (which many priests never got to see) were later known as the Kariba Declaration in clergy circles. Of interest are sections of the letter as given below:

We greet you in the name of the Triune God. We, the undersigned clergy of the Diocese of Harare, have been watching the case involving our Bishop and the Province of Central Africa or rather some individuals purporting to represent it. We just thought it is high time we put pen to paper and share our view on the whole saga. We would like you, the laity and all people concerned to know the true picture of what is happening and our position; therefore, as your clergy, we would like to underscore the following:

1. That the Diocese of Harare, consistent with 61st Session of Synod, withdrew from the Province of Central Africa. As clergy, we are very much affirmative that this was not a Bishop Kunonga issue but rather the natural consequence of the Synod resolution.
2. That we see all that the Dean of the Province of Central Africa in cahoots with some few disgruntled individuals in our Diocese is doing, as speculative coups that they trying to stage.
3. We affirm that there has never been the confusion nor the intention, in all this, to leave the Anglican Communion. The withdrawal was mandated on the 4th of August 2007 and formalised by a withdrawal letter of the 21st of September 2007. You will bear testimony as to the fact that nothing has changed in our way of worship or the order of services, so where are all these fears coming from except from fenders of confusion in the church?
4. We affirm that it is very clear we are joining another province that maintains the same discipline over the homosexuals as ourselves, and the formalities for that are being finalised, and every stage will be shared with you.
5. As for these appointments, we hear are being imposed on us, we take them as circus, and we will at no time be part of it. The Diocese of Harare has a bishop, rightfully elected and not retired, who, together with this Diocese, have moved out of the Province of Central Africa (Clergy, 2007).

This letter was addressed to the Churchwardens and faithfuls of the Diocese of Harare and gave the impression that all the clergy of the Diocese of Harare were rallying behind Bishop Kunonga and all those who the Dean of the Province was appointing were being imposed upon the clergy. Rev Barnabas Machingauta was to admit crafting this petition when he said, “after the synod, the next move was to mobilise clergy in the Diocese of Harare to sign a petition of resolution that they were moving together with their bishop. Interestingly all signed but not all meant it” (Machingauta, Questionnaire, 2017).

4.20 Acceptance letter from the province of Central Africa

Through Bishop Albert Chama, the Dean of the Province of Central Africa, the provincial office responded to the official withdrawal letter from Bishop Kunonga on the 16th of October 2007. In this letter, Bishop Chama stated that:

I would first like to advise you that it is constitutionally and canonically impossible to withdraw the Diocese of Harare from the Church of the Province of Central Africa because a diocese in accordance with the Constitution of the Church Province of Central Africa forms an integral part of the said Province. Any act that purports to withdraw a diocese is unconstitutional and uncanonical as this action is tantamount to altering the very structure and essence of the Province. The Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa specifically stipulate that any alteration of the Province would require the approval of the Provincial Synod after the Synod of each Diocese in the Province has also approved and confirmed by the Provincial Synod by a two-thirds majority of those present and has subsequently been endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as not affecting the terms of Communion between the Church of this Province, the Church of England and the rest of the Anglican Communion (Chama A. , 2007).

This response from the Dean of the Province gave a message which was very loud and clear, in that there was no way Bishop Kunonga could have withdrawn the diocese from the Province given the stipulated processes as outlined in the letter. The Dean even refused to acknowledge the title of Kunonga's letter regarding it as misleading and argued, and rightly so, that:

Consequently, the heading of your letter stating the 'Formal Withdrawal of the Diocese of Harare from the Province of Central Africa' is unacceptable and misleading. We, however, as the Dean of the Province of Central Africa accept and acknowledge that you and some of your supporters have by notice of your letter severed relationship with the Province of Central Africa" (Chama A. , 2007).

This then meant that the diocese was to remain intact, and only those who by default had severed ties with the Province were to leave. It is unclear if this part of the message and information was made available to those who supported Bishop Kunonga. Had it been so, many of his followers could have made an informed decision either to continue on this path of withdrawal of the "diocese" or to withdraw their support from Bishop Kunonga. The fact that Bishop Kunonga went ahead with his plans justifies or supports the notion and description given by one of his lieutenants who preferred to be called Humbled Servant for fear of victimisation. When asked to describe Bishop Kunonga, Humbled Servant described him as "arrogant, defiant, selfish, myopic, immune to advice and pro-government" (Servant H. , 2016). With this in mind, it can be assumed that his followers were never allowed to see or hear of this response and its implication on their faith and future ministry.

In the same letter to Bishop Kunonga, Bishop Albert Chama, the Dean of the Province, did not leave a shred of doubt as to the fate of the Diocese of Harare because he categorically wrote, “therefore I declare that the See of Harare is with immediate effect vacant and in accordance with Canon 14 (1) I shall be appointing a Vicar General to hold office while the necessary steps are taken for the holding of an elective assembly to elect the next Bishop of the Diocese of Harare” (Chama, 2007a).

The Dean of the Province was empowered by Canon 14(1) to appoint a Vicar General for it states that:

Every Diocesan Bishop shall appoint a Vicar General of his Diocese, to hold office for such period and on such terms as designates, who shall act as such whenever the Diocesan Bishop is outside the Diocese or is incapacitated, or resigns or dies. If for any reason there is not a Vicar General in office and the Diocesan Bishop is not in a position to make an appointment, the senior priest in the Diocese shall report to the Archbishop who shall, as soon as possible thereafter, appoint a Vicar General to hold office until the situation has been resolved to the satisfaction of the Archbishop (Constitution and Canons, 1969:50).

However, that was not to say that there was no Vicar General during Bishop Kunonga’s tenure as Bishop of Harare. Harare Diocese had a Vicar General, Fr Harry Mambo Rinashe, who was now based at Christchurch, Borrowdale. Asked to comment on how the Province of Central Africa administrators reacted or responded to the breakaway, Rev Rinashe had no kind words in how the matter was handled. He raised his concerns that “they over-reacted, blew the issue out of context, ignored the substance and letter of the Canons to a large extent, they never consulted the Vicar General of the Diocese of Harare and its Standing Committee and by so doing painted some senior clergy and officials of Harare Diocese with one and the same brush” (Servant, 2016). This assertion that the Vicar General was never consulted may be true because there is no evidence contrary to this.

However, it may be assumed that people already knew those supporting Kunonga in his planning, so they were never consulted. Being the Vicar General, it may again be assumed that he could have been one of the proponents of the withdrawal from the Province. Confronted with this question as to his role in this whole saga or whether he shared in Kunonga’s plans, Rev Rinashe vehemently denied ever being consulted and said, “No, he had his own favourites and was never apprised of every development save only on the numerous court judgements” (Servant H., 2016).

Therefore, with the suspicion hovering around the Diocese of Harare on whom to trust, the Dean of the Province was justified in appointing a neutral Vicar General from outside the diocese.

The other issue that had to be cleared at that early stage was the Diocesan properties and assets that Bishop Kunonga, by virtue of being Diocesan Bishop, held in trust of the Province. The Dean also tackled this by stating that, "given your leaving of the Church of the Province of Central Africa we direct that all properties and assets belonging to the Province should be surrendered immediately to the Vicar General whose name we shall give you in a few days' time" (Chama A. , 2007). Looking at the response from the Dean, Kunonga was made aware of the implications of his actions, and if only he had taken heed, the situation could not have degenerated into the chaos that characterised the second half of the Anglican Diocese of Harare's decade of turmoil.

4.21 The Dean of the Province writes to the Diocese of Harare

The situation in the Diocese of Harare became so bad, especially for clergy members who were now caught in a web of confusion as to who was now in charge of the affairs of the Diocese. In an effort to deal with this problem, the Dean of the Province had to write two separate letters both addressed to all the clergy and laity in the Anglican Diocese of Harare advising them of the position of the Province of Central Africa to the purported withdrawal of the diocese from the Province of Central Africa. The first part of the first letter laid bare some of the erroneous steps taken by Kunonga, all in an endeavour to withdraw from the Province by stating that, whereas:

At the Synod of the Diocese of Harare held, despite improper procedure in convening it, on the 4th of August 2007, no authority nor support was given to Bishop N. Kunonga or anyone else to withdraw the Diocese from and sever all links with the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA). Bishop N. Kunonga decided, without the permission of the Diocesan Synod, to write to the Archbishop of the CPCA on 21st September 2007, stating incorrectly that the Diocesan Synod had unanimously agreed that the Diocese should withdraw from, and sever all links, with the CPCA with effect from 4th August 2007, thereby committing the offence of schism.

By their word and actions, Bishop Kunonga and other Clergymen have deliberately broken and rejected their canonical Oaths of Obedience to be bound by (and in the case of the Bishop, to govern the Diocese in conformity with) all the laws and canons of the CPCA and the Acts of the Diocese.

WE NOW PROCLAIM THAT:

The See of the Diocese of Harare within the Church of the Province of Central Africa has been vacant since the 16th October 2007, and a Bishop shall be duly elected in terms of the Law of the CPCA to fill this vacancy.

A Vicar-General will be appointed by us, and he will transparently arrange and follow the correct procedures for the election of a new Bishop to the Diocese of Harare.

As you are aware, the former Bishop of Harare, Nolbert Kunonga, left the Province of Central Africa on 21 September 2007 when he wrote to the former Archbishop informing him that he had left the province. Therefore, as Dean of the Church of the Province of Central Africa, we hereby officially inform you that Bishop Sebastian Bakare has been appointed Bishop of the Diocese of Harare in the Church of The Province of Central Africa with effect from 7 November 2007. We humbly request all the faithful Christians in the Diocese of Harare to support Bishop Sebastian Bakare, especially in these difficult times and that God may give him knowledge and wisdom as he walks with you to where God wants you to be (Chama, 2007a).

The Dean had every right and was mandated by the Constitutions and Canons of the Province of Central Africa to appoint a Vicar General of the diocese as enshrined in the said book. As much as it sets the tone of the Province eloquently, this letter had to reach the priests and parishes for the message to be effective. It must also be noted that, due to the divide and rule tactic employed by Bishop Kunonga, as mentioned earlier, priests could not trust one another and had to be careful what to say and with whom.

4.22 Bishop Bakare assumes his role as caretaker bishop

True to his word, the Dean of the Province of Central Africa, Rt Rev Albert Chama, immediately appointed Bishop Sebastian Bakare as the Vicar General of the Diocese of Harare. Upon assumption of duty, Bishop Bakare assembled a team of people to help him in the diocese administration and establishing committees. Having worked in Harare before his election as Bishop of Manicaland and having dealt with the Cathedral of Harare problems, Bishop Bakare knew who to approach. As expected, the Cathedral team represented by Sekai Chibaya was among the first to come on board.

The first meeting chaired by the newly appointed Vicar of the diocese, Bishop Sebastian Bakare, was held at Harare Club. According to Sekai

Chibaya, it was in this meeting that this steering committee agreed to have a list of parishes and priests who wanted to remain with the CPCA. Various strategies of information dissemination were discussed. The first strategy was to invite all the priests in the Anglican Diocese of Harare to a meeting whose sole agenda was introducing Bishop Bakare and mapping the way forward.

On the 19th of November 2007 and after the first meeting, Bishop Sebastian Bakare wrote a circular to all priests in the Diocese of Harare advising that:

This is my first letter to you after my appointment as your Bishop/Vicar General informing you that, at last, I am here to run the affairs of this Diocese in preparation for the election of a new bishop.

I come to this Diocese which apparently seems to be at crossroads making some people unsure which direction to take, that is, whether to go with the former bishop or to remain within the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA).

This letter is meant to offer you the opportunity to decide which direction you want to follow. We would like you to make this decision freely and as informed priests in the Diocese. This, of course, involves your vocation and canonical obedience, which you promised at your ordination.

Whilst most of you have read the letter from the Dean of CPCA, the Right Rev. A. Chama, which was sent to all churches in Harare, for the benefit of those who have not had a chance to read it, I quote... (a quote was included in the letter).

In accordance with the quote, we are now requesting you to freely make your decision and to let me know which way you intend to go. Please note that this information is needed urgently for budgeting purposes as it involves your stipend and other benefits. I, therefore, expect your response by the end of November 2007 or sooner if possible (Bakare S., Bishop, 2007).

This letter was meant to clear the mist and questions that might have affected the priests' decision-making in that there was now a caretaker Bishop operating in the Diocese of Harare for those who wanted to remain in the CPCA. Crystal-clear explanations were enshrined in the letter from Bishop Bakare, and all that was to be done for the avoidance of doubt.

4.23 Bishop Bakare's inaugural meeting at St Michael's Mbare

As a follow-up to Bishop Bakare's letter, the first public meeting was held at St Michael's Mbare at the invitation of the late Canon David Manyau, who was brave enough to offer his church hall for meetings. Canon David

Manyau was a well-respected priest in the diocese and the Anglican Community in Zimbabwe. He was also a long-standing friend and former classmate of Bishop Kunonga. This was a decisive meeting to herald and chart the future of the Anglican Diocese of Harare.

Various and significant factors had to be considered, for example, issues to do with the security of those attendees and those who had opened up their church hall for the meeting. Another issue was whether clergy and laity were going to heed the call to come to this meeting. According to Rev Zimbudzana, word spread mainly to those in Harare, and those outside Harare missed this first meeting (Zimbudzana, 2017). However, the impact of this meeting was immense as news spread like veld fire to all the corners of the diocese with people clamouring for information on the way forward and what had been discussed.

The presence of the likes of Canon Francis Nhema and Canon David Manyau assured members of the clergy that taking the side of Bishop Bakare was the way to go. Canon Nhema was a very close friend and mentor of Bishop Kunonga. According to Canon Nhema, when Bishop Paul Borough denied Bishop Kunonga ordination because of his radical approach to ministry, it was he who pleaded with Bishop Borough to give him a second chance. Kunonga was subsequently placed under the watchful supervision of Canon Nhema for his Deaconate at St Francis, Glen Norah, and hence Kunonga had great respect for him (Nhema, 2016).

Coupled with this was the fact that most priests who had trained at Bishop Gaul College were under threat and in some form of persecution under Bishop Kunonga's administration.

This persecution came in many forms, which involved un-ceremonial transfers to parishes deemed poor and unfounded allegations of instigating people to revolt against Bishop Kunonga. Priests were always under threat of being fired from the diocese, and such threats were the order of the day. Bishop Kunonga failed to realise that relationships with subordinates are of paramount importance: they either build or destroy one's future. Therefore, any alternative that was bound to bring relief to this persecution was to be embraced with the utmost respect, and this came in the form of Bishop Bakare.

4.24 The second (CPCA) meeting is called by Bishop Bakare

The second Anglican Diocese Harare (CPCA) public meeting was held on the 1st of December 2007 at the same venue, St Michael's, Mbare. According to George Sadziwa, this was a crucial meeting for it was well-attended by Churchwardens and priests. As mentioned earlier, the presence of well-respected clergy members in the diocese inspired priests to come in numbers to the meeting (Sadziwa, 2016). As parishioners realised what was happening, many churches began to put all their programmes that involved Bishop Kunonga on hold.

One such parish was Banket Parish which was scheduled to have a confirmation on the 1st of December 2007, the same day Bishop Bakare was also scheduled to address a meeting at St Michael's in Mbare. Upon receiving the invitation to attend the meeting in Mbare, the priest, in consultation with the Churchwardens, decided to defer the confirmation citing the commotion and clouds gathering in the Diocese of Harare. This message was conveyed to the Bishop's Secretary, Mrs Kandawasvika and Rev Machingauta, the new Diocesan Secretary, who responded that only the Bishop had the right to cancel a confirmation service.

The priest and Churchwardens remained adamant that parents also reserve the right to bring or not bring their children for confirmation, and in this case, they had opted to withdraw their children from the scheduled confirmation. That was not well received by the Diocesan officials, namely the Diocesan Secretary. The Bishop's Secretary never pressed on. However, on the day, 1st of December 2007, Bishop Kunonga and his entourage, which included Rev Munyanyi, Rev Mutongomanya and some unidentified men, arrived at St Andrew's, Banket church, the place for the previously scheduled confirmation.

The Bishop and his team were met by members of the Seventh Day Adventist church who were having their service in the church, led by Mr Shumba. Mr Shumba identified himself to Bishop Kunonga and explained to him that the service was a Seventh Day Adventist service, and they had hired the church building from Banket Association of Churches (who owned the church building) for their service. Mr Shumba narrated to the Rector of Banket Parish that the Bishop snubbed him and arrogantly went inside the church, disrupting the service and proceeded to the vestry rooms opening all the doors and cupboards as if he was looking for someone or something.

Meanwhile, Rev Munyanyi had gone across the road to the rectory to inquire the whereabouts of the rector and was informed that the rector had gone to Chinhoyi, a town almost 23 kilometres west of Banket town. However, the truth was that the rector had gone to attend the meeting at St Michael's in Mbare. The rector's wife could not divulge this information to Rev Munyanyi for fear of victimisation.

This alone shows that Bishop Kunonga was beginning to feel the heat, and it can be assumed that deep in his mind, he thought that Banket Parish had replaced him with Bishop Bakare, and hence he wanted to cause a scene. Also, the fact that he went on to check the cupboards in the vestry shows the extent of disbelief he had after failing to locate Bishop Bakare at the church. This was also a strong message to him that he was slowly losing grip on the priests in "his" diocese. The rector did not receive a reprimand from Bishop Kunonga, and it is assumed that he knew from that moment that he had lost to Bishop Bakare.

Meanwhile, at St Michael's Mbare, morale was very high as Bishop Bakare created a welcoming atmosphere for all present. Priests, even those who had signed the blank sheet of paper pledging their support after the so-called Kariba Declaration and parish representatives, declared their allegiance to Bishop Bakare and the Province of Central Africa. However, even with the resounding affirmation, they were still asked to declare their allegiance formally by writing a letter to the appointed Vicar-Bishop and at the same time renouncing their association with Bishop Kunonga. A copy of this letter was to be sent to the Diocesan offices (which were still being occupied by Bishop Kunonga) by someone appointed by Bishop Bakare. This was meant to deal with priests who might have wanted to play it safe by applying double standards and double-dipping, hence the need to make sure that the letters had been delivered to Bishop Kunonga.

Bishop Bakare took the opportunity to warn the clergy members to brace up for tough times ahead and be prepared to go for months without their stipends since Bishop Kunonga was still occupying the Diocesan offices. Bishop Bakare was yet to establish offices and proper administration structures. It must be noted that for some of the priests and parish representatives present, the freedom from Bishop Kunonga alone was enough to cast away all worries of material things.

However, for some priests, the idea of losing out on the benefits of stipends was something they could not stomach. Hence, they went back to Bishop Kunonga and apologised for attending the meeting. That is according to Rev Zimbudzana, and Rev Shambare also concurred with him. In this Mbare meeting, Rev Thomas Madeyi offered Bishop Bakare some space to use as offices at St Luke's Greendale, where he was the rector. The offer was provisionally accepted on condition that the church council at St Luke's confirmed the offer in writing to Bishop Bakare, which was subsequently done.

4.25 Battle lines drawn as parishes and clergy declare their allegiance

Priests reacted differently upon receipt of the letters from the Dean and instructions from Bishop Bakare. In a bizarre incident reported in Marondera, a priest was given the letters and, in a complete show of rejection, urinated on the letters in full view of those who had delivered them. It is also rumoured that this priest was promised the 'Junior Bishop of Harare East' position. It was only after deep persuasion from friends that this priest saw the light and later chose to remain in CPCA. The same also happened to another priest who decided to renounce his relationship with Bishop Kunonga rather late because he had also been promised the Bishopric of Mashonaland Central. That was the way of life during this time when priests would choose based on what they stood to gain or lose.

The suppression of information (coming from CPCA) was made possible in some parishes because Bishop Kunonga had been engaged in a major drive to appoint those priests who were deemed loyal to him as rectors of the big and most influential parishes in the Diocese of Harare. Those deemed anti-Kunonga were appointed to smaller parishes that were thought to have little effect on the wider scenario. Speculation was rife in Harare Diocese before the 2007 withdrawal that Bishop Kunonga, with the help of Rev Gwedegwe, was up to something when he effected changes through appointments of priests.

As letters from the Province were distributed and circulated within the diocese, they caused much friction in many parishes. According to Rev Shambare, some of these letters never saw the light of the day in some parishes under the administration of those loyal to Kunonga. However, this was not to say the parishioners did not get to hear the news. Through

networks, news filtered back to parishioners who, after getting the news, would then demand answers from their rectors (Shambare, 2015). In some parishes, Churchwardens, in total defiance to Bishop Kunonga not to read these letters in church, went on to read them. In many incidents, the parishioners demanded to hear the position of the rectors on the spot.

In Chitungwiza at St Stephen's, Rev Musekiwa, the Acting Diocesan Education Secretary, was cornered to make a decision and announce which side he belonged to. On the very day, the congregation made it clear that they would not have anything to do with Bishop Kunonga's church. In some parishes, special vestry meetings were held to ascertain what the parishioners wanted. However, in some parishes, the incumbents would threaten parishioners for supporting Bishop Bakare.

A snap survey of minutes of vestry or council meetings held in some parishes to deliberate on choosing who to follow between Bishop Kunonga and Bishop Bakare would be useful at this juncture.

The cover notes accompanying minutes of the extraordinary vestry meeting of St James Anglican church in Hatcliffe held on 20th of January 2008 spoke clearly about which side the church had decided to follow. The church had decided to remain in the CPCA. This could be deduced from the way recipients of the extraordinary vestry minutes were addressed. Bishop Bakare and Rev Blessing Shambare were addressed using their rightful titles, whereas Bishop Kunonga and Rev Harry Rinashe were addressed as Dr and Mr respectively though all being priests. The minutes stated its business of the day as; 'Church Position on the Rev Bakare, Kunonga issue' and were recorded as follows:

- The church decided to have its position known after a heated debate where the church council wanted to block people from voting.
- A secret ballot was agreed, and the church suggestion box was used as the ballot box.
- The elections were coordinated by one of the Deputy Churchwarden, Mr Bvundura.
- The Parishioners voted, but some Mother's Union members, mainly those in the Executive that was elected the previous day, 19/01/08, did not vote.
- The results were as follows: Those who wanted to remain with the Diocese under the Province of Central Africa had 43 votes. Those who voted for Dr Kunonga had 7 votes, and there were 3 spoiled papers (Chikumbirike, 2008).

An argument is said to have arisen after the voting process was over when the Mothers Union executive members were asked why they did not participate in the voting. In response, the chairperson allegedly said that they had agreed to remain neutral as a guild. The MU votes were all regarded as spoiled papers even after they tried to explain their position, which the congregation felt was invalid (Chikumbirike, 2008).

Of interest is the point recorded in the minutes that "the meetings ended prematurely as members from the MU exchanged words, a situation which did not go down well with most of the church members" (Chikumbirike, 2008). This experience of exchanging words in meetings was to characterise most, if not all, meetings that were called to deal with this matter.

Another vestry meeting was held on the same day at Domboshawa Anglican church, an outstation of Borrowdale parish. In the church's note addressed to the rector with the reference 'Vestry Meeting to Clarify on Domboshawa's Parish Position', they stated their position as such:

With reference to the above, and following the Vestry Meeting held at Domboshawa National Training Centre Anglican Church on 20-01-2008 at 11.00 AM - 1.45 PM, the vestry of Sixty (60) people of Domboshawa Anglican Church unanimously AGREED by the Grace of God to Joyfully REMAIN as members of the Anglican Church in the Province of Central Africa. We are also pleased to say we will continue to be supportive of the Province of Central Africa's principles, policies and serve the Anglican Church in the full eyes of God.

The vestry wishes to be served fully as before by undivided, Godful (sic) and truthful Province of Central Africa. The Vestry will be committed to the Province and continue operating fully and traditionally through the Holy guidance of the Province of Central Africa. We are sincerely happy and hopeful to be associated with the Province of Central Africa (Chipungaire, 2008).

The voice of reason was beginning to be heard through the vestry meetings, and the parishioners, those purported to have mandated Bishop Kunonga to withdraw the diocese from the Province of Central Africa, were now making their position known. In this case, they were against the idea of leaving the Province of Central Africa even with the smear campaign carried out by Bishop Kunonga and his group.

An interesting and undated letter was addressed to the Churchwardens of St Luke's church in Greendale. A parish Councillor, Mr Fred Saruchera, was apologising for not attending a council meeting but wanted to register his views if a vote was going to be carried out. He noted his views as:

1. At the Synod held on 4th August 2007 in Harare, after an intention to withdraw from the Church of the Province of Central Africa had been expressed, delegates to that Synod SHOULD have gone back to their parishes to advise them of the important decision which Synod was about to take. The parishes would have given them their views on the matter.
2. If the Diocese of Harare was unhappy about the goings-on in the Province, the Bishop of Harare was at liberty to raise the matter with his colleagues at their regular meetings and communications recommending action to be taken against straying Bishops. If this had failed to bring about a satisfactory response, then he could have gone to the parishes pointing out the frustrations of the Diocese and then suggesting the course of action to be taken.
3. The Bishop of Harare completely IGNORED the parishes, conveniently forgetting that Bishops and priests are ordained to SERVE the parishioners; remove parishes, then there will not be any need for priests and bishops.
4. The Bishop of Harare, because of his very strong views, should have caused a Conference of the Bishops of the Church of the Province of Central Africa to be convened to sort out their differences. If the majority of the Bishops supported his idea of secession, then he could have gone back to parishes to get their views.
5. The Laws/Acts of the Church of the Province of Central Africa on homosexuality are very clear and unequivocal; marriage is between MAN and WOMAN. So, why rebel if our law and beliefs on homosexuality are in tandem with those of the Church of the Province of Central Africa?
6. In view of the foregoing, it is my humble view that the action taken by Harare Diocese is-
 - a) Illegal
 - b) Improper
 - c) Dictatorial *id est* being imposed on the parishes.
7. I am indeed perplexed to see that there are people who do not see the illegality of the action taken by the Diocese of Harare. I will support actions that are legal, orderly and democratic (Saruchera, 2008).

4.26 What was the reaction of Bishop Kunonga to these developments?

To answer this question, one had to see at least a response from Bishop Kunonga to have a feel of his reaction. In a letter to Fr Blessing Shambare, who was an assistant to Ven Rinashe with the title 'Option to join Bishop Bakare-led Diocese', Bishop Kunonga wrote:

We greet you in the name of the Triune God and refer you to the above. As you are aware, the Diocese of Harare and OURSELVES withdrew from The Church of the Province of Central Africa. The choice of your wardens, your council, yourself and some members of Borrowdale Christchurch Parish to join the Bishop Bakare led Diocese means you are no longer within the Diocese of Harare. We wish you and your members all the best in your new ministry, and we take this opportunity to let you know that WE will be appointing a new assistant to Venerable Rinashe, who will be replacing you.

WE also regret to inform you that you have, with immediate effect, ceased to be a marriage officer in terms of the marriage Act 5:11. Please take your earliest opportunity to surrender all the assets of the said parish to the rector who is Ven H.M. Rinashe.

WE thank you for all the wonderful things we were able to do together as you were serving under US, and WE wish you and your family all the blessings of the Lord (Kunonga, 2007b).

It would appear as if Bishop Kunonga was sincere in wishing Fr Blessing Shambare well when he was not. That can be deduced from the harsh and cruel response that was to characterise events that followed the withdrawal of priests and parishes from Bishop Kunonga led diocese. One would understand that it was not easy for him to see priests slipping out of his control to join his opponent.

4.27 Kunonga's hunts for a spiritual home in the form of a province

After formally writing to the Province advising the Province of his move, Bishop Kunonga was now out in the cold. He had to quickly secure or seek to join a Province that the Worldwide Anglican Communion recognised. It must also be noted that Kunonga's reasons for the withdrawal, especially the issue of homosexuality, had been a cause of friction to the Anglican Communion.

It is alleged that Bishop Kunonga was now desperate for a home, and so he visited Uganda to try and secure a province he could join. Upon his return from Uganda and soon after the Provincial Synod held Malawi, Bishop Kunonga called for a clergy meeting in the Cathedral Cloister gardens. He then assured priests that the project was going on as planned and that he was on top of the situation. “*Takabuda muProvince uye hatisekudzokera kumashure*” (we left the Province, and there is no turning back), he declared. The so-ecstatic Dean of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, the Very Rev Caxton Mabhozi, then displayed the map of Uganda and gave some snippets of the church in Uganda and did assure the priests that the church in Uganda was willing to accept the Diocese of Harare.

While Bishop Kunonga was still in Uganda, scouting for a Province to join, the Diocesan Secretary then, Rev Barnabas Machigautu, texted a message to all the priests in the Diocese of Harare claiming, ‘Tapinda’ meaning ‘we have entered we have entered’ when translated. This message gave the priests the impression that one of the Provinces in Uganda had officially accepted embracing the Diocese of Harare into their fold, but this was never the case. The Uganda frenzy fizzled out as fast as it had come, just like dew in the morning. Later, priests were to inquire about it but did not receive satisfactory answers to their questions.

According to Rev Barnabas Machigautu, who was the Diocesan Secretary:

The bishop made a trip to Uganda on the pretext that he was going to see the Archbishop of Uganda and that of Kenya to be aligned to our development and oversee the creation of a province of Zimbabwe. This was after a special synod that was called specifically to endorse the move to leave the Province of Central Africa. The question people kept asking was will we remain Anglican if we went solo without being affiliated to any province. That is when the likes of Fr Gwedegwe became handy as he manufactured a message of solidarity purportedly from Archbishop Nsimbi of Kenya. Indeed, per that synod, the motion to move out received a nod (Machigautu, Questionnaire, 2017).

In evaluating this information, one would be drawn to question the logic of going as far as Uganda in search of a provincial home, leaving Provinces nearer home, such as the Province of Southern Africa. That, on its own, speaks volumes of the moral rectitude of Bishop Kunonga and his accomplices. A similar feel comes from Fr Gwedegwe’s lying to the whole church that Archbishop Nsimbi of Kenya was in solidarity with Bishop

Kunonga (Machingauta, Questionnaire, 2017). The whole thing shows how deep-seated the need to move out was.

4.28 Conclusion

The period stretching from the day of the 61st Synod of the Diocese of Harare held on the 4th of August 2007 to the 20th of September 2007, the day Bishop Kunonga officially wrote the letter of withdrawal, was characterised by much uncertainty. The diocese was awash with news of disgruntlement. However, many parishioners in the Diocese never thought it would degenerate into a chaotic exercise it turned out to be. The 61st synod delegates were stirred up to believe that homosexuality was now a big storm in the Province of Central Africa to be debated, and a resolution on the matter arrived at. It was, however, a piece of mischief for Bishop Kunonga to arm-twist the resolution and append something new to his letter of withdrawal.

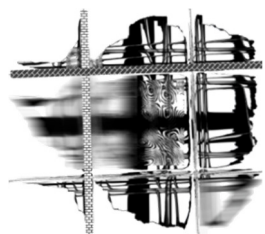
A critical analysis of this phase in the Diocese of Harare clearly shows that Bishop Kunonga had identified seasoned Anglicans like Mrs Pswarai, Mr Ebson Murewi and many others whose moral standings were unquestionable. This, one may assume, was meant to create a wrong perception in other parishioners' minds not to question or doubt Bishop Kunonga's move. However, sentiments by Rev Shambare as he denounced Mrs Pswarayi, that he had respected her all his life but now was being used to destroy the church, goes to show that the strategy did not work.

Looking at the synod proceedings and with the contentious issue of severing ties with the CPCA being raised, and if Bishop Kunonga only meant good for the diocese, the matter was supposed to have been taken back to parishioners for input through the same synod delegates. This way, Bishop Kunonga could have shown the outside world that the decision to withdraw from CPCA came from the parishioners. The fact that he was the one pushing for the withdrawal from CPCA meant that he was content with the outcome of this synod and, in the process, missed an opportunity to amend his line of thought.

The use of Rev Nicholas Henderson's election as Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Lake Malawi by Bishop Kunonga worked against him and also weakened his case against CPCA. The Province had refused to endorse the outcome of the election on the same basis as was being advocated by

Bishop Kunonga that it suspected Rev Henderson to be sympathetic towards homosexuality. Therefore, from a comparative point of view Bishop Kunonga and the CPCA had a similar stance on homosexuality.

Mr Freddie Saruchera's comments above summed up the general feelings and views of the people and probably some of the reasons why people felt that Bishop Kunonga was merely taking them for a ride. The lack of consultation and dictatorial tendencies by Bishop Kunonga made the situation even worse.



5 | THE SECOND HALF OF THE DECADE OF TURMOIL: 2008-2012 (PART 2)

5.1 Introduction

In an interview with *The Herald* of 15th of September 2007, cited in the previous chapter, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, when asked, “there are five dioceses in Zimbabwe that can constitute a province according to the Constitution of the Province of Central Africa, does that same constitution bind you? If not, what is the way forward?” openly declared “we are out of the Province of Central Africa right now, we are going to form a new province” (Mutasa P. B., 2007).

This chapter seeks to examine Bishop Kunonga’s statement that he and his followers were “going to form a new province.” We will consider its implications and consequences on the life of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe and, in particular, the Anglican Diocese of Harare. This evaluation will also look at the ownership of the Diocesan properties and the wrangle that ensued after the creation or establishment of the new Province. The chapter is again mainly informed by interviews, correspondence and newspaper articles.

5.2 Formation of the Province of Zimbabwe

The resolutions passed at special vestries and parish council meetings, requested by Bishop Bakare, did not translate into an unequivocal position desired by the parishioners. The political climate in Zimbabwe, which had caused the country to be divided on political grounds, had a bearing on some of the decisions taken by parishes. It became apparent that the church was now divided. On the one hand, some felt that Bishop Kunonga was justified in withdrawing the diocese from the Province of Central Africa, basing their arguments on the reasons they had heard, which were unsubstantiated also those who saw this move as schismatic and without basis.

The failure to secure a Province out of the Province of Central Africa that was willing to accommodate the Diocese of Harare into their fold could have contributed to the formation of the Province of Zimbabwe.

5.3 Bishop Kunonga forms the province of Zimbabwe

On the 13th of January 2008, the nation woke up to the news of a new Province of Zimbabwe by Bishop Kunonga with *The Sunday Mail* newspaper headline screaming, "Kunonga forms Province of Zim". According to the reporter Phyllis Kachere, "Anglican Church Harare Diocese Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, yesterday announced the formation of the Church of the Province of Zimbabwe, putting an end to speculation that the Harare Diocese planned to affiliate to the province of Kenya" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008).

This assertion in the paper seemed to authenticate the view that Bishop Kunonga had been looking for a Province to join and had failed in this regard which then necessitated the formation of the Province of Zimbabwe. Kachere went on to quote Bishop Kunonga as saying that "the new Church of the Province of Zimbabwe would initially start with five dioceses namely Harare, Chitungwiza, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008). Bishop Kunonga subsequently appointed Vicar Generals to the four newly-formed dioceses. They were Rev Harry Rinashe, Rev Morris Brown Gwedengwe, Rev Alfred Munyanyi and Rev Caxton Mabhoyi. The Vicar Generals were "charged with the task of forming Synods that were in turn expected to come up with elective assemblies that would elect bishops for the dioceses. The bishops would then be confirmed, consecrated and enthroned" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008).

At this juncture, the formation of the new dioceses and the subsequent appointments of Vicar Generals was done without any legal framework to guide and direct the proceedings. However, it can be assumed that Bishop Kunonga continued to use the Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa, which demanded that a province can be instituted by at least five or more dioceses. By altering the boundaries of the Diocese of Harare and subsequently appointing Vicar Generals, Bishop Kunonga had somehow assumed the roles of both Provincial Synod and Archbishop as enshrined in the Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa, Canon 34. Canon 34.6 states that "As soon as the subdivision of a Diocese or the formation of any new Diocese from parts of two or more Dioceses takes place, the Archbishop shall appoint a Vicar General for each Diocese whose See is vacant to act until the See is canonically filled" (Canons, Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa, 1969). The Archbishop, it followed, in the case of the church Province of Central

Africa, had the prerogative to appoint the Vicar Generals. However, it is not clear who had that prerogative in this new formation since it has been noted earlier that Bishop Kunonga used no legal framework to establish the Province of Zimbabwe.

History has been made today in the Anglican Church of Zimbabwe. We have formed our own province. It has been painful and sorrowful, but out of that came the joy of our own province. But we are joyful that the grace of God continues to water, lead and inspire us', said Bishop Kunonga (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008).

Indeed, history had been made, however, for a very wrong reason. One could see the tension this was going to cause within and without the Anglican Community in Zimbabwe.

In a Sunday Mail article, it was further reported that Bishop Kunonga had said, "after several meetings that we had, the skirmishes will be a thing of the past. No unlicensed priest will go and conduct a church service at any parish. The board of trustees of the Diocese of Harare is the custodian of all properties of the diocese and no one other than licensed personnel will be allowed to use our facilities" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008). Kachere went further to quote Bishop Kunonga as saying "the Church of the Province of Central Africa had no jurisdiction over the new Province of Zimbabwe, and that is why they chose to take him to a secular court instead of an ecclesiastical court. They (Central Africa Province) know very well that they have no jurisdiction over us. They have no authority over our property, and they know that. We had joined them just to fellowship, but that does not mean they have jurisdiction over us" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008).

The above quotation gives the impression that the part led by Bishop Bakare had consented to the arrangement whereby only those priests licensed by Bishop Kunonga were allowed to use the church premises. It also gives the wrong notion that a diocese could join the Province purely to fellowship and that the Province has no control over the dioceses under its jurisdiction when it comes to properties. However, *Article 23 of the Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa* clearly states the role of Diocesan Trustees and ownership of all Diocesan properties as stated below:

Every Diocesan Synod, or Diocesan Trusts' Board appointed by such Synod, shall be a Body authorised to exercise on behalf of the Provincial Synod, the powers designated in these Articles of the Constitution, and in the several

Clauses of Schedule C, in respect to property given or acquired for the benefit of the Church in that Diocese. All Diocesan Trustees shall carry out the objects of the Trust in such manner, not inconsistent with the terms of the Trust, as several Diocesan Synods shall from time to time direct (Constitution and Canons, 1969:15).

The remarks by Bishop Kunonga were a clear violation of his oath upon consecration that he was to be bound by the Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa. In the same Sunday Mail article, the reporter noted that "Yesterday Bishop Kunonga reaffirmed the church's position on homosexuality" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008). This was followed by a somehow confusing quotation from Bishop Kunonga in which he stated that "There is no bishop in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe who I can say has sympathised, indulged or compromised in homosexuality. The scriptures are very clear on homosexuality, and we follow the scriptures. We refuse to embrace homosexuality" (Kachere, Kunonga forms Province of Zim, 2008).

The question one would ask is, "which church position was Bishop Kunonga reaffirming since he had declared that he knew no Bishop in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe who had sympathised, indulged or even compromised on the word concerning homosexuality?" This then, for this researcher, was a clear testimony that homosexuality was just being used as justification for something premeditated and chiefly being used to sever ties with the Province of Central Africa.

5.4 The Province of Zimbabwe Bishops elected

In fulfilment of the promises made at the formation of the Province of Zimbabwe, four new Bishops were elected to take up the leadership of those dioceses that Bishop Kunonga had created. According to the *Sunday Mail* of 24th February 2008, "Former Harare Diocese Vicar General Rev Harry Mambo Rinashe was elected unopposed as Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland East and would be based in Marondera, while Rev Caxton Mabhoiyi became the Bishop of the Chitungwiza Diocese, Rev Mabhoiyi was also unopposed. Rev Alfred Munyanyi, who previously was Vicar General of the Diocese of Mashonaland West, was elected unopposed as its Bishop, while Rev Morris Brown Gwedegwe was elected Bishop of the Diocese of Mashonaland Central" (Reporter S. M., 2008).



Figure 7: New APZ Bishops. Picture courtesy of the Sunday Mail

The paper went on to give the composition of the elective assembly delegates as comprising “12 delegates from each diocese, nine delegates from three dioceses with Bishop Kunonga presiding as president of the elective assembly. Ms Mercy Chizodza was the registrar while retired Bishop Elijah Masuku provided spiritual guidance during the elections” (Reporter S. M., 2008).

Bishop Kunonga was said to have warned his lieutenants of impending challenges, for he knew for certain that what he was doing was against the law and was bound to cause friction in the Anglican Diocese of Harare. Bishop Kunonga advised the newly elected Bishops saying, “I urge you to remain resolute and steadfast in your faith. Prepare and expect to work under difficult circumstances. But take comfort in that you are doing the Lord’s work. Do not be intimidated by the devil” (Reporter S. M., 2008).

Asked how he felt upon being elected Bishop, Rev Harry Mambo Rinashe said he “felt time had come for me to bring the different parties together and unite them since people should focus on Christ and that people were fighting for property and wealth. This was un-Godly” (Servant, 2016). In response to the same question, Bishop Munyanyi had this to say: “I was happy and sad at the same time as the congregation I was supposed to lead was split, confused and therefore small” (Munyanyi, 2016). Bishop Morris Gwedegwe made some startling remarks regarding the same question: “that is one area I enjoyed most. I said, ‘thank you, God, for calling

me into the field of harvesters'. I praised God for I feel God has a purpose for putting me into his field. Am contented" (Gwedegwe M. B., 2016). When asked if he was fully apprised of every stage of the developments, Bishop Gwedegwe had this to say: "from the time we worked together as we were contemplating who the next Bishop of Harare was after the See became vacant, to election, to Bishopric, to the time I became Priest-in-charge of the Cathedral of St Mary, thereafter we had differences" (Gwedegwe M. B., 2016).

All the elected Bishops were so excited by their new appointments. Whether they fully understood the implications of the schism remains a mystery. Since the establishment of the Province of Zimbabwe, no Archbishop had been elected into that office. However, Bishop Kunonga, with the assistance of the retired Bishop of Manicaland, Bishop Masuku, went ahead to consecrate the bishops elect. Rev Machingauta had this to say about the consecration debacle:

What was clear now, however, is that there was no Archbishop in the picture, and this is when most of the former Roman Catholics became worried for, to them there can be no consecration without an Archbishop or at least three bishops. After the drama of 'consecration', the 'bishops' elected Bishop Kunonga as the Archbishop" (Machingauta, 2017).

These elected Bishops of the Province of Zimbabwe subsequently elected Bishop Kunonga as Archbishop of the Province of Zimbabwe.

5.5 The Province of Central Africa issues A statement

The same day the Sunday Mail of 13/01/2008 carried news of the formation of the new Province of Zimbabwe, the News Day also carried an advertisement in the form of a statement by Bishops of the Province of Central Africa, inserted by Rev C.E Tapera, the acting Diocesan Secretary of the Diocese of Harare led by Bishop Bakare. Part of the statement read:

We, the undersigned Bishops of the Church of the Province of Central Africa at the Extraordinary Episcopal Synod held on 20th December 2007, at the Lusaka Hotel, Zambia, state that: we were consulted by the Dean of the Province of Central Africa, the Rt. Rev. Albert Chama, in connexion with the contents of the letter of the 21st September 2007 addressed to the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (C.P.C.A) concerning the withdrawal by Bishop Kunonga of the Diocese of Harare from the (C.P.C.A). We unanimously concurred that:

1. The Fundamental Declarations, Articles of the Constitution, Canons and laws of the C.P.C.A. do not permit the unilateral withdrawal of a Diocese from the Province even if, as alleged by Bishop Kunonga but challenged by many, the synod of that diocese unanimously expresses a desire no longer to be associated with the Province.
2. Bishop Kunonga was, *inter alia*, expressing his personal attitude and intention to sever all ties with the Province and was himself withdrawing from the Province.
3. In the circumstances, we accepted his personal resignation and withdrawal from the body of the C.P.C.A. (Chama, et al., 2007b).

The statement from the Episcopal Synod was to remove any shade of doubt from the whole Kunonga saga for the CPCA Bishops unanimously agreed that Kunonga had no authority to withdraw the Diocese from the Province and they went on to accept his resignation from the Province of Central Africa. The statement did not end by accepting the resignation but went further to declare that:

1. The Diocese of Harare continues to form part of the Province.
2. Dr Kunonga, having severed his ties and allegiance and cast aside his canonical obedience to be bound by laws of the Province, which includes the Diocese of Harare, has ceased to be a member of the Diocese;
 - 2.1 Is no longer the Bishop of the Diocese; and
 - 2.2 His licence as a clergyman in the Anglican Communion is automatically revoked and
 - 2.3 He is no longer authorised or permitted to have any authority or control whatsoever over the Diocese, nor to represent it in any way, not to use the funds and assets of the Diocese;
 - 2.4 His act of schism has been notified to the Anglican Communion worldwide.
3. The faction of priests known to support Dr Kunonga in his action, in whichever Diocese(s) they may be, has chosen to step outside the Province and the Diocese. Their licences have been revoked as they are no longer members of the Diocese and the Province.
4. Until an election of a new bishop for the Diocese of Harare has been held, we have appointed Bishop Sebastian Bakare to be the interim Bishop of the Diocese of Harare in the Church of the Province of Central Africa (Chama, et al., 2007b).

Having stated all these and many more issues, which included the position of priests and instructions given to the interim Bishop, Bishop Bakare, the Bishops went on to address the major issue of properties registered in the diocese's name. Also included in the advertisement article was a list of priests and parishes who had remained within the CPCA.

Thirty-eight priests and twenty parishes had opted to remain within the Province of Central Africa.

5.6 Ownership of Anglican Diocese of Harare properties

In their statement to the church, the episcopal bench of the Province of Central Africa pronounced what was to become of the properties of the Diocese of Harare. They vehemently stated that:

In terms of Articles of the Constitution and the Canons and other laws of the Province and the Acts of the Diocese, all property, movable and immoveable, and all monies within the Diocese are beneficially held by the Diocese but are owned by the C.P.C.A. We have called upon Dr Kunonga to deliver to the Province all these assets. We now order him to deliver or cause them to be delivered into the possession or placed under the control of Bishop Bakare immediately (Chama, et al., 2007b).

As mentioned earlier, Bishop Kunonga responded that the Province had no jurisdiction over the properties now owned by the new Province of Zimbabwe. The impasse spilt over into the civil courts.

5.7 The ex-communication of Bishop Nolbert Kunonga

Following the heated exchange of words in the courts and both the state-run and private media, the Dean of the Province of Central Africa, Rt Rev Albert Chama, pronounced a shock when on the 12th of May 2008, he formally ex-communicated Bishop Kunonga together with all his followers. This was the first ex-communication ever pronounced to a sitting Bishop in the history of the Province of Central Africa, and this shows how determined the Dean of the Province of Central Africa was in highlighting the enormity of Bishop Kunonga's actions.

By virtue of the ex-communication, Bishop Kunonga's Bishopric ceased to be recognised in the whole Anglican Communion. The full text of the ex-communication letter is given below. However, Bishop Kunonga did not take this ex-communication seriously as he continued to fight to have full control of all assets that belonged to the Diocese of Harare, claiming that he was the rightful Bishop of the Diocese.

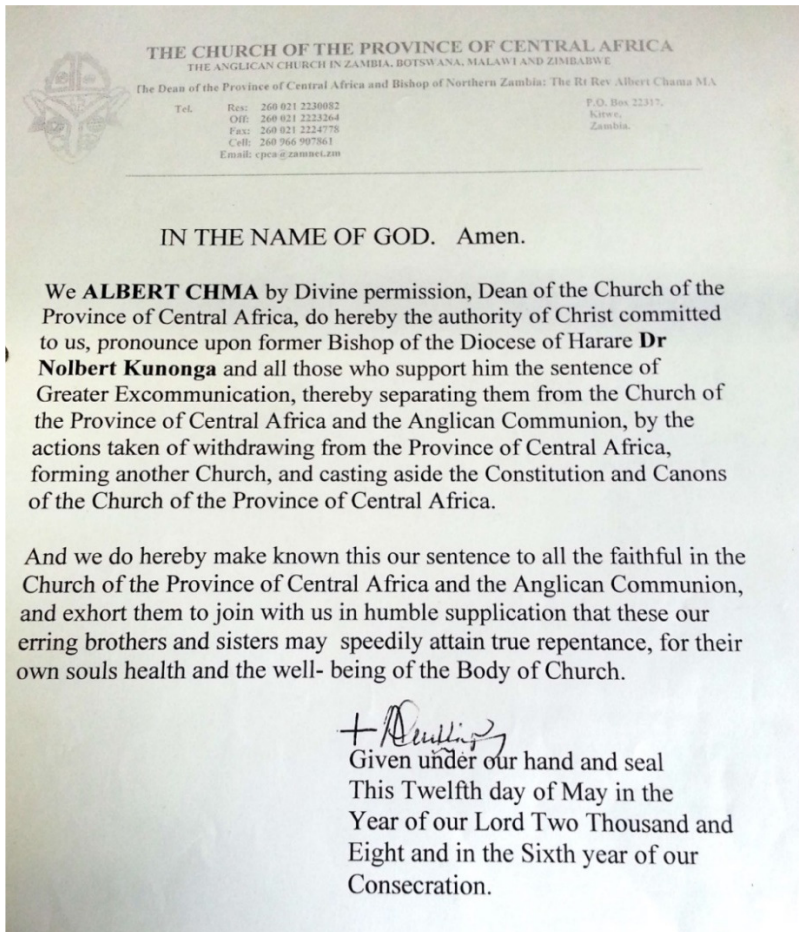


Figure 8: The Ex-Communication Letter

5.8 Political influences in decision-making

It must also be noted that some parishes, mainly those in rural areas, which were predominantly Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) ZANU-PF-controlled had major problems in making choices. Parishioners were given the impression that Kunonga was fighting in the ZANU-PF corner, so whoever was not on Kunonga's side was anti-ZANU-PF and was considered an opposition member. Bishop Kunonga

took advantage of the coverage that he was getting from the state-controlled daily papers to prop himself up.

5.9 Legal battles and persecution of CPCA membership

The legal battles and persecution of the CPCA that ensued after Bishop Kunonga's purported withdrawal of the Harare Diocese from the CPCA can only be discussed in tandem. This is so because the persecution of the CPCA members would always come as a reaction to the judgements passed by the civil courts.

The first person to take Bishop Kunonga to court was Mr Phillip Baki Mutasa, the Vice-Chairperson of the Diocese of Harare Board of Trustees before the purported withdrawal by Bishop Kunonga. Cited in the matter also were organisations such as Standard Chartered Bank of Zimbabwe Africa Unity Square Branch, Imara Asset Management (Private) Limited, and Kingdom Asset Management (Private) Limited, who were cited as 2nd, 3rd and 4th respondents, respectively. These respondents were key in that they were the bankers and Investment Houses of the Diocese of Harare. Mr Mutasa regarded the 3rd and 4th as registered Asset Management companies with Diocesan investments running into several billions of Zimbabwean dollars.

In his founding affidavit, Mr Mutasa stated, "I am authorised by the Applicant (CPCA) to make this application on its behalf. The facts of this matter are within my personal knowledge, particularly as I am the Vice Chairperson of the Harare Diocese Trust under the authority of the Applicant. My authority to bring this application is confirmed by the Provincial Trustees Chairperson, Bishop Trevor Mwamba" (Mutasa, 2007c).

Mr Mutasa needed to declare his interest and source of his authority in this matter. Mutasa emphatically states in his affidavit that "the Diocese of Harare as a church under the authority of the applicant does not own any assets. All assets in the possession and use of the Harare Diocese belong to the Applicant and are held in trust by the Harare Diocesan Trust of which I am the Vice Chairperson" (Mutasa, 2007c). He went further to state the reasons for the application as being necessitated by the fact that "since the withdrawal from the Applicant's Church on the 21st of September 2007 to date the First Respondent remains in control of the Applicant's various assets" (Mutasa, 2007c).

Mutasa also raised a fundamental point in which he argued that this situation had caused considerable confusion to the ordinary members of the applicant commonly known as the Anglican Church, whom he said were “confused as to the First Respondent’s role in light of the fact that he remains in de facto control of the Applicant’s Diocese of Harare by virtue of his occupation and control of the Applicant’s Diocesan offices” (Mutasa, 2007c).

The affidavit by Mr Mutasa was a 49-point-document, and it might be useful to just look at some points and not all of the “Provisional/Final Order” he sought on behalf of the CPCA. However, it is also important to note that the main issue at stake was for Bishop Kunonga to relinquish control of all the Diocesan properties movable or immovable properties and vacate all the premises that belonged to the Diocese of Harare CPCA. The terms of the Final order sought were as follows:

That you show cause to this Honourable Court, if any, why a final settlement should not be made in the following terms:

1. First Respondent is interdicted from accessing Applicant’s Bank Accounts with the Second Respondent held at Second Respondent’s branch at Africa Unity Square.
2. Second Respondent is interdicted from allowing First Respondent access to the Applicant accounts described above.
3. That the First Respondent is interdicted from accessing or in any way transacting with Applicant’s investments held with the Third and Fourth Respondent.
4. The Third and Fourth Respondents are hereby interdicted from working and or doing business from any of the Applicant’s immovable properties wherever situated (Mutasa, 2007d).

It is clear from all this that the church was keen to protect its interests in the Diocese of Harare. This court application was to become the main case among all other cases that were to be brought before the courts. The need to bring to finality the issue of properties was urgent, for there was great fear of plundering money in the form of investments that belonged to the Diocese of Harare. At the same time, Bishop Kunonga would also want to argue that everything he was doing was for the betterment of the Diocese of Harare and that he had every right to continue using the properties in question for as long as he remained the Bishop of Harare.

It will again be useful at this stage to have a closer look at Bishop Kunonga’s reaction to the court application that the CPCA lodged. In his defence, Bishop Kunonga argued that:

It is mischievous for the applicant to suggest that the funds and investments will be spirited away by me. Such a statement exposes ignorance of how the Diocese of Harare works; I, as a Bishop, do not have sole control of the diocesan bank accounts, as a perusal of the Acts of the diocese will prove. Funds and investments have not been for use by applicant or even belonged to it. The funds belong to the Diocese of Harare and are for use by the diocese to pay clergy's salaries, allowances and to service bills.

This will continue and applicant does not say why it would like to take over this role. The Diocese of Harare has not been dissolved. It continues to honour its legal obligations, and if this order is granted, it is the one which will create problems. The funds which belong to the applicant are only those in Common Provincial Funds, which clearly show that the diocesan funds are not Provincial Funds.

I submit that this matter is fraught with serious disputes of fact and should not have been brought as an application. Applicant knew it and took a gamble. The application must be dismissed on those grounds alone (Munyoro, 2007).

A closer evaluation of Bishop Kunonga's head of arguments leaves a lot to be desired. First, the Diocesan Acts have no provision for the unilateral withdrawal of a diocese from a Province that he had done. What then could stop him from spiriting away the Diocesan funds and investments, in the same manner he had withdrawn the Diocese? One can assume that this question could have led the applicant to act swiftly to try and stop Bishop Kunonga in his tracks.

Second, one is bound to be sceptical about the actions and power exhibited by Kunonga in manipulating the synod motions to give the impression that the synod had voted in favour of the withdrawal. With such power, what could stop him from manipulating a handful of Diocesan Trustees to support him in spiriting away the diocesan funds and investments? And this could have then prompted the applicant to act in the manner they did by seeking an order to stop him in his tracks.

5.10 Board of trustees counter Mutasa's court application

As was to be expected, the Diocese of Harare Board of Trustees under Bishop Kunonga responded aggressively. Of interest is that in 2005 a raft of changes had taken place in the structure and composition of the Board of Trustees. Three new members were either elected into the Board at a synod or were co-opted by other members to fill in the vacancies which had arisen. Speculation, however, was rife as to the cause of the vacancies, and it is assumed that most of the seasoned trustees were elbowed out for

failing to tow Bishop Kunonga's line of thought. Those who fell victim included Boyman Mancama, Sekai Chibaya, C.R.L Molan and D. Joughin. In came Mr Onias Gatawa and Mr Winter Shamuyarira, whose letters of appointment were written on the 18th of October 2005, followed by Mr Alfred S. Tome, who was co-opted as per chapter 8.2 (d) of the Acts of the Diocese of Harare by other Trustees on the 8th of November 2005.

These were then among members who met on the 15th of October 2007 to deliberate on the matter in which Phillip Mutasa had taken Bishop Kunonga to court. Present in the meeting were Venerable HM Rinashe (in chair on behalf of the Bishop), Mr Gundu, Mr Gatawa, Mr Nyazika, Mr Majokwere, Ven. Canon Madeyi Archdeacon, Ven Mutandwa Archdeacon, Ven. Munyanyi Archdeacon, Mr Tome, Mr Shamuyarira and Fr Machingauta (Diocesan Secretary). Apologies were from The Chairman Rt. Rev. Dr Kunonga, Very Rev. Mabhozi and Mr Mutasa (with objection of notice period, absence of papers, and query about the chairperson of the meeting). According to the minutes of this meeting, under "business of the day" was the topic 'Status of Mr P.B. Mutasa', and it was recorded that "Issue of Chairing: Venerable Rinashe started by emphasizing that he was chairing this meeting in his capacity as Vicar General in place of the chairman who is the bishop and that since the Vice-Chairman of the trustees was himself the bone of contention, he could not chair nor would any other of the trustee's chair as they felt they needed someone in the person of the Bishop" (Minutes Special Trust, 2007).

What can be deduced from this, then, is that this special meeting was called to deliberate on the matter and status of Mr Mutasa. One thing for sure was that, even without looking at the resolutions, judgement had already been decided upon, for the vibes and tone were themselves suggestively strong. The issue at stake was outlined as, "Mr Mutasa, in his capacity as Vice-Chairman of the Trust's Board and on the pretext of the Provincial trustees, has taken the Bishop to court seeking an urgent interdict with the High Court against the bishop accessing the Diocesan premises, assets, money and also stopping him from performing his Episcopal duties" (Minutes Special Trust, 2007).

According to the minutes, members present deliberated, and some of their concerns were as noted below:

1. There had not been any meeting with the Trust's Board, and, as such, Mr Mutasa should not have taken his action as Vice Chairman but should be man enough to claim to represent himself and not Trustees.

2. By making the claim of isolating the bishop from the Synod, he is himself going against the Synod of the Diocese of Harare. Where does he get that kind of mandate?
3. If he was acting on behalf of the Trustees, why did he underestimate us and go to the court without having had a meeting with the other trustees? And why cite the bishop and the Diocese.
4. Our church is so orderly. Why did he decide to take the issue to a secular court without first going through the channels in the church? This goes to show the mere purpose of this was to embarrass the person of the bishop (sic). What was the desperation all about? (Minutes Special Trust, 2007).

It appears as if the trustees were in the dark regarding what was happening here. They questioned the legality of the matter and asked, 'what was the desperation all about?' One can then assume that all these members were in full support of what Bishop Kunonga was doing unless they were afraid of making known their position regarding the withdrawal from the Province of Central Africa. If the latter is the case, then they had no right to urge Mr Mutasa to be 'man enough' for he had shown that he was indeed man enough to challenge Bishop Kunonga and the status quo. However, in their resolution, they saw it fit to pass a vote of no confidence in Mr Mutasa, a motion which came from Mr Tome and was seconded by Mr Gatawa (Minutes Special Trust, 2007).

Furthermore, the Bishop Kunonga-led-trustees went on to produce a circular in which they disassociated themselves from Mr Phillip Mutasa and his actions of taking the Diocesan Bishop to court. The categorically stated that:

We, the Trustees of the Diocese of Harare, would like all Ecclesiastical Divisions to know that we consider what Mr Mutasa did, i.e. bringing the Bishop to court over the issue of the withdrawal of the Diocese from the Province of Central Africa and issue of the property of the Diocese as being completely out of line and unbecoming. We would like to put it on record that Mr Mutasa did not discuss this issue with us and that we consider him as having given himself a status above Synod and against it, which is completely wrong. Neither Mr Mutasa nor ourselves are above Synod. We completely disassociate ourselves from his action and would want him to become man enough and address this issue in his capacity as himself and not as our vice-chairman. We disown him and would like you to know that in our meeting of the 15th of October, we passed a vote of no confidence in him. Please be advised that any communication you receive from him should not be confused as official from us (Majokwere, et al., 2007).

Mr Mutasa's response to this action by the Board of Trustees can be gauged from the supporting affidavit, which he submitted later after the matter was taken to the civil courts, as shall be detailed later on. He affirmed his position by stating the following:

1. I remain the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees to date.
2. On 21 September 2007, Dr Kunonga and my fellow Board members seceded from the Respondent and the Diocese of Harare.
3. After such action, I refused to join them, particularly on the 15th of October 2007 in what was purported to be a Board of Trustees meeting for the Diocese of Harare, as they had seceded from the Respondent and as such from the Diocese of Harare. I could not recognize them as my fellow Board of Trustees and hence my refusal to attend their meeting.
4. Since then, the See of the Diocese of Harare was vacant until the appointment of Bishop Bakare, who by virtue of that position, is now the Chairman of the Board of Trustees together with the following; Mr Honour Mukushi, Mrs Martha Rukuni, Mr T Chigumadze, Mr Patrick Mahari, Mrs Fortunate Sekeso, Mr J. Tsodzai and Mrs Phides Mazhawidza.
5. The Board of Trustees of the Diocese of Harare is therefore in place (Mutasa, 2008).

One would have thought that Mr Mutasa had clarified the two Boards of Trustees' position, claiming the right to control the Anglican Diocese of Harare. In the same light, one would also have thought that this was a simple matter, and the courts would decide as soon as they took up the matter. However, this was not to be the case. Litigations and counter litigations ensued. These were also backed by judgements that would swing like a pendulum, adding confusion to the already confused membership of the Diocese of Harare.

5.11 The Rita Makarau Judgement

In January 2008, the CPCA made an urgent application to the High Court against the Commissioner of Police, Senior Assistant Commissioner Zengeni, Chief Superintendent Zharare, Dr Nolbert Kunonga and reverend Munyanyi. The CPCA was seeking a final order, "restraining the respondents from interfering with the applicant's congregation when conducting church services and undertaking church-related services at all its churches and that the respondents be bound to keep the peace towards the applicant's parishioners" (Makarau, 2008).

In an effort to bring sanity to the smoky atmosphere prevailing in the Diocese of Harare, Judge President Rita Makarau noted with concern that:

The parties have been before the courts in a number of instances. To date, three other urgent applications under case numbers HC3208/07; 5637/07 and 6464/07 and a summons case under HC6544/07 have been brought by either of the parties since September 2007, giving the impression that the church has lost its focus and instead of fighting the good fight and seeking the Kingdom of God first, church members are fighting each other and are seeking earthly power and control of church assets (Makarau, 2008).

The only problem with the observation is that it did not state who among the church members were fighting to control that which did not belong to them. Certainly, someone among the parties had lost focus, and this is why this matter was now before the courts to try and re-align the minds of those who were now off-track. In her judgment, Judge President Makarau referred to a meeting held on the 31st of December 2007 as having been brokered by the police to bring together the two parties to discuss their issues amicably.

In that meeting, she argues, "the applicant (CPCA) alleges that at this meeting an agreement was reached as to how the two sides would co-exist. The 4th and 5th respondents deny that there was such an agreement and aver that the parties merely agreed to talk. The 1st and 2nd and 3rd respondents aver that they did broker an agreement between the parties on this day" (Makarau, 2008).

A closer evaluation of the above statement by Judge President Makarau would cause some embarrassment. Three senior Police officers and the representatives of the CPCA were in agreement that a peace deal had been brokered while Bishop Kunonga and Rev Munyanyi opposed such. Something was wrong in this whole scenario where there was a deliberate attempt to manipulate the evidence. One can only assume that after the meeting, Bishop Kunonga realised that the presence of the other party (CPCA-led) at the churches would expose themselves in terms of numbers; hence the outright expulsion from the premises was for him the route to go.

This reasoning found no room in the Judge President's mind, for she went on to say,

I find the arrangement by the police to keep peace between the two factions and their attitude in this application quite commendable. In my view, even if there was no agreement reached between the parties as to how they would share time to use church facilities, the police find that this arrangement will enhance its efforts in keeping peace between the two factions

pending determination of the suit I have referred to above. It is not the purpose of the court to tie the hands of the court (I am sure she wanted to say the 'police') in its effort to keep peace (Makarau, 2008).

The Judge President went on to state her findings on the matter as such:

On the basis of the above, I will hold that the applicant has a clear right to continue enjoying the use of the church premises. It is beyond dispute that the right of parishioners to use church premises existed in the days prior to 21 September 2007, when the church was united. It may have become doubtful after that date but was, in my view, restated by the arrangement put in place by the police on December 2007. There is reasonable apprehension that the right may be under threat, and thus there is need for the issuance of interim protection in the form of an interim interdict. In the result, I make the following order:

Pending determination of HC6544/07

1. The 4th respondent and all those acting under his authority shall have use of the church premises at times previously slotted for such activities prior to 21st September 2007.
2. The 4th respondent and all those acting under his authority shall make church premises available to the applicant 90 minutes after its activities as detailed in (a) above.
3. The above time slots may be varied by the parties at parish level provided that such variation is reduced to writing and communicated to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd respondents.
4. Both the applicant and all those acting under its authority and the 4th respondent and those acting under his authority are not interfering with the activities of the other exercised in terms of this order.

Each party shall pay its own costs (Makarau, 2008).

This was to become a milestone judgement in the struggle of ownership of properties in the Anglican Diocese of Harare. Fights and skirmishes that ensued after this judgement were always based on this concept of sharing the premises until the final determination had been made to the main case, which was still before the courts.

Rev Phineas Fundira, commenting on an article by Rev Barnabas Machingauta which had appeared in *The Sunday Mail* of 28th September 2008, argued that:

Judge President Makarau's Judgement was really a God-given decision in which God Himself solved the problem with the peace of His Spirit. God, through Makarau, wanted to show Himself. Members of the church were given the freedom to choose freely where God would lead them. It is pleasing to note that God led the majority of members of the church to the

CPCA. I call upon any person to visit all Parishes in the Diocese of Harare CPCA and in the perceived Province of Zimbabwe formed by the former Bishop of Harare and see where God's Spirit has led His people to. The Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints remain chained or locked. Members of the church of CPCA who are the majority and are supposed to attend church services at 11:30 hours every Sunday are still barred and frustrated (Fundira, 2008).

What is clear in Rev Fundira's article is that despite having the judgement in their favour to conduct services as per prescribed time slots, the CPCA continued to be denied access to the premises, resulting in continued fights.

5.12 Disturbances and fighting in the parishes in the Diocese of Harare

Following the formation of the Province of Zimbabwe by Bishop Kunonga and the appointment of Bishop Bakare as caretaker Bishop, the Diocese of Harare was formally split into two entities, with both having a claim on the same parish structures. Several skirmishes were recorded in almost all parishes in the Diocese of Harare, except a few parishes that were somehow unique in their set-ups.

One such unique parish is All Souls, Mount Pleasant. In his claim over parishes, Bishop Kunonga and his Board of Trustees were armed with the Title Deeds of the affected parishes and any structure that was registered in the name of the Anglican Diocese of Harare was affected. However, for parishes like All Souls Mount Pleasant, the church was built as a joint venture between the Methodist church and the Anglican church. That made it difficult for him to lay his hands on the parish, though he made some attempts but failed. Having failed to claim it, All Souls parish became the unpronounced 'Cathedral' of the Anglican Diocese of Harare CPCA in exile. All major services were to be conducted at the parish with minimum or no disturbances at all.

In Mashonaland West Province, there was Banket Parish, in particular St Andrews parish. This church was built by the Banket Association of Churches, which was made up of the Anglicans, Methodists and the Presbyterians. With that unique set-up, Bishop Kunonga could not again lay his hands on the church, and the parishioners never experienced the kind of persecution other Anglican members were experiencing.

I believe one of Bishop Bakare's pastoral letters needs to be looked at in greater detail because it became an embodiment of what was happening

in other parishes. From this pastoral letter, one gets a sense of despair with the situation prevailing in the Diocese of Harare. Bishop Bakare wrote:

My dear Sisters and Brothers, I write to share with you the experiences some of our parishioners endured last Sunday, which to me were aimed at instilling discord in the Diocese, and I have no doubt in my mind that this is the work of the devil.

When the children of Israel were so terrified and restless because of the power of the enemy who was constantly subjecting them to inhuman conditions, God said, 'Fear not, for I have redeemed you and have summoned you by name, and you are mine.... You are witnesses, declares the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen, so that you may know and believe me and understand that I am he' (Isa43:1b,10) (Bakare, 2008a).

Bishop Bakare elaborated on events that had happened on the 1st Sunday of Epiphany in some parishes. The following parishes being listed as the most affected:

- The Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints
- St Paul's, Marlborough
- St Elizabeth, Belvedere
- St Peter's, Mabelreign
- St Mary's, Hunyani
- St Stephen's, Chitungwiza
- St Luke's, Mufakose

According to Bishop Bakare:

The above parishes had their services as usual and were disrupted midway by riot Police who in some instances brought with them written authority, in particular, the Cathedral, which was given 10 minutes to disperse, and the congregations left the respective places of worship peacefully but angry at the turn of events. A priest at St Paul's Marlborough was arrested during Eucharist distribution and was later released. The congregation at St Elizabeth, Belvedere, was ordered by riot Police to leave the church after the sermon (Bakare, 2008a).

At this juncture, the church began to see heavily armed riot police coming in to enforce dubious orders and, if cornered, would claim that they were following orders from 'above'. This person 'above' has remained a mystery to this today. There was now total disregard of court judgements. The police would just descend on CPCA parishioners as and when they wished.

5.13 Disruptions of services extended to Bernard Mzeki Shrine

Bernard Mzeki, the first black lay catechist to have worked in the Mashonaland area and believed to have been martyred because of his faith, is commemorated every year by the church in the Province of Central Africa on the weekend close to the 18th of June, the day he is believed to have been killed in 1896. Following the turmoil that rocked the Diocese of Harare during the period under review, Bernard Mzeki commemorations from 2008 were also affected. The sharing of time slots also cascaded down to the activities at the shrine.

In 2009, the CPCA followers could not join the commemoration led by Bishop Kunonga and organised their own, which were held a week after the scheduled date from the 26th to the 28th of June. The success of the 2008 Bernard Mzeki commemorations seemed to have found its expression in the 2009 celebrations. It is estimated that over fifteen thousand CPCA worshippers attended the commemorations, disregarding the spirited efforts by Bishop Kunonga to confuse and misinform the pilgrims that celebrations were going to be held jointly during the weekend of June 19, 20 and 21.

The CPCA's successful holding of separate celebrations exposed Bishop Kunonga as having fewer followers than the CPCA. This triggered a sense of insecurity within Bishop Kunonga's camp, resulting in the CPCA services being banned at the shrine. In 2010, despite the assurance from the Minister of Home Affairs that the CPCA celebrations were going to be held as scheduled a week after Bishop Kunonga's had had theirs, this was not to be the case as heavily armed police barricaded all roads leading to the shrine. A letter signed by Rt Rev H. M Rinashe addressed to the Senior Assistant Commissioner heading Marondera East Province exposed what had always been speculated by the CPCA, that Bishop Kunonga was working in league with the police. Part of Rt H. M Rinashe's letter reads thus:

You may be aware by now that the Gandiya faction has lost against the Kunonga faction on the High Court case under Justice Hlatshwayo. They also lost their appeal in the Supreme Court under Deputy Chief Justice Malaba. This confirms that the Gandiya faction cannot lawfully use the property belonging to the Trustees led by Bishop Kunonga. Bernard Mzeki Shrine just outside Marondera town is one of such properties.

I remember, on 25 April 2010 in your office, you instructed the then acting Dispol Cde Mutasa to turn down the Gandiya faction's application to use Bernard Mzeki Shrine in June 2010. Has this been done?

The Gandiya faction has appealed to their followers to come out in large numbers on 25 to 27 June 2010 and to go to the Bernard Mzeki Shrine. You are aware that our programmes at the Shrine cover all the weekends from 18 June 2010 through to 11 July 2010. We don't want our programmes to be disrupted.

We, therefore, request your good offices to protect us, the owners of the Shrine, from any intruders (Rinashe, 2010).

The second paragraph above clearly exposed the shenanigans of Bishop Kunonga and what they were capable of doing behind the scenes to frustrate Bishop Gandiya and his followers and blocking them away under the guise of having a one-month long programme at the shrine.

The presence of the heavily armed police did not dampen the spirit of the CPCA pilgrims, who secured an alternative venue at Marondera Show Grounds. This new venue became the home for the CPCA pilgrims for three consecutive years, and they would come in their thousands to commemorate their martyr Bernard Mzeki.

5.14 Examples of disruption of services in full detail

In his undated pastoral letter, Bishop Bakare included a full story of what took place at St Luke's Greendale, which he claimed took place at the instigation of Bishop Kunonga, who was present at the church. He narrated the event as follows:

We arrived at 7.25 am in order to prepare for the Eucharist in which I was to be celebrant but was surprised to see Kunonga seated in front of the High altar with his back leaning against the wall of the altar and his wife seated at the back of the congregation. Kunonga removed from the altar all the Holy Vestments that had been laid by the servers and put them aside, and continued sitting in a defiant posture at the altar in the same position. At 8.05, the Church was crammed with people with many others sitting outside. The Rector started a chorus to which the congregation responded joyfully, and he informed the congregation that the man seated in front was an uninvited guest who had no place in the Diocese of Harare CPCA to which St Luke's, Greendale belongs. The congregation then asked to go to the Church Hall for the service. They accepted the instruction and left the Church in song and dance. Kunonga, his wife, Munyanyi and two law enforcement agents remained in the Church building. Meanwhile, we were in the sacristy waiting to start the service. I was taken by surprise when the Rector locked me in and only unlocked later with the instruction that the Eucharist was going to be celebrated in the Church

Hall. The service went exceptionally well only to be interrupted by riot police towards the end when the Churchwarden was making announcements. The police officer made an announcement to the effect that unless we are aligned to Dr Kunonga, no further church services will be conducted. The police officer was asked by the Bishop (Bakare) on whose authority he was doing all this, and his reply was that the instruction had come from above and the Bishop (Bakare) said he could not accept that there was anybody from above who could issue such an order forcing people not to worship and therefore the directive was legally baseless. The congregation made it very clear to the officer concerned that, in fact, it is Kunonga who had no place at St Luke's, Greendale because St Luke's, Greendale resolved at a duly constituted special vestry that they will remain in the CPCA.

A light lunch to which the Bishop (Bakare) was invited was served in the Youth Hall. While the Rector was saying Grace before the meal, Police officers barged in and announced that the Rector was under arrest. Everyone present at the luncheon accompanied the Rector as he was being escorted by the Police, and everyone present, including myself, demanded that we also be put under arrest as we deemed we had committed the same 'offence' as the Rector. Only a few, including his wife, were allowed to accompany him to Rhodesville Police Station. One of our legal counsels, Advocate Matinenga, followed later to institute the Rector's release. The Rector was released, and we now await a court hearing. (Bakare, 2008a)

The total disrespect of the revered sacraments and sacred places became the order of the day. Police could just walk in at the most sacred moment of the Eucharist service without even a flicker of shame about what they were doing. According to Luckia Chikodzore, Sunday the 7th of March 2010 is the day the church at St Luke was stripped of its bibles, liturgies, hymn books, kneelers and even notices on the board by Bishop Kunonga and his henchmen (Chikodzore, 2010).

The disrespect of revered sanctuaries was also made manifest in a narration by Mr Tsingo from the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, which was an affidavit to a case that had been launched in the High Court of Harare. The Applicant was the CPCA against Dr Nolbert Kunonga as 1st Respondent and Reverend Munyanyi as 2nd respondent. Mr Tsingo narrated his story as follows:

I am parishioner of the Applicant and a Sub Deacon at the Applicant's church, the Cathedral of Saint Mary and All Saints, at the corner of Sam Nujoma and Nelson Mandela Avenue. Following the order of this Honourable Court, we announced to all the Applicant's parishioners that our

church service was to commence at 11.00 am so as to allow the 1st Respondent and his parishioners to have their church service from 7.30am. On the 20th of January 2008, I arrived at the Cathedral at about 10.50am and noticed that all the parishioners present were outside the church building. When I went to the church, I noticed that there was nobody inside the church save for the 1st Respondent, who was seated behind the High Altar dressed in ecclesiastical garb with the Bishop's staff on the Altar. I immediately noticed that this was the reason why the Applicant's parishioners had not yet entered the cathedral, as this was due to the presence of the 1st Respondent.

I beg to refer this honourable court to the affidavit of the Applicant's churchwarden, Sekai Joyce Chibaya, which was filed in the matter HC345/08. It will be clear from a reading of that affidavit why there would be reluctance from the Applicant's parishioners to be seen to interfere with the 1st Respondent. Sunday the 20th of January 2008 was an important day for our parish as we had invited the Applicant's Bishop for the Diocese of Harare, the Right Reverend Sebastian Bakare, to celebrate mass with us.

On the confidence of this Honourable Court's order, I then went about asking all the parishioners to enter the church as we wanted to commence our service at 11.00am. As I went about this, I learnt that Bishop Sebastian Bakare was now present. I conferred with him, and he stated that I could go ahead setting up things for the commencement of the celebration of mass. On the advice of Bishop Sebastian Bakare, who had conferred with the Police, we proceeded to prepare to commence the celebration of mass. At this stage, the altar had already been set up in preparation for the celebration of mass. I learnt from one of the parishioners, Victor Repoh, that the 1st Respondent has removed everything from the altar. I went to investigate and found the 1st Respondent standing behind the altar and noticed he had removed the two altar candles. I consulted Bishop Bakare, who stated that we could proceed with mass without using the altar.

As we entered the church in the traditional ceremony with Bishop Bakare, I noticed that the 1st Respondent had now removed all the altar coverings leaving the altar bare. Bishop Bakare and myself moved over to a corner in order to commence service from there away from the altar. As soon as the choir had finished singing the processional hymn and as Bishop Bakare was about to start the service, the 1st Respondent came from behind the altar, shouting at Bishop Bakare, stating that Bishop Bakare had no right to be there and that he was not going to allow a situation whereby there were two leaders in the church.

The Right Reverend Bishop Bakare responded that there had been a Court Order which guaranteed the Applicant's parishioners to a service as from 11.00am and that 1st Respondent had already had his own sermon as from 7.30am. Bishop Bakare asked the 1st Respondent whether he was about to

defy a Court Order. The 1st Respondent replied that he did not care about a Court Order of a secular Court and that he would deal with those matters in his own time but that as far as he was concerned, the cathedral was his place where he was enthroned, and he was not willing to share it.

He said all these things at the top of his voice and in the hearing of the whole congregation. As he said this, he was pointing at Bishop Bakare with the Bishop's staff in a threatening way. For a moment, I thought he was going to assault Bishop Bakare with the staff. Bishop Bakare remained calm and advised the 1st Respondent that no Bishop owned the Church as the church belongs to the parishioners and that that concept applied also to the Cathedral and that Bishops would come and go, but parishioners together with the church would remain.

1st Respondent at that point declared that there would be no service at the Cathedral unless such service was under his own auspices. At this point, Bishop Bakare ignored the 1st Respondent and continued with the service. 1st Respondent grabbed the altar missal from Bishop Bakare and threw it to the ground. Bishop Bakare continued without the aid of the book, at which point one of the parishioners, Ms F Pswarai, brought the Bishop another book, which was once again grabbed by the 1st Respondent, who threw it to the ground.

At this point, the Right Reverend Bishop Bakare advised the Churchwarden, Mrs Chibaya, to call the police so that they could mediate. The Police took both Bishop Bakare and 1st Respondent outside, and later we were advised to move our church service to the hall. We proceeded with our church service in the hall. The 1st Respondent's conduct was most provocative not only to the Right Reverend Bishop Bakare, myself and other church leaders but to all the parishioners present. It was a shameless act meant to interrupt the peaceful progress of the Applicant's church service at the Cathedral of Saint Mary and All Saints (Tsingo, 2008).

The researcher thought a full narration of the events would be necessary to help unravel the attitude of the two Bishops as they dealt with the issues. From the narration of the event, one can insinuate that Bishop Kunonga was trying as much as possible to defend his throne at the Cathedral and, true, there can only be one Diocesan Bishop at any given time. However, in the process, he lost the respect of the parishioners as these two events made headlines in the daily papers with *The Herald* of the 22nd of January 2008 carrying a cartoon of the two Bishops fighting with the 'devil' cheering on.

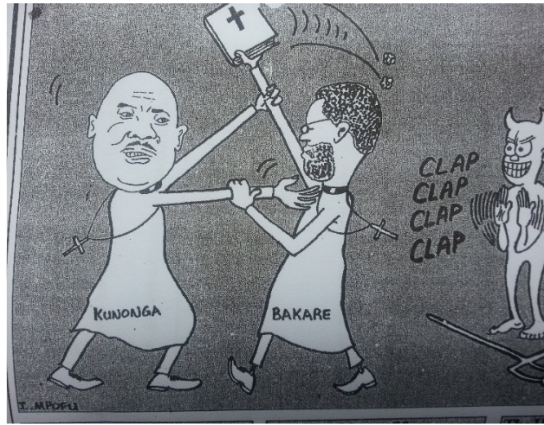


Figure 9: *Cartoon of Two Bishops Fighting.*
Picture courtesy of The Herald

The picture below depicts a scene at St James' Mabvuku in which the priest in charge, Rev Isaac Musekiwa, pleads with Inspector Mwalichewe Marichoro, the officer in charge of Mabvuku Police Station while Bishop Sebastian Bakare continues to conduct the service.



Figure 10: *Police Officer Disturbing the Service.*
Picture courtesy of The Herald

The heading of The Herald story said it all: 'Police intervene as Anglican Church factions clash again'. According to Rev Isaac Musekiwa,

... the faction led by Bishop Nolbert Kunonga has repeatedly defied a court order on the sharing of church properties. They are denying us the use of the church, claiming it belongs to them. The standing court order, however, allows both factions to use the church (Reporter, 2009).

However, even when armed with such orders, the CPCA parishioners continued to be victimised by the Kunonga-aligned priests and a few Kunonga followers with the aid of the Police.

The following collage depicts another event at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints where police disrupted the CPCA service and eventually locked the parishioners out of the church. The pictures are courtesy of the Cathedral of St. Mary Secretariat.



Figure 11: *Police officer in The Cathedral*

In the picture, a police officer is seen standing near a Baptismal font and talking on a mobile phone as if getting instructions from someone or calling for reinforcements. Behind the officer is a now almost empty church after congregants had been forced out, but some resisted the move.



Figure 12: *Scene Outside Anglican Cathedral*

Above, a police truck is seen outside the Cathedral with some parishioners milling around as they watch the drama unfolding in utter disbelief.



Figure 13: *Scene Outside Anglican Cathedral*

Parishioners try to negotiate with police officers as they stand by the doors of the Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints. The officers are adamant that the church had to be closed despite the court judgement allowing the use of the church by both parties.



Figure 14: *Scene Outside Anglican Cathedral*
All smiles and having time for a photoshoot despite the persecution and closure of the church behind

One wonders what could have been going on in their minds as they find time to pose for such photos amid the challenges. In the picture below, the priest, Canon Phenias Fundira, can be seen trying to give instructions to the parishioners concerning their next move and place of meeting.



Figure 15: *Scene outside Anglican Cathedral*

5.15 Disturbances at St Paul's Highfields

On the 29th of March 2009, a similar incident occurred at St Paul's Highfield, which saw parishioners being forced out of the church by force and tear gas being fired to disperse them from the vicinity of the church buildings. According to a report which was prepared by the Rector of the parish together with the Churchwardens, "parishioners arrived at the church for the morning services as was the order of the past 4 weeks, only to find the gate closed and about 22 Police Officers manning the gate and road access to the church. They were not allowed entrance into the church premises" (Wilfred Zhuwankinyu, Charity Matambanadzo, Henry Chikombero, 2009).



Figure 16: *Police Block Gates at St Paul's Highfield*

The report described the church leadership's steps to try and have an audience with the senior police officers based at the Southerton police station. They were referred to Assistant Commissioner Magumira, but while they were still holding discussions at Southerton police station:

Inspector Kwiyo arrived at the church with about 12 officers in riot gear, and he gave instructions to the parishioners at the church to disperse. He was informed that the Parishioners wanted to wait for feedback from their Churchwardens who had gone to Southerton, but Inspector Kwiyo and his officers started throwing teargas amongst the Parishioners consisting of women, children and the elderly while chanting and hurling insults.

This created a commotion, and people were falling and tripping, trampling each other in an attempt to escape from the teargas and the riot police as they had started beating people with baton sticks. Even the pregnant were not spared. Well-wishers who live in the vicinity of the church opened their gates to those who were trying to escape from the Riot Police, but when the riot Police noticed this, they threw the teargas into neighbouring residences as well, forcing the parishioners to flee again. Some teargas was also thrown at the Salvation Army church premises. In total, 15 empty canisters detonated by the police were collected (Zhuwankinyu, Matambanadzo & Chikombero, 2009).



Figure 17: *Police Block Gates at St Paul's Highfield*

Above, a truck-load of riot police officers is seen dispersing parishioners at St Paul's Highfield, which can be seen in the background. In the picture below, teargas can be seen billowing from residential properties with people running away from the teargas.



Figure 18: Police Disperse Parishioners Using Teargas

The drama at St Paul's did not end with the parishioners dispersing. According to the report:

Inspector Kwiyo then manhandled Reverend Zhuwankinyu, our Parish priest, and forced him into an open truck while verbally abusing him and the Churchwardens. Inspector Magorimbo personally threatened Mr Makoni and the Reverend. They took him to Machipisa Police Station, and the Wardens followed. He was taken to the Peace Office, where Sgt Manjengwa and Sgt Sikuni were asked by the Wardens what they were asked charging the Reverend with.

They were told that he was not under arrest but that they wanted him to disperse the parishioners. Inspector Kwiyo, Sgt Magorimbo and Sgt Manjengwa, all confirmed that the instruction to have the Bakare faction out of church was coming from Commissioner-General Augustine Chihuri. The Police officers were singing songs and dancing, saying they were sons and daughters of Kunonga, and they said as long as Kunonga was alive, the Bakare faction would never get into the church (Zhuwankinyu, Matambanadzo & Chikombero, 2009)

If the statements by the police officers were true, which the researcher believes them to be, then the challenges before the CPCA seemed insurmountable. The police, it was very apparent, was wielding a lot of power to override the courts, meaning that whoever the “above” was had a lot of power and authority. That they were even singing and chanting songs in

support of the other part of a feud was a clear indication that they had already taken sides.

5.16 Intercepted police orders and radios

On the 15 of January 2009, *The Zimbabwe Times* published a story in which it raised concerns on the role of the police in the saga as they continued to support Kunonga. The paper alleges that "The Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) still provides fallen former Anglican clergyman and ardent supporter of President Robert Mugabe, Norlbert Kunonga, with tactical support long after he was ousted following a split in the church early last year" (Correspondent O., 2009). The paper further stated that,

... the ZRP officers are now said to be still patronising church establishments throughout Harare and physically preventing members of the mainstream congregation led by Bakare from using church property. This is despite a High Court order granting access to both groups (Correspondent O., 2009).

To crown it all, the sentiments and concerns raised by the *Zimbabwe Times*, some police radios were intercepted, which exposed the police in their lack of impartiality. Police radios carry instructions given to police officers from their superiors over their radios. This information is circulated within the police force and is regarded as highly confidential. However, just to show that the officers on the ground were now fed up with instructions to barricade and disperse innocent parishioners, these radios were then smuggled out to the CPCA authorities as evidence of such instructions coming from 'above'. Some of the instructions were to disregard court orders from, received or delivered by individuals. By individual, the insinuation was that these individuals were representatives of the CPCA. One such radio message is given below:

The long-running Anglican saga has at times resulted in Police officers taking orders from other quarters without consulting the provincial command resulting in confusions and serious repercussions.

The Position with regards to the Anglican Church saga is that the Kunonga faction is the legal custodian of the Church property, hence has the right to use thereof. The directive therefore is that no court orders delivered by individuals will be entertained without consulting the Provincial command. This directive also applies to other court orders in general delivered to stations. There should be consulting with the Provincial command. Deviations from this directive may result in disciplinary action (Harare Propol, 2009).

On the 30th of October 2008, Bishop Kunonga wrote a letter to Commissioner-General Cde Augustine Chihuri thanking him for the support he was getting from the police. In the letter, Bishop Kunonga wrote:

We thank you for the peace and sanity that has prevailed in the country for the past six months. We applaud the Police for maintaining peace and vigilance, particularly in the areas run by the Anglican Church. We give a brief report Province by Province of what is happening in the Church and appeal for more assistance in the mentioned areas (Kunonga N., 2008).

Bishop Kunonga gave, as proposed in the letter, reports of the support he was getting and the troubled areas for which he sought more Police assistance. Under the Province of Harare and Chitungwiza, he wrote:

We applaud the assistance we are getting from the Police. We would have been dragged into chaos, but the Police were available to silence the Bakare faction movement at stations like Highfield, St Paul's. There is peace within Harare. We believe the message is now very clear. Isolated areas that need close monitoring are Highfield- St Paul's, Mufakose, St Luke's, Greendale, St Luke's, Avondale, St Mary's, Borrowdale, Christchurch, and of course, a few others in high density suburbs (Kunonga N., 2008).

Other Provinces were also listed, and their problem areas were identified. However, a statement under Mashonaland West shows that all this was happening without proper and genuine Court orders. Kunonga wrote:

There are problems at the following stations where the Bakare faction are not listening to police directives:

- a) Makonde – Chinhoyi, St Matthew's
- b) Chinhoyi, St Paul's
- c) Banket- St Andrew's
- d) Karoi- All Saints
- e) Chegutu -Pfupajena- St Phillip's
- f) Mhondoro- Mubaira, Holy Name
- g) Mhondoro- Ngezi, St Oswald
- h) Mhondoro Ngezi- Mamina, St James
- i) Mhondoro- Chirundazi, St Mark's
- j) Norton- St James

We have observed that the Dispol Assistant Commissioner sends the directives, but the police details under him seem to be undermining the authority. They demand things which are not available at the moment. Things like court orders cannot be obtained. The police details should take

orders from their seniors, which we believe will help diffuse the Mashonaland West scenario (Kunonga N., 2008).

It then can be deduced from the quotation above that Bishop Kunonga was not operating with any legal documentation but just the word from Commissioner-General Augustine Chihuri. Sensible officers, it seems, were demanding to see court orders which related to the instructions they were receiving from their command centres. The twisting of facts always rises to the surface in how Bishop Kunonga was manipulating the police. The realisation that without the support of the police, he was doomed can be felt in his statement when he passionately pleads with the Commissioner-General that:

We appeal to the Commissioner-General to stop the Bakare faction movement from using our premises. We believe that we are all aware that the problem that has rocked the Anglican Church is HOMOSEXUALITY. Our friend's confused people by politicizing the whole affair resulting in a lot of mudslinging and finger-pointing. However, we cannot run away from our stance that we support the ruling party, and we shall keep praying for peace and sanity under the leadership of President Cde Robert Gabriel Mugabe. We cannot betray our revolution because of certain interests that are being propagated by the West, our former colonizer. We cannot sell our land rights because we want to maintain the Church of England amongst ourselves.

What the police are doing in Harare, we appeal that the same position be taken by the Propols in the Province of Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East and Mashonaland West. It is good that the pattern remains uniform. If we allow these people to keep using our churches, then there is a loophole somewhere. We would be very grateful if the police could assist us in the identified areas. We feel the pro-homosexual Bakare movement must be stopped before it spreads across the nation (Kunonga N., 2008).

Bishop Kunonga scribbled the phrase "CSO. Ops Lets help them at the problematic (*the rest is not clear*)" in the leaked document. The letter was dated 11 November 2008. These damaging claims by Bishop Kunonga could have made those in police leadership believe that what they were doing was right in the people's eyes to defend the nation from so-called Western ideologies. One would wonder why drag in the name of the President in the fight in which only facts would have solved the issues at stake. The researcher believes that this was a way to try and appeal for mercy from the political leadership of the ruling party ZANU-PF. Also of concern was the labelling 'pro-homosexual Bakare movement', which was a clear case of mudslinging on the part of Bishop Kunonga. He had no proof

that Bishop Bakare was pro-homosexual and had even failed to identify those whom he labelled as such.

There was speculation within the church and political circles that the CPCA was being persecuted because of Bishop Bakare, who was believed to be a Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) activist. According to The Zimbabwe Times, “other sources within the Anglican Church said at one time Bakare was invited to officiate at St Michael’s Anglican church in Mbare. A truck-load of riot police arrived to disrupt the service. It is alleged the police had been informed that Bakare was hosting an MDC rally at the church” (Correspondent O., 2009)

On 29th of March 2010, the SW Radio Africa news published an article titled ‘Leaked police document exposes bias for sacked Bishop’. According to the reporter, Lance Guma:

A leaked police document has exposed the brazen police bias for sacked Anglican Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, whose small band of violent supporters have been harassing rival parishioners. Kunonga was ex-communicated after trying to unilaterally withdraw the Harare Diocese from the Central Africa Province. A fight over property saw the High Court order both factions to share while the matter is still being dealt with.

However, on the 26th March, the officer Commanding Harare Province, Superintendent A. M Nyakurimwa, issued an ‘operational Order’ instructing police to ensure that only one church service is conducted by the Kunonga faction. The order goes on to map out the deployment of officers for the operation and instructs Police Internal and Security Intelligence officers to be deployed for intelligence gathering in their respective areas of policing (Guma, 2010).

In a Press Statement published by the CPCA, Bishop Bakare castigated the Police for their bias and reminded the police of their supposed role in the country. Bishop Bakare wrote:

The police are supposed to be the custodians of the Law but what we are experiencing as the Diocese of Harare (CPCA) proves that they have become a law unto themselves by accepting ‘orders from above’. Police are supposed to uphold, protect the people of Zimbabwe and their properties without fear or favour and not to disobey court orders. This godless behaviour displayed by the Police Officers of pulling up people who are in Prayer and worship is not a true reflection of levels of lawlessness in Zimbabwe or in the force but in individual police officers. What we are experiencing in the Diocese of Harare CPCA indicates that police do not only refuse to obey court orders but also show their unacceptable bias” (Bakare, 2008b).

5.17 The game of numbers in the Anglican saga

Reports of disturbances continued to be received from Parishes in the Diocese of Harare CPCA, with parishioners subjected to tear smoke and even being beaten with baton sticks by the police as they used brute force to disperse worshippers from their places of worship. In a document titled 'Let the Truth be Known', Canon Phenias Fundira of the CPCA wrote:

Are you aware that most of the Anglicans refused to follow a rebel Bishop 'N Kunonga'? It was very sad to see people coming to disrupt Church services for the congregations which remained in the original Diocese of Harare (CPCA) Church buildings and gates locked. Church buildings have been converted into classrooms. Others used for business shops or as rented accommodation (Fundira, 2010).

Canon Fundira went on to produce a list of parish churches, what the churches were being used for and a comparison of worshippers in each camp. The list shows that Bishop Kunonga had few followers compared to Bishop Bakare and Bishop Gandiya. These embarrassing statistics were to expose Bishop Kunonga to whoever was supporting him. In light of that, all the CPCA churches were then banned from congregating anywhere less than 200 metres from their "former" churches. This, one can assume, was meant to cover up for Kunonga and somehow gives the impression that the issue had been resolved and there were no more disturbances in the Anglican Church. However, the challenge was covering the over five hundred or more in other congregations who were having their services outside in open spaces or under the trees.

5.18 Churches turned into schools, accommodation and business units

Meanwhile, owing to depleted income levels in those churches led by Bishop Kunonga, the priests were then asked to be enterprising in raising the required assessments to the diocese and also for their upkeep. This led to almost all churches being turned into commercial entities. The researcher took snippets of Canon Fundira's table, which shows the following:

Name of Parish	Usage	Parishioners denied access
St James', Warren Park	Pre-school and Secondary school	1200
St Andrew's, Glen View	Private College called Hitmark	1400
St Columba's, Kuwadzana	Crèche and Secondary School	700
Holy Trinity, Ruwa	Always locked, there are not even one of Kunonga followers	800
St Peter's, Bindura	It is now a Phone Shop	450
St Andrews, Mvurwi	Being rented to tenants	400
St Michael's, Mbare	Only seven Kunonga followers. Other denominations are hiring it	950-1000

Figure 19: Table of Parishes and Use

It was reported in *The Zimbabwean Mail* that Bishop Kunonga had turned the church into a school. John Chimunhu reported that:

Defrocked Anglican bishop Nolbert Kunonga has infuriated members of the church by turning a church building here into a school while they are forced to conduct services in the open. The new name (ECD Pre-School) has been emblazoned all over the security wall, which has also been decorated with fancy cartoon characters advertising the school, much to the chagrin of church members (Chimunhu, 2010).

The parishioners saw what Bishop Kunonga was doing as a way of enriching himself at the expense of bona fide owners of the properties. According to John Chimunhu, a woman who refused to be identified argued that “what Kunonga is doing is not only criminal, but evil. We are being forced to meet for services in the open, with children in this cold, yet he is using God’s building to make money. This is very bad” (Chimunhu, 2010).

5.19 Fatigue starting to affect the Anglican saga

The Sunday Mail of 28 September 2008 carried an exclusive interview between the reporter Phyllis Kachere and Rev Barnabas Machingauta, the Diocesan Secretary of the diocese of Harare, before the withdrawal. He was also believed to have been the kingpin in the crafting of the move by Bishop Kunonga. The title of the news clip was 'Machingauta speaks out on Anglican saga'. Rev Machingauta poured out his sentiments in this article, insinuating that he was now feeling the pain emanating from the saga. He is quoted as saying:

Because of the stand-off between the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) and Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, after he pulled out of the province over homosexuality, there has been too much mud coming at my face, and I have had to take a break to clear the cloudiness induced by the emotions and by the schism.

When Harare Diocese, led by Bishop Kunonga, pulled out of the CPCA, it was like the re-enactment of the early years of the Church. When the Church started, Christians assumed they would only wait for a few years before Christ's coming back and the final judgement. On the other hand, those persecuting the Church thought that with a few acts of persecution, they would destroy the Church in a short time, and that would be the end. We all know that was not to be as Christianity is now more than 2 000 years old, with the persecutors having also converted but still waiting for Christ to come.

It was the same for both Bishop Kunonga and CPCA. They assumed the whole saga would be over within a short time. There was a lot of vindictiveness in the hope that one side would be vanquished by the other without much ado. Again, as was the case in the early Christian days, this has not been (Kachere, 2008).

Rev Machingauta was asked to elaborate:

The Bishop Kunonga camp thought that with a few pushes and some form of persecution, they would trample over the Bishop Bakare camp and have it done within a few days. On the other hand, the Bishop Bakare camp thought that their rise in popularity and some form of mental persecution, they would triumph over the opponent within a few days. We all know this has not happened. There have been bleeps and blunders from both camps. In my view, the biggest blunder was the politicisation of a clearly ecclesiastical issue. Bringing this issue to the secular courts was a misdirection, and it brought unnecessary bad publicity for the church, and both sides are guilty of this. While the CPCA tried to ban Bishop Kunonga from using Church properties, he retaliated by seeking to ban Bishop Bakare through an interdict application (Kachere, 2008).

These comments by Rev Machingauta attracted much debate and comments from Anglicans in the CPCA camp. Chief among the comments or arguments was that this was an indirect admission that Kunonga's objectives of pulling the entire church from the Province of Central Africa had failed. Rev Fundira responded with an article titled 'Perceived Schism between Bishop Kunonga and the Church of the Province of Central Africa'. In this article, he argued that:

Bishop N Kunonga withdrew/pulled out/resigned in writing from the church of the Province of Central Africa. Why does he come back to the organisation that he left and harass the members who remained in the CPCA. Does it mean that all the members of the Anglican Church in the Province of Central Africa in various organisations, harassed, tortured, arrested or persecuted are involved in homosexuality? Rev B Machingauta said the Bishop Bakare became very popular. Members of various congregations did not want to be removed from Anglicanism/Anglican Communion, hence they remained faithful and adhered to their vows. Therefore, Machingauta is correct by admitting that Kunonga's camp has very few followers. But he does not tell us why most of the Anglicans refused to be part of the new church. We have freedom of worship in Zimbabwe. Therefore recruitment of church membership should not be based on harassment, force, torture or persecution (Fundira, 2008).

Rev Machingauta was to pour out his heart and regrets when asked if he fully understood how the Anglican Church is governed and the saga that took place. In his lamentation, he wrote:

When I look back, I think the Bishop brought me to the Diocese so that I can mend the bad relations that my predecessor Fr Gwedegwe had seriously damaged during his tenure. There was reasonable peace in the Diocese, and the clergy who had shunned away from the office started to visit the Diocesan office once more without fear. The Bishop used this peace to build his pending empire and started bringing his real people to the picture, and because I had achieved what he wanted, I was slowly being sidelined and even blamed for some things I did not know so that the confidence clergy had in me could be dislocated. (Machingauta, 2017)

In all these, there is confirmation that people were right in assuming that Rev Machingauta was involved in planning and spearheading some of Bishop Kunonga's ideas. He subsequently resigned from the Diocese of Harare Province of Zimbabwe in August 2008. The interview with the Sunday Mail reporter Phyllis Kachere was conducted soon after his resignation. Hence he was now free to speak out his mind without fear of victimisation.

The Sunday Mail of 29 March- 4th April 2009 had a story titled 'Anglican Church feud should be resolved'. In the researcher's view, this was a sign that people were fed up with the Anglican Saga and were now hoping that an ever-lasting solution would bring sanity to the church.

5.20 Rev Dr C. N. Gandiya is elected substantive Bishop of Harare, CPCA

On the 26th of July 2009, the new and substantive Bishop of the Diocese of Harare in the Province of Central Africa, Rev Dr Nicholas Gandiya, was consecrated amid pomp and fanfare. Bishop Gandiya was coming in to replace Bishop Bakare, who had been recalled from retirement to act as the Vicar-Bishop of the diocese and see to it that the diocesan structures which Bishop Kunonga had destabilised were put back in place.

The consecration took place despite concerted efforts by Bishop Kunonga to stop the process, arguing that he was the rightful Bishop of the Diocese of Harare. High Court Judge Justice Ben Hlatshwayo granted the order in favour of Bishop Kunonga. Soon after getting the order, the CPCA immediately launched an appeal at the Supreme Court, technically setting aside the order from a lower court, making it possible for the CPCA to proceed with the consecration.

The consecration service was held at the City Sports Centre, with the enthronement taking place in the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints despite resistance from Bishop Kunonga's followers. This was a blow to Bishop Kunonga because he used to despise Bishop Bakare, saying that he was enthroned at the City Sports Centre and not at the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints. The researcher can infer that because of those sentiments of Bishop Kunonga, the organisers of the consecration and enthronement service of Bishop Gandiya, had to do it right this time around by making sure that Bishop Gandiya was enthroned in 'his' cathedral at whatever cost.

This alone had its share of problems with Bishop Kunonga's legal team launching another application challenging the CPCA appeal, citing that it was lodged with the Supreme Court sometime way before Justice Hlatshwayo had handed down his order. However, if this argument was true, one can assume that Bishop Kunonga had connived with someone in the judiciary to delay the judgment to scuttle the consecration.



Figure 20: *The Cathedra in the Anglican Cathedral*



Figure 21: *The Exile Throne*

Later on, Bishop Gandiya came up with the idea of having an exile chair (pictured above) to represent his cathedral found in the cathedral of St Mary and All Saints. This was used at all the major diocesan services or gatherings as the Bishop's chair. The chair was inscribed with the words 'IN EXILE- MUUPOTERI', which reminded all members of the CPCA of what they were going through.

The consecration of a substantive Bishop of the Diocese of Harare did not translate into an end of the persecution of the parishioners in the CPCA. If anything, persecution increased.

Bishop Gandiya introduced a slogan to motivate the parishioners who were now feeling depressed and demoralised spiritually. This slogan or motto was based on the Anglican Hymn 308, which is included in the English Hymnal Book 'Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised'. It goes as follows:

Mukristu Usanete - Namata Urinde.

Namata Urinde - Mukristu Usanete.

Christian, seek not yet repose - Watch and pray.

Watch and pray- Christian, seek not yet repose.

This created an identity as those from CPCA would know how to respond if someone called out the slogan even in the streets.

5.21 The unresolved murder of Jessica Mandeya in Murehwa

Two years after his enthronement, as part of the continuing diocesan saga, Bishop Chad Gandiya was to encounter one of the saddest chapters in his ministry and the history of the Diocese of Harare. On the 18th of February 2011, the Bishop dispatched a pastoral letter to all members of the Diocese of Harare CPCA and friends in Christ, titled 'Rest in Peace, Mrs Jessica Mandeya'. In this letter, he wrote:

In my Pastoral Letter of last month, I mentioned the 'disturbing new developments' that were taking place and how baffled we were with these developments. Now, hardly a month later, I write to you in deep sorrow to inform you about the callous murder of Mrs Jessica Mandeya, a stalwart lay leader at St Lambert's Anglican Church in Murewa Mission District. The 89-year old lived alone. We received the sad news on Monday morning. She was murdered on Friday evening but discovered on Sunday morning when friends came to join her to walk to church. Information reaching us is that she was murdered because she belongs to the Diocese of Harare CPCA, having received threats to that effect in preceding weeks and days as she consistently refused to join Dr Kunonga's Church (Gandiya, Rest in Peace Mrs Jessica Mandeya, 2011).

Bishop Gandiya lamented, "it's very painful for me, as in one sense, she was killed for me because she insisted on remaining in our church" (Dugger, 2011). As a leader, he felt for his congregants and what they were

going through and the threats to his and other Bishops' lives. Celia Dugger talks of Bishop Godfrey Tawonezvi, Bishop of Masvingo Diocese as he, "described a visit from two men, who told him that, 'Mr' Kunonga had instructed them to 'eliminate' the five bishops who stood in the way of his controlling the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe" (Dugger, 2011).

In an exclusive interview with Celia W. Dugger of The New York Times, Bishop Kunonga responded to issues raised in the pastoral letter and the accusation that he had a hand in the murder of Mrs Jessica Mandeya. He was quoted as saying:

You must have a good reason to kill people, being a political scientist, I know who to eliminate if I wanted to physically and to make it effective. I am a strategist. If I want to pick on people to kill, Gandiya would not survive here, what would an illiterate 89 year-old woman do to me to deserve death or assassination (Dugger, 2011).

This Pastoral letter drew a lot of interest from many quarters, including journalists and politicians. The Anglican matter became a much-talked-about issue in the Parliament of Zimbabwe, with members of the august house demanding answers from the Ministers of Home Affairs. The pressure led to the matter being referred to the Reconciliation Committee, then chaired by vice-president John L. Nkomo.

According to Mr Fred Saruchera, "the two 'warring' Bishops were invited by the Vice-President Nkomo to a round table, and issues affecting the Anglican Church were discussed" (Saruchera, Mr, 2015). It is reported that in one such meeting, Bishop Kunonga snubbed the Vice-President when he stubbornly told him in front of high profile delegates that, 'I am learned, and I am a political scientist' to which the Vice-President showing signs of anger, responded by saying 'I am not learned as you are, I was a mere teacher, but now I am the Vice-President of the Republic of Zimbabwe' (Saruchera, Mr, 2015).

The disrespect to those in authority, particularly the Vice-President of Zimbabwe, left many people puzzled about his source of power. The echoes were now amplified that President Mugabe himself was his source of power. Why would he snub a Vice-President if he did not have the President's backing, people would ask? One can also see in Bishop Kunonga the propensity to brag of his source of power then and his academic qualifications as a 'political scientist', which, in one way or another, led him to believe that he was above the rest and above reproach.

Commenting on the involvement of the state apparatus supporting him, Bishop Kunonga argued that "I'm superior intellectually and from a legal point of view, I'm very superior to them, politics can only help us take what we cannot take by ourselves, that's what Mugabe did. That's why he is so dear" (Dugger, 2011). Dugger went on to argue that "like Mr Mugabe, who encouraged the violent confiscation of white-owned commercial farms, Mr Kunonga casts himself as a nationalist leader who is Africanizing a church associated with the British colonialism" (Dugger, 2011).

5.22 International bodies voice their support for CPCA

On the 26th of May 2008, the Archbishop of the Province of Southern Africa, the Most Rev'd Thabo Makgoba, sent a solidarity message to the Diocese of Harare (CPCA), assuring the faithfuls of his prayers and support. He wrote:

I am humbled and awed by the privilege of joining your Bishops in Masvingo this week. Thank you for the overwhelmingly warm and generous reception you have given me in the midst of all that you face.

Last week as I prepared to come here, I was particularly struck by the aptness of the daily readings from St Peter's First letter. He writes to those who suffer trials, whose faith is being tested, even tested by fire. Yet he is confident of the greater power of God, to protect, and to safeguard your faith, so that even in and through the hardships of life, your lives may overflow with glorious joy, to his praise and glory and honour.

This, my dear brothers and sisters, is my prayer for you and the prayer of all of us in the Province of Southern Africa. My hope is that in being with you, I may share with you our encouragement, support and solidarity, and bring to you the assurances of our love and of our continuing prayers throughout this difficult time. We are also endeavouring to use whatever opportunities we can to press the United Nations, SADC leaders, and all others with influence to work to bring an end to the organised violence and abuses that confront Zimbabweans and to do all that is necessary to ensure a free and fair presidential run-off election. We make this plea also to the Zimbabwean authorities, particularly calling for the rule of law to be upheld fully and impartially, for the good of all.... (Makgoba, 2008).

This solidarity message came when Zimbabwe was preparing to conduct the much-contested run-off presidential elections, which saw many Zimbabweans, regardless of political affiliation, being injured as political parties campaigned for votes. The Anglican Diocese of Harare (CPCA) was not spared in the persecution, as it carried a tag of being an extension of the opposition party MDC. The message was greatly appreciated by many

faithful Anglican's who were interviewed for it created a sense of belonging to a caring worldwide community of believers.

5.23 CAPA writes to the President of Zimbabwe

On the 4th of March 2009, The Council of Anglican Provinces of Africa (CAPA) wrote to the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency President Robert Mugabe. In this letter which was carbon copied to various individuals, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Revd Dr Rowan Williams, the organisation reiterated its position in not recognising Bishops Norbert Kunonga and Elson Jakazi as Bishops. It reads:

As Chairman of the Council of Anglican Provinces in Africa, I wish to inform you that at a recent meeting held in Alexandria, Egypt, in February 2009, the Primates of the Anglican Communion took a stand regarding the status of Bishop Norbert Kunonga and Bishop Elson Jakazi within the Church of the Province of Central Africa and in the Anglican Communion. The position taken reads as follows: *'As representatives of the Anglican Communion, we reiterate that we do not recognise the status of Bishop Norbert Kunonga and Bishop Elson Jakazi as bishops within the Anglican Communion, and call for the full restoration of Anglican property within Zimbabwe to the Church of the Province of Central Africa.'*

This position adopted by the Primates endorses an earlier position taken by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of Central Africa in response to the non-compliance of the said Bishops to the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of Central Africa. Therefore, the duly legitimate Bishops of the Diocese of Harare and Manicaland are Bishops Sebastian Bakare and Peter Hatendi, respectively. Accept, your Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration and our prayers for God's guidance as you lead the people of Zimbabwe (Ernest, 2009).

The church was now eager to have this stand-off resolved, and by engaging the President of Zimbabwe, the expectation was that he would demand answers and updates from those in charge of Home Affairs and security. The researcher could not ascertain the immediate response to this letter. However, from a simple analysis of the period, no meaningful positive developments ever occurred. The CPCA continued to be persecuted and denied access to their churches throughout the diocese.

5.24 The Archbishop of Canterbury writes to the President of Zimbabwe

With the persecution of the CPCA intensifying and with no solution in sight, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who by virtue of his office is the Head of the Anglican Church, threw his weight behind the CPCA by calling on the President of Zimbabwe to use his powers to deal with the matter. The Archbishop wrote:

The Primates of the Anglican Communion, meeting at the Emmaus Centre near Dublin in the Republic of Ireland, have been deeply distressed to hear of the continuing bullying, harassment, and persecution being suffered by their brothers and sisters in Christ in the Diocese of Harare and beyond.

We have heard claims that the police have been ordered to prevent clergy and worshippers from using their church buildings despite the Makarau judgement of January 2008 and the Mavhangira judgement of June 2010. On Sunday, 16 January 2011, the congregation of St Andrew's Church, Chipadze in Bindura, gathered for worship in the grounds of the rectory, was harassed by priests associated with Dr Nolbert Kunonga, supported by police and riot police allegedly acting on the authority of a 'new order' for which no documentary evidence has been produced or offered.

We believe that the appalling situation experienced by members of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe seriously infringes their right to justice, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, and personal security under the law guaranteed by the constitution of Zimbabwe and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. Therefore, we respectfully beseech you to use all the power and authority of your office to put an end to these abuses forthwith. We are convinced that the unmerited, unjust, and unlawful persecution of the members of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe damages further the good name and reputation of the Republic of Zimbabwe and results in untold and unnecessary additional suffering for many thousands of people.

We wish you to be aware that throughout the Anglican Communion, Christians are holding their brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe in their prayers; and we, as Primates of the Communion, stand in solidarity with the bishops, clergy, and people of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe (Williams, Open letter to His Excellency Robert Mugabe President of Zimbabwe, 2011).

The two letters cited above had a negative impact on Bishop Kunonga's claim that though he had pulled the Diocese of Harare out of the CPCA, it remained within the Anglican Communion. With the letters to the President of Zimbabwe claiming otherwise, it can be assumed that he now

had a mammoth task of convincing his followers that they were still “Anglicans” recognised worldwide.

5.25 Was President Robert Mugabe ever going to listen to the cry for help?

During the decade under review, 2002- 2012, the media played a pivotal role in forming various sections of society, including the President’s office. A closer analysis of how the saga was being reported would enable the reader to foretell the decisions made by those in authority in Zimbabwe. The state-controlled media focussed on Bishop Kunonga and would amplify claims by Bishop Kunonga and his followers that the CPCA condoned homosexuality and supported the regime change as was being advocated by the opposition MDC.

The state-controlled media reporters would always scantily put those sentiments in their stories and would look at the police’s involvement to bring sanity to the church and uphold the rule of law. A good example of this can be seen in a story titled ‘Anglican feud: Government calls in Bishops’, the reporter wrote that:

On Sunday, seven people were arrested in Harare as police fired teargas to quell violence between the rival Anglican parishioners.... Some of the parishioners are alleged to have turned hostile against police called to quell the disturbances, leading to arrests (Reporter, 2009).

On the other hand, the private media focused on the CPCA, but at the same time ‘un-intentionally or unknowingly’ propped up Bishop Kunonga in his quest to be regarded as a strong supporter of President Robert Mugabe. A good example is a statement such as, ‘Kunonga is a strong ally of President Robert Mugabe’, which was in *The Zimbabwean* of 1st of September 2010), ‘the faction led by controversial Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, a staunch ZANU-PF supporter’, from an article by John Gambanga in the *Daily News* of 3rd of August 2010, “he vociferously supports Mr Mugabe, and like many loyalists, he has been richly rewarded” (Dugger, 2011), helped in driving a wedge between the CPCA and President Robert Mugabe and his ruling party ZANU-PF.

With that kind of playing field, one can then infer that President Robert Mugabe and those in charge of security would not listen to the enemies of the state who were bent on destroying the values of the society by introducing or condoning homosexuality.

5.26 The Archbishop of Canterbury Visits Zimbabwe

There was high tension in the Diocese of Harare and beyond when word filtered through of the pending visit to Zimbabwe by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Rowan Williams. The Diocese of Harare CPCA was engulfed by a cloud of uncertainty about whether to embrace the visit or shrug it off. Two schools of thought emerged and appeared to dominate discussions of the pending visit by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The first was that if the Archbishop of Canterbury were to visit, that would spell doom on the CPCA and seal the fate of the Anglican Church, not only in the Diocese of Harare but in Zimbabwe as a whole. The second school of thought saw the visit as an end to the woes of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe under the umbrella Province of Central Africa.

The first view was mainly driven by comments on the Anglican saga made by President Robert Mugabe at the National Heroes Acre on the 13th of April 2011, while addressing mourners during the burial of Menard Muzariri, who was a Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO). In his speech, the President told the mourners and the whole world that ndirikunzwa kuti iye mukuru wavo vengochani ava anoda kundiona aaah!!! Anodei? (I hear that the head of these gays wants to meet me, aaah!!!! What does he want?) This comment made those Anglicans in the CPCA uncomfortable, considering it came from the head of state and was broadcast live on national radio and television. It also dampened the spirit of those who were trying to seek an audience with the President. According to Mr Fred Saruchera, "it explicitly shows that the President had been informed and was aware of the challenges affecting the Anglican Church. However, he seemed to have been holding onto the wrong side of the stick" (Saruchera, Mr, 2015).

This comment gave rise to other echoes from those fond of amplifying comments or statements from the President for them to be regarded as the most loyal and patriotic citizens. The pending visit became the much-talked-about event. Bishop Kunonga was not to be left out of the frenzy. He came out guns blazing, castigating the Archbishop and the CPCA. He was also joined by a CPCA parishioner, Mr Matonodze Murombedzi from Christchurch Borrowdale, who went on a national television broadcast, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation-Television (ZBC-TV), denouncing the association between the Anglican Diocese of Harare CPCA and the

Archbishop of Canterbury. He argued that the church in the United Kingdom was condoning homosexuality, and so the church in Zimbabwe was to sever its ties with the whole Anglican Communion.

Some clergy members in the CPCA were somehow shaken to the core. However, a few clergy members and the majority of the laity saved the day, for they continued to rally behind Bishop Gandiya despite the onslaught from media houses.

The itinerary of the Archbishop remained a guarded secret as people were left to guess as to when and how he was going to travel to Zimbabwe. As the visit began to show signs of becoming a reality, it is alleged that Bishop Kunonga approached officers in the Ministry of Home Affairs demanding to see the Archbishop's itinerary arguing that since he was the legitimate Bishop of Harare, he reserved the right to welcome the Archbishop at Harare International Airport. This was despite the barrage of accusations he had uttered against the Archbishop. This request was turned down.

After realising that he had failed to stop the visit and to get the opportunity to welcome the Archbishop, Bishop Kunonga went on to organise demonstrations against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the CPCA. According to Mr Bornwell Chakaodza in his opinion article in *Africa News*, "the impression given by Bishop Kunonga is that if he had his way, then Archbishop Williams would not have been allowed to enter Zimbabwe because 'he is a homosexual' whose visit goes contrary to moral values in Zimbabwe" (Chakaodza, 2017).



Figure 22: Demonstration Against Archbishop R. Williams



Figure 23: Demonstration Against Archbishop R. Williams.
Pictures courtesy of Daily Mail 11/10/2011

Archbishop Rowan Williams arrived in Harare from Malawi via Nyamapanda Border Post despite all these shenanigans. According to Vincent Fenga, “this on its own was a humbling experience that one of the most powerful men in the world would travel from Malawi by road all in an effort to bring a message of solidarity to the suffering church in Zimbabwe” (Fenga, Ven, 2016).

5.27 Archbishop Rowan Williams meets President Robert Mugabe

On Monday the 10th of October 2011, Archbishop Rowan Williams, accompanied by Archbishop Albert Chama of the Province of Central Africa and all CPCA bishops in Zimbabwe, met the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe at his official residence. The Bishops from the CPCA took advantage of the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to present to the President a dossier detailing how the Anglican Church was being persecuted. It was a closed-door meeting whose discussions were never made public save for the comments made by Archbishop Rowan Williams during a subsequent press conference.

Archbishop Williams told the press conference that:

We have asked him that he use his powers as head of state to guarantee the security of those of his citizens who worship with the Anglican Church and put an end to unacceptable and illegal behaviour. We are proud of our

church here and our people who have suffered so much but continue to serve with great enormous energy, with love and with hope. I think the scale of intimidation documented in the dossier was something with which he was not entirely familiar. It was a very candid meeting; disagreement was expressed clearly, but I think in a peaceable manner (Maclean, 2011).

Archbishop Williams's visit was so significant that it opened up doors that the CPCA bishops had failed to do due to 'gatekeepers'. The presentation of the dossier itself to the President of Zimbabwe was a milestone achievement to the CPCA members who held the convictions that Bishop Kunonga, by appointing the Vice-President Joseph Musika as a lay leader at St Alban's, Chiweshe, endeavoured to lure him on his side and to use him for the furtherance of his mission. Bishop Gandiya would comment that several attempts to have the Vice-President deal with the Anglican saga drew blanks, and no meaningful progress was made using this route.

The other key figure in Bishop Kunonga's corner who is also accused of being a gatekeeper is Cde Didymus Mutasa, Bishop Kunonga's former classmate who happened to be the Minister of State in the President's office responsible for the Central Intelligence Office. As perceived by CPCA members, Minister Didymus Mutasa's role was to sift the information reaching the President. In some instances, he is accused of twisting and misrepresenting facts to make it sound like the CPCA was anti-ZANU-PF and pro-MDC.

However, Honourable D.N.E Mutasa, in his response to Rev Canon Phineas Fundira's document, which was sent to him on the 29th October 2010 and titled "Let the Truth be Known on the Dispute between Bishop Kunonga and the Anglican Diocese of Harare in the Church of the Province of Central Africa; from 21 September 2007 to July 2010" wrote:

While most sincerely appreciating the depth of thought underlying your decision to write to us on this important matter, I regret to convey that the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) cannot align itself with either side, precisely because it has active members on both sides of this dispute. Further, it would equally be remiss for the Party or this office of the inclusive Government to take a position supporting or against either side at this juncture, especially while this matter is in the courts of law. ZANU PF's official position, therefore, is one of absolute indifferent neutrality in the hope that the law must be allowed to take its course or time, in God's divine design, will ultimately heal this rift in your Church (Mutasa D., 2010).

The 'official' ZANU-PF position as presented by the Honourable D. Mutasa was, on the face of it, a noble one as it represented the interests of all citizens in the country. However, there could have been the 'unofficial side' that remained unpronounced to the people at large and was being propounded by those who were bent on manipulating the system to suit their friendship and egos.

This notion of gatekeepers could explain the shock said to have been expressed by the President as to the extent of the persecution of Anglicans in Zimbabwe. While the issue of homosexuality was key in Bishop Kunonga's argument, Archbishop R. Williams is quoted as saying,

Kunonga's derision of the Central Church as promoting homosexuality was 'throwing sand in the air' and aimed at 'distracting people from real issues. In the US and in Canada, there is a more relaxed attitude to these questions, but these are provinces which do not represent the general mind of the communion on this matter (Smith, 2011).

Bornwell Chakaodza weighed in as he analysed the Archbishop's remarks and observed that "Archbishop Williams acknowledged the fact that homosexuality was a problem for the church, yet regardless of this reality, the church still recognised homosexuals as human beings deserving of sympathy and respect. This is the reality that any pragmatic leadership, be it of a church or country, has to contend with" (Chakaodza, 2017).

Chakaodza goes on to argue that:

Just because one disagrees with an individual's sexual or any other orientation does not remove the humanness of that individual and certainly does not accord any of us the moral right to judge what is acceptable to God and what is not. I equally hold no brief for homosexuals myself and personally find the practice disgusting and revolting but will defend to the hilt their right of choice to be what they want to be (Chakaodza, 2017).

With all these sentiments and comments flying around, the Diocesan Secretary Rev C. Dzawo set to correct the record through a Press Statement in which he stated in part that:

Firstly, the Anglican Church of The Province of Central Africa values the teaching of the Bible and the Harare Diocese, in its vision and mission, categorically states that 'it will pursue teaching, preaching and living the word'. Whatever the Church believes in and does is therefore within the confines of the Bible and not informed by human standards and speculation. On marriage, the Church follows the concept of marriage as union instituted by God in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:24). Marriage is between a man and woman. ... The CPCA does not really understand how Kunonga

and his followers got to know of the existence of homosexuality within its ranks. Because, truthfully, during his time as the Anglican Diocese of Harare (CPCA) bishop, he never spoke so passionately about this subject, which he now claims exists within Zimbabwe's Anglicans. For the record, Kunonga and his coterie of followers only started mentioning this after realising that they will never have easy access to church funds and other significant resources, and so devised a scenario that prepared him for his departure from the Anglican Communion, using homosexuality as a smokescreen.

The CPCA is saddened that Kunonga has constantly fed wrong, malicious and misleading information to the structures of the Government of Zimbabwe and media about the correct situation in the Anglican Church regarding homosexuality. What he sought to do is to gain political mileage out of a non-issue among genuine Anglicans (Dzawo C., 2011).

The researcher can confidently claim here that indeed the visit by the Archbishop of Canterbury was a game-changer in the Anglican saga during this decade of turmoil 2002-2012. In his sermon during the Holy Communion service held at the City Sports Centre, the Archbishop encouraged the congregants to remain committed to their calling and assured them of his prayers and support. One more noticeable change was in the way the Anglican saga was being reported after this visit. Almost all the state-controlled local daily and weekly papers became cautious in their reportage. Since they had forecast that the meeting would be a complete flop, they now had to wait for the President of Zimbabwe to make an official comment which they would then amplify. Unfortunately, he never did.

Zimbabwe was left in a state of limbo regarding the Anglican saga. Many people expected a pronouncement from President R.G Mugabe, which they would then use to gauge and analyse his thought pattern, but he never mentioned anything to do with the Anglican Church or the visit by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile, the persecution of the Anglican Church continued unabated for another year up until the Supreme Court ruling of 19 November 2012.

5.28 Supreme Court ruling of 22nd of October; judgement is reserved

On the 22nd of October 2012, Deputy Chief Justice Luke Malaba, Justice Vernada Ziyambi and Justice Yunus Omerjee sat in the Supreme Court to hear the matter between the Anglican Diocese of Harare (CPCA) and

Bishop Kunonga's Anglican Diocese of Harare in the Province of Zimbabwe. All the cases before the courts were then looked at, and five of the cases were thrown out, leaving the bench to hear two main appeals under case numbers HC.4327/07 and HC.6544/07 only. These two cases were consolidated to be heard as one since the bone of contention was whether Bishop Kunonga and the six members of the Board of Trustees under him had the right to control the Anglican Diocese of Harare properties.

In his submission, Advocate Adrian de Bourbon, who was representing the CPCA, argued that "Kunonga and his friends chose to leave a voluntary organisation, they gave up everything when they left the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA), and as aptly captured by Justice Hungwe, they have no right to claim anything from the Anglican CPCA because they are no longer members" (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

Advocate De Bourbon addressed one of the key areas in the Anglican saga as he critiqued Justice Hlatshwayo's actions of taking over a case before another judge in the High Court and proceeded to deal with the matter. He argued, and rightly so, that "Kunonga assumed the title of Archbishop of the Anglican Province of Zimbabwe, a separate entity from the CPCA but still wanted to be identified in court papers as the Bishop of Harare under CPCA" (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012). He also claimed that Justice Hlatshwayo failed to:

Deal with the 'heart of the matter at the time' and ought to have established that schism indeed existed at the time, in terms of Canon 34.1, which clearly specifies that the alteration of Diocesan boundaries vests with the provincial Synod and not in an individual. He did not examine the facts as he should have, if he had he ought to have found that schism had existed. Kunonga has not returned to the CPCA. The talk of disciplining Kunonga is non-existent as Canon 13.1, as cited by Kunonga's lawyers, does not provide for dealing with a Bishop who has left the Church but deals with bishops within the Province of Central Africa (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

De Bourbon's argument was in response to calls by those fighting on behalf of Bishop Kunonga before an ecclesiastical court and not before civil courts. These included some of his 'Bishops'; H. Rinashe, M. Gwedegwe, Munyanyi and the former Diocesan Secretary Rev B. Machingauta. Even his lawyer, Tawanda Mutero Kanengoni, also weighed in and argued that "Kunonga had not been internally disciplined by the CPCA so the status quo before his 21st September 2007 letter resigning from the CPCA

should be restored so that he “assumes the position of Bishop of the Diocese of Harare CPCA” (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

According to Precious Shumba,

This line of argument opened floodgates of critical examination by Deputy Chief Justice Malaba and Justice Ziyambi, who both wanted clarification on various elements of his founding arguments. They wanted him to explain what would become of the Province of Zimbabwe if Kunonga was accepted back into CPCA (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

It was the response from Mr Kanengoni, which shocked many in the courtroom. He stated that:

For the record, the Province of Zimbabwe under Kunonga is non-existent as we speak. It was their mistake because they thought by moving out of the province, they will be moving out with the Diocese and remain in the CPCA; they did not know what it meant when they withdrew from the CPCA. The two letters, one from Kunonga to the CPCA of 21 September 2007 and the response from the CPCA to Kunonga on 16 October 2007, should be nullified because the CPCA said it was void (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

The first reaction to this response came from the Deputy Chief Justice Malaba, who queried:

If we to proceed as you suggest, those recommendations can only be implemented if that person remains a member or Bishops of the Diocese or remain communicants, and they should also be trustees. Appellant (CPCA) can only take action against their own people. Are you accepting that they (Kunonga and others) have gone out of the Province of Central Africa? (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

That was the most critical question, which was to determine the outcome of the Supreme Court hearing and the future of Bishop Kunonga and his followers.

Justice Ziyambi quickly interjected before Mr Kanengoni responded and asked, “What is the effect of this on the title of Archbishop and the Province Zimbabwe?” (Shumba, Judgement Reserved in Anglican Dispute, 2012).

The followers of Bishop Kunonga, who were in attendance and seated behind the researcher, tried to influence Mr Kanengoni’s response by whispering, “Say no say no say no ...” at the same time shaking their heads.

But their case crumbled before their eyes when Mr Kanengoni, their lawyer, answered 'Yes' to Deputy Chief Justice Malaba's question and that "there is no longer any Anglican Church of the Province of Zimbabwe".

Bishop Kunonga's followers immediately left the courtroom in disbelief, save for Bishop Elison Jakazi, who remained seated with his head down. This was the moment all people had been waiting for: the moment of truth, and there it had been revealed before all to hear. Judgement was then reserved to allow the three Supreme Court judges ample time to deliberate on the submissions by both parties.

5.29 Deputy Chief Justice delivers his judgement

On the 19th of November 2012, Deputy Chief Justice Luke Malaba delivered his judgement on the Anglican matter before the Supreme Court. Justice Malaba ripped into the cases of Bishop Kunonga and friends in his thirty-nine-page judgement. However, his final analysis of the matter is of paramount importance, for it looked at two questions: first, whether or not Bishop Kunonga resigned from the CPCA? Second, whether Bishop Kunonga and his Board of Trustees were entitled to control the Diocesan properties? These two questions were key in determining the fate of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe.

On the first question, Deputy Chief Justice Malaba observed that:

The facts show that Dr Kunonga was no longer a Diocesan Bishop in the Church. He took part in the formation of the Church, which he named the Anglican Church of the Province of Zimbabwe. He could not have accepted the post of Archbishop of the new Church whilst retaining the position of the Bishop of the Appellant Church. He must have known that there could not be two Archbishops in the Province. He could not be both Diocesan Bishop of Harare and Archbishop of the Province of Zimbabwe, which was a separate Church. He accepted the position in which the decision of the Episcopal Synod declared him to be in. From that position, he was able to accept the consecration and enthronement as Archbishop of the Anglican Church of the Province of Zimbabwe.

It must go without saying that Dr Kunonga was able to act in the manner he did without attracting disciplinary charges from the Archbishop of the Appellant Church because he had withdrawn his membership from the Church and ipso facto resigned the office of Diocesan Bishop. It would be unreasonable in a case such as this which requires proof on a preponderance of probabilities to expect the Appellant Church to produce evidence

of greater probative value than it placed before the court in order to establish that Dr Kunonga resigned from the office of Diocesan Bishop (Malaba, 2012).

This observation cleared all the doubts-if there was any - on the question of whether or not Bishop Kunonga had resigned from the CPCA. That had been the position adopted by the CPCA in their argument over the matter that Bishop Kunonga had resigned. Deputy Chief Justice Malaba went on to consider an extension on the issue to do with resignation; that the CPCA ought to have instituted disciplinary action against Bishop Kunonga and his followers. Judge Hlathawayo, on giving Bishop Kunonga control over the church, also used this argument in Kunonga's favour. However, The Deputy Chief Justice observed that:

The holding by the learned judge that the Church ought to have instituted disciplinary proceedings against Dr Kunonga with the view to passing the sentence of ex-communication ignores a number of factors. The procedure for the implementation of disciplinary proceedings shows that they can only be invoked against people who are still members and office-bearers of the Appellant Church. Once it is accepted, as it should be, that Dr Kunonga left the Church and ipso facto vacated his office of Bishop of the Province, then it should be accepted that he was beyond the reach of the procedure referred to by the learned judge. Canon 24(1), which the learned judge relied on, states quite clearly that it is applicable to a "Bishop of the Province". Dr Kunonga was no longer a Bishop of the Province. The purpose of the proceedings would be to discipline the member. Disciplinary action, which is the object of the proceedings provided for under Canon 24, is completely different from resignation. A person who has resigned from the office of "Bishop of the Province" effectively puts himself beyond the reach of the disciplinary proceedings. A Church cannot institute disciplinary proceedings against a person who is no longer its member or office bearer. The court holds that Dr Kunonga resigned as a Bishop of the Province of Central Africa and could not have been dealt with in terms of the disciplinary procedure prescribed by Canon 24 (Malaba, 2012).

This observation subsequently answered the likes of Rev B. Machingauta, Rev H. Rinashe, Rev M. Gwedegwe and Rev Alfred Munyanyi, who all argued that the CPCA did not follow its Canons and Constitution in dealing with Bishop Kunonga by not dragging him before an ecclesiastical court when it pronounced the ex-communication on Bishop Kunonga and his followers.

On the final question, which had to do with entitlement to the control of Diocesan property, Deputy Chief Justice Malaba observed that "the court holds that they did not" (Malaba, 2012). His justification was as follows:

It is clear from the evidence that once Dr Kunonga and his followers left the Appellant Church, they disentitled themselves from continuing as members of the Board of Trustees of the Church. They could only hold the positions of Trustees for the purposes of delivering services and protecting the property on behalf of the Province, which is the owner of the property. Article 20 of the Constitution, as read with Articles 21 and 23, establishes the Trusts upon which property belonging to the Church is held. Article 21 makes it clear that the duty of Trustees is to hold movable or immovable property in trust for and on behalf of the Provincial Synod. Article 23 provides that the Diocesan Trusts' Board is obliged to exercise over the property only those powers which are prescribed for it by the Provincial Synod. Under Article 18, the Provincial Synod is the only body with the power to frame such rules as may be necessary from time to time for the management of property held in Trust for the Church. It has full power and authority to determine in what manner and upon what conditions such property shall be used or occupied.

When they left the Appellant Church, Dr Kunonga and his followers used the property and continued to control it without the approval of or authority from the Provincial Synod. They could no longer have been acting according to the mandatory tenets of the trust. They could not separate the question of control of the property of the Church from the obligation to uphold and adhere to the fundamental principles on which the Church is founded and for the purposes of the maintenance of which it continues to exist. They used the property of the Appellant Church to further the interests of their new Church of the Province of Zimbabwe (Malaba, 2012).

This observation by Deputy Chief Justice Malaba summed up all the arguments and fights to control the properties of the Diocese of Harare. The points raised were so valid and left no shred of doubt as to who owns the properties. In summing up his judgement, the Deputy Chief Justice argued, and rightly so, that:

There has been no dispute as to the ownership of the movable and immovable property, the possession of which was claimed by the Appellant Church from Dr Kunonga and the others named in case No. HC 6544/07. It is common cause that the property belongs to the Church. It has a right to an order for vindication of its property from possessors who have no right to have it. The learned Judge was wrong in giving Dr Kunonga and his followers the right to possess and control the property of the Church without its consent. They had no right to continue in possession of the congregational buildings when they had departed from the fundamental principles and standards on which the Church is founded. They left it, putting themselves beyond its ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Malaba, 2012).

This judgement came as a great relief to the Anglican Diocese of Harare in the church of the Province of Central Africa. There was a great celebration at the Supreme Court with Bishop Chad Gandiya declaring that “we have been vindicated, God is great”.

5.30 The warrant of ejectment granted

Following the Supreme Court Judgement by Deputy Chief Justice Malaba, the CPCA went on to apply for a writ of ejectment of Bishop Kunonga, his Board of Trustees Messer’s, Majokwere, Tome, Gatawa, Gundu, Nyazika, Shamuyarira and all his followers from the Diocese of Harare properties. The warrant of ejectment was granted on 23rd of November 2012 by Chief Justice Godfrey Chidyausiku to the Sherrieff of Zimbabwe as follows:

Now, therefore, you are required and directed to eject the said 1st to 7th Defendants and all persons claiming through them their goods and possessions from and out of all occupation and possession whatsoever of the said ground and/or premises and to leave the same, to the end that the said CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF CENTRAL AFRICA may peaceably enter into and possess the same, and for so doing this shall be your warrant (Chidyausiku, 2012).

This, however, did not translate to a swift handover process as Bishop Kunonga made some spirited efforts to scuttle the evictions with his new lawyer Mr Jonathan Samukange of Venturas and Samukange, making an urgent chamber application seeking an interdict to stop the deputy sheriff from effecting the evictions. That, however, did not yield the intended results as the evictions were carried out, though with pockets of resistance from Bishop Kunonga’s followers with the police making several arrests of these followers.

5.31 Effect of the Supreme Court judgement on Bishop Kunonga’s church

Upon receiving news of the Supreme Court ruling, it is rumoured that Bishop Kunonga tried in vain to seek an appointment with President Mugabe probably to try and stop imminent evictions. A Daily News columnist wrote in the paper:

We thought we had heard the last of excommunicated Anglican Bishop Nolbert Kunonga after the Supreme Court emphatically ruled that he had no right to masquerade as an Anglican bishop and occupy buildings of the church. The Supreme Court made it abundantly clear that he and his gang

must move out forthwith as they were no longer members of the church by virtue of having strayed from its credo and rules. But, alas, this is apparently not so. To our disappointment- not to our surprise- Kunonga is taking his time, with indications of not budging and digging in (Columnists, 2012).

One may assume that the delay in moving out could have been necessitated by the wait for an answer to inquiries frantically being made to all those who used to support him in his heyday. The *Newsday* Columnist went on to argue that, "but reality appears to be dawning, yesterday (25th of November 2012) the first Sunday after the Supreme Court ruling, provided the first real test of compliance with the court order and Kunonga's people were nowhere in sight, services went on peacefully with the legal Anglican Church in charge. This was the first normal Sunday of worship for many Anglicans. (In more than five years)." (Columnists, 2012).

5.32 The capping of the decade of Turmoil

On the 16th of December 2012, the Anglican Diocese of Harare CPCA held a Thanksgiving and Rededication service in Africa Unity Square opposite the Anglican Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, the garden park which had become its home outside home. This Eucharist service marked the official return of the Harare Diocese in the CPCA from exile and was graced by many dignitaries from within and from without Zimbabwe.

In his address, Bishop Chad Gandiya exhorted the Anglicans to put their differences aside and focus on rebuilding the diocese. He urged the congregants, saying:

Come, let us rebuild our Diocese. As we journey from the past, pressing on towards the goal together, there is a lot of work to be done in the area of rebuilding our Diocese. A lot of our Churches and Schools, and other institutions are in need of renovation after years of neglect (Zulu, 2017).

In the same spirit of joy and gladness, the Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa, The Most Revd Albert Chama, delivered words of encouragement on behalf of all the Anglicans in the CPCA. In his message, he said, "You are going back to your Churches to worship God in dignity as it was intended to be. Be strong as you are a testimony to the rest of the Church. Continue and never relent because wherever we are, we say we are learning from the Church in Zimbabwe" (Zulu, 2017).

The Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Rowan Williams' emissary also delivered a keynote message: In his message, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:

I am absolutely delighted to be able to send my warmest congratulations on this momentous day for the Diocese of Harare, the Church of the Province of Central Africa and the whole of the Worldwide Anglican Communion. You have faced threats of violence and arrest, and yet your faith has not weakened; rather, it has grown stronger. I want to commend particularly the leadership of Bishop Chad Gandiya and Bishop Sebastian Bakare before him, as they have embodied authentic Christian servant-hearted leadership. Through all this, your faith has been a beacon of light to the rest of the Anglican Communion. Your numbers have grown along with your resilience to live in the light of Christ, no matter the consequences. Today you have been rewarded for your struggle. Today we thank God for his unending mercy and justice. Today I join you in joyously praising God as you finally return to your Churches (Williams, 2017).

This message from the Head of the Anglican Communion and that of the Primate of the Province of Central Africa could not have come at a better time than when the churches in Harare were to enjoy the fruit of their struggle to return their properties from Dr Kunonga.

After the Eucharist service, the altar party processed across the street to Nelson Mandela Avenue, carrying the Bishop's chair, which he had used in exile, to the Cathedral for the rededication service. Using part of the Palm Sunday service format, Bishop Chad Gandiya, upon arrival at the closed Cathedral's main entrance doors, knocked them using his pastoral staff, reciting the triumphal entry acclamation:

Hosanna Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. *Hosanna*, in the highest.

The doors were flung open from the inside. At that moment, there was an electrifying experience, with people rushing into the cathedral screaming at the top of their voices with joy and thanksgiving. The cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, the 'Mother church', was back, and the Diocese of Harare CPCA had repossessed what belonged to it.

Rededication services were to be conducted at all places of worship in the Diocese of Harare. Bishop Brian Castle, who was representing the diocese of Rochester at the Thanksgiving and Rededication service, wrote on his website, and the researcher concurs with him that "the Churches have indeed a lot of work to do to bring them back to use as churches. Some had been used as offices, others as homes, some as crèches, and it is rumoured that one was used as a brothel. But whatever their use, they all needed cleaning, hard work and rededicating before being suitable for public worship" (Castle, 2017).



Figure 24: *Parishioners Witnessing the Official Opening of the Anglican Cathedral*

5.33 Conclusion

The second half of the Anglican Diocese of Harare's decade of turmoil was characterised by much fighting, with the CPCA, in particular, being at the receiving end. Though Bishop Kunonga declared that 'we are out, he could not let go the very same properties which belonged to the Province of Central Africa. Having made some critical evaluation of the turbulences, one will realise that the CPCA was not against Bishop Kunonga leaving the church; all they were fighting for was their right to their properties. With the Supreme Court judgement putting the matter to rest, Bishop Kunonga had to admit that it was over.

6 | RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Having examined the Anglican Diocese of Harare's decade of turmoil (2002-2012), the researcher will now conclude and recommend further research in this area of study. This process will involve evaluating the highlights of his findings and making recommendations for the benefit of both the Anglican Dioceses in the Province of Central Africa and future researchers in this area.

6.2 Research Findings

Our findings are as follows:

One key finding from this research was that the establishment of the Anglican Diocese of Harare in the Province of Zimbabwe by Bishop Kunonga was never based on the already known reasons, structure or format for the establishment of African Independent Churches (also known as African-Initiated Churches), as propounded by Inus Daneel, 1987, in his book "The Quest for Belonging." In the light of the theoretical framework developed from Daneel's definition of Independent Churches, which refers to "their independence in organization, leadership and religious expression from Western-oriented historical (also called "mainline") or mission churches" (Daneel M., 1987).

The Quest for Belonging

Daneel developed this theory after observing that the African Independent Churches were driven by a desire to feel at home as they worship God, which they felt was missing from the so-called mainline churches. He stated that

"for in the disruption of social structures caused by the accelerated processes of acculturation and industrialization thousands of alienated individuals have found in the Independent Churches 'homes' of spiritual, mental and even material security, truly African havens of belonging" (Daneel M., 1987).

The researcher's understanding of Daneel's theory was that it was those individuals on the peripheries who felt "alienated" and excluded in all facets of religion who caused or led to the establishment of the African-Initiated/Independent Churches.

The research indicates that the process of indigenising the Anglican Church had started as far back as 1980 when Bishop Ralph Hatendi was elected as the substantive Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Harare, taking over from Bishop Paul Borough, though as noted in chapter 3, the racial tendencies did not end with the attainment of Zimbabwe's independence on the 18th of April 1980. The racial tendency and debate, as was also discovered, made it so difficult for a rational approach to the Diocese of Harare's election processes. This election process ushered in Bishop Nolbert Kunonga, who had given the impression of being the 'messiah' to the Anglican Diocese of Harare in the Province of Central Africa.

It also emerged in the study that the Archbishop of the Province played a crucial role in building up or destabilising individual dioceses under his care. For many years, Bishop Kunonga went unscathed in all his shenanigans with total disregard of the Canons and Constitution of the Province and Acts of the diocese because of the backing and support he got from Archbishop Bernard Malango when he was still in office up until January 2008.

The Archbishop's style of leadership had some bearing on the life of the Province in so far as he dealt with challenges that arose in other dioceses in the Province. That was so because challenges in the diocese of Northern Zambia created a smokescreen to complaints raised in the Diocese of Harare from 2002-2007, the period before the breakaway in September 2007. As noted in chapter 4, Bishop Nolbert Kunonga tried to pull out the tribal card that he was being persecuted for not being a 'Manyika' but a 'Zezuru', to get sympathy from Archbishop Bernard Malango, who himself happened then, to be under similar tribal pressure to relinquish the See of Northern Zambia because he was not a native Zambian, but Malawian.

The research findings also pointed to the heroes and heroines of faith found in any situation and at any given time. For the Anglican Diocese of Harare, these were the few individuals (parishioners) from the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints and those from trouble spots of the Diocese of Harare such as St Phillip's, Tafara. These parishioners obtained legal advice from Mr Bob Stumbles, who was the diocesan chancellor at the time. They kindled a fire of resistance to Bishop Kunonga's determined effort to manipulate the system for his benefit.

Further to these findings, when Bishop Kunonga formally wrote his "withdrawal" letter from the Province of Central Africa in September 2007, there was not a single white clergyman left on the diocesan clergy

list. This suggested that the African Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare were now at 'home' if it was "the quest for belonging" that they were after by having a black Bishop leading a team of black priests.

It was discovered in this study that from the way the Anglican Communion Worldwide was structured, each province, out of the 33 official provinces which constitute the Anglican Communion, was autonomous and operated independently of each other. That meant that the CPCA did not receive instructions from Canterbury, and therefore Bishop Kunonga erred in believing that the province was being influenced to adopt values that were never 'African' by any standard.

Furthermore, the dioceses which constitute the Province, it was observed, were also autonomous. The Archbishop of the Province was regarded among other Provincial Bishops as first among equals though with chairing rights. This rendered each Bishop and diocese in the Province autonomous, though under the guidance of the Canons and Constitution of the Province of Central Africa.

Bishop Kunonga cited two main reasons for the severing of ties with the Anglican Province of Central Africa. The first, as alluded to earlier, was that the Province was condoning homosexuality. It was necessary to view this reason in the light of the socio-political atmosphere prevailing at the time. This research established that the debate on homosexuality in Zimbabwe and the region had evoked political, cultural, religious and social controversies over the past two decades prior to the severing of ties by Bishop Kunonga from CPCA.

It can be assumed here that Bishop Kunonga joined this public debate in order to get sympathy not only from the people of Zimbabwe but primarily from President Robert Mugabe, whose antipathy to homosexuality was well documented, and in the process further his (Bishop Kunonga) personal agenda.

The second reason, as cited by Bishop Kunonga, was that the Anglican Diocese of Harare was being used as a conduit by the western world to sponsor the MDC in its endeavour to unseat a democratically elected government. Though he tried this line of thought, the research was able to dispel this assertion, for there was never a time the Anglican Diocese of Harare was ever involved in party politics as a body.

Bishop Kunonga, who was the Bishop of the diocese and had the power to make decisions for and on behalf of the diocese, never mentioned any incident in which he was asked to support regime change. Indeed individuals were, for example, Bishop Sebastian Bakare was a member of the MDC Council of Elders and was also heavily involved in human rights advocacy. This, however, could not be said to translate to the whole Harare Diocese being labelled 'opposition party' or a regime change outfit.

It also emerged from this study that the formation of the church of the Province of Zimbabwe by Bishop Kunonga was a case of conspiracy, cowardice, malice and misjudgement. The research revealed that Bishop Kunonga was and had always been an ambitious person. He had always schemed to become Archbishop one day. Even the way he became Bishop and organised or influenced how some of the subsequent bishops in the Province of Central Africa were elected indicated such scheming. His hand was evidently in the election of Bishop Elson Jakazi of the Diocese of Manicaland. To put it in simple terms, Bishop Kunonga was pushing for his ego and glory.

Also, the APZ led by Bishop Kunonga was being forced upon those individuals on the peripheries of the diocese. This on its own proved to be a challenge for Bishop Kunonga, first in that it created discord among the parishioners, for many were not ready for the move and did not see the logic in moving out of the Province of Central Africa. The responses to the questionnaire showed that many parishioners, even those who once joined Bishop Kunonga's Church, had no kind words for him. Second, in that, he had to create a sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo prevailing in the Anglican Diocese of Harare in the CPCA. Hence, he had to develop a smear campaign aimed at winning support from those on the peripheries.

As it emerged from the research, this process exposed the shortcomings of Bishop Kunonga's activities when he underestimated the power of those on the periphery (in this case, the CPCA members). They resisted joining his church even with the police and other state agents coming in to render their support for Bishop Kunonga. Therefore, it can be asserted that Bishop Kunonga's church did not conform to Inus Daneel's framework for establishing the AICs.

What was also clear in our findings is that, with the retirement of Archbishop Malango approaching, Bishop Kunonga may have thought that he could capitalise on their friendship to become Archbishop Bernard

Malango's successor. He wanted to influence the College of Bishops to extend the term of the Archbishop to enable him to oversee the election of the next Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa or the establishment of the National Provinces. This idea had been mooted in previous Provincial Synods. The other Bishops saw through this suggestion and shot it down.

From that day, it became apparent that Bishop Kunonga was now driven and filled with fear. That was when he started working on an alternative plan to sever ties with the Province of Central Africa. It could be that he was now afraid that the other bishops in the Province of Central Africa would take him to an ecclesiastical court to answer to the 38 charges levelled against him by the Diocese of Harare CPCA they were convinced the retiring Archbishop had swept under the carpet. Hence, he sought to break away from the Province.

There was considerable mistiming and misjudgement, and even treachery on the part of Bishop Kunonga. The Bishop probably thought that the only way to break away would be on doctrinal issues. Accordingly, he falsely set about tarnishing the Province of Central Africa and made it look as if it condoned homosexuality, yet this was not the case. He may have manipulated the Diocesan Synod to 'seemingly' approve of the breakaway on the false pretext that the Province was infested with Bishops who were condoning and even practising homosexuality.

His misjudgement manifested itself when life became difficult for everyone in the diocese, regardless of their position. The Bishop started sidelining those who would give objective, sound and technical advice, such as the registrar Mr Mutizwa. The Bishop was taking the advice from his close friends: the then Dean, Very Rev. Caxton Mabhoyi, Fr. Ted Mukariri and Fr. Alfred Munyanyi. The Dean would act somewhat unscrupulously and twist facts and influence the Bishop to think life was just going to be easy and that there was considerable support for the Bishop's action.

Among Bishop Kunonga's inner circle, the other two who were not trained priests; acted more as support numbers and security for the Bishop. As for Fr Alfred Munyanyi, upon being made "Bishop", he assumed the title 'Bishop of Operations', operations meant to force Anglicans to accept Bishop Kunonga's ideologies and moves to grab Diocesan properties.

Another key player was re-introduced into the scheming. The former Diocesan Secretary, Fr. Morris Gwedegwe, who had been fired from the Diocesan offices by Bishop Kunonga, was brought back at the height of the challenges to give a new dimension to the scheming. He was now re-introduced to run the information desk. Fr. Gwedegwe's coming brought a high profile involvement between the Diocese of Harare under Bishop Kunonga and the Central Intelligence Office (CIO) under the leadership of Cde Didymus Mutasa. Individuals in this organisation, such as Cde Didymus Mutasa, may have been used as gatekeepers to block the CPCA leadership from meeting President Robert Mugabe and trying to set the record straight.

The coming in of Fr Gwedegwe also saw Vice-President Cde Joseph Msika being granted a sub-deacon licence and to work at St Alban's in Chiweshe. This defied all logic. How could a country vice-president be given a sub-deacon's licence to minister in a small rural mission chapel? Already the writing was on the wall that Bishop Kunonga and his team were only keen on establishing relationships with key government people.

This episode was followed by yet another embarrassing act, when in August 2010, President Mugabe was purportedly awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Civil Law by an Ecuadorian University for what was termed his 'outstanding leadership qualities'. This award was made at the instigation of Bishop Kunonga together with Bishop Walter Roberto Crespo, Bishop of the Anglican Church in Ecuador. However, this award was later proved to be fictitious in that the awarding "University" was not even recognised by the government of Ecuador, with the President renegading on his promise to pass through Ecuador to receive the award on his way from the United Nations (UN) summit in the United States of America which was held in September of the same year 2010.

Though Bishop Kunonga claimed to be a political scientist, in our study, it was established that he failed to use his intellectual expertise to read the political signs of the times. The decade under review (2002-2012) saw the MDC gaining a lot of ground, mostly in urban areas, due to its appeal to the working class while the unemployed blamed their misfortunes and hardship on the ruling ZANU-PF. The greater percentage of the membership of Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare also happened to be found mainly in urban areas. That on its own had a bearing on Bishop Kunonga's demise.

That meant that the persecuted Anglicans did not take the ruling party's claims seriously in the Diocese of Harare. It was not so much that the Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare CPCA were now on the opposition side, but that people were now fed-up with politics. Bishop Kunonga drove a wedge between himself and the Anglican Parishioners in the Diocese of Harare CPCA by trying to drag the church into the day's politics.

Our findings also show that it was not the ruling party, ZANU-PF, that approached Bishop Kunonga for support, as was mostly believed by many Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare. The truth of the matter is that it was Bishop Kunonga, who, in his moment of madness, sold his birthright to the ruling party after promising its leaders to get 'all' Anglicans to rally behind the ruling ZANU-PF in its fight against the growing opposition MDC party. ZANU-PF leaders were also gullibly failing to conduct due-diligent checks to see if what Bishop Kunonga was promising to do was practical and achievable with mainline churches as was possible with some one-man ministries or some African Independent/Initiated churches (AICs).

On the legal front, the registrar excused himself from representing the diocese as he saw no legal propriety in the way Bishop Kunonga was going about his intention to split from the Province. The deputy registrar, Ms Chizodza, was then co-opted to represent the Diocese of Harare in the Province of Zimbabwe in the courts. This was not for long, though, as Bishop Kunonga soon chose a Mr Chikumbirike to be the defence counsel for his legal battles. Mrs Kunonga, the Bishop's wife, then joined the fray. From the synod onwards, she took it upon herself to act as the secretary to Bishop Kunonga. This, she argued, was to protect the office from information leaks. Unfortunately, she used this to alienate some clergy and drove Bishop Kunonga to tear his diocese apart.

Further, on mistiming, the research has also shown that there was also another element of a false sense of popularity. His Excellency, Cde. On record R.G. Mugabe was opposed to homosexuality, even saying, 'gays and lesbians were worse than pigs'; a charge which drew outrage from human rights activists both locally and internationally. Bishop Kunonga used the stance against homosexuality as a way of showing his solidarity with the State President. The President's stance was relevant in his context as he had sought to break away from the commonwealth, some members of which accepted gay rights, so he charged. However, for Bishop

Kunonga, it was not the case, for he was seeking to break away from the Province of Central Africa, which did not itself support homosexuality.

On the church front, Bishop Kunonga wanted to enjoy the popularity that the likes of Archbishop Peter Akinola of Nigeria and Archbishop Nsimbi of Kenya were enjoying for their stance against homosexuality at the time. They were always in the news, ordaining priests in the United Kingdom and America who claimed to be dissociating themselves from their churches that supported homosexuality. Bishop Kunonga did not fully appreciate that these two were Archbishops of their Provinces, whereas he was not, and maybe to attain that kind of status, he had to create his own Province.

Basically, the reasons why Bishop Kunonga led the breakaway of the diocese from the CPCA were; fear of persecution by the incoming leadership now that his friend was retiring; immense desire for power as he realised he was not going to be the next Archbishop of the Province and the desire for popularity based on the assumption that he would enjoy all the support from the State President and the state security machinery.

Rev Barnabas Machingauta, commenting on 'perceived' mistakes made by the leadership of the Province of Central Africa in handling this matter, made some interesting observations. He was convinced that Bishop Kunonga was supposed to have been brought before an ecclesiastical court even before the pronouncement of ex-communication. These sentiments were also shared by many like-minded people of Bishop Kunonga's inner circle. However, my findings were also in line with the observation made by Deputy Chief Justice Malaba, as mentioned before, when he observed that:

The procedure for the implementation of disciplinary proceedings shows that they can only be invoked against people who are still members and office bearers of the Appellant Church (CPCA). Once it is accepted, as it should be, that Dr Kunonga left the Church and ipso facto vacated his office of Bishop of the Province, then it should be accepted that he was beyond the reach of the procedure referred to by the learned judge (Malaba, 2012).

It must be noted that all that Bishop Kunonga did was based on his assumption that he was beyond reproach and could never be brought before an ecclesiastical court by the CPCA leadership. Hence, it could not have been possible to bring Bishop Kunonga before an ecclesiastical court, so the suggestion was not practical.

It has also emerged from this study that Bishop Kunonga was being propelled in his actions by what could be termed ‘the spirit of fragmentation’, which was prevailing at that time in Zimbabwe. That was the decade in which Zimbabwe witnessed the emergence of ‘prophetic and miracle-wielding churches’ whose emphasis was on the gospel of prosperity. These are splinter ministries from mainline/mission churches and the Pentecostal churches. Churches such as the Spirit Embassy founded by Prophet Uebert Angel in March 2007; United Family International Ministries (UFIM) established by a former Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) Pastor Emmanuel Makandiwa in 2008; and The Methodist Revival Church led by Bishop Phillip Mupindu with the support of Reverends Ngonidzashe Mukarakate, John Chinyerere, Mwoyounongoziva Murauro and Gift Mudambo just to mention a few, emerged during this decade.

On the political side was the land redistribution exercise or “land grab”, spearheaded by the ruling party ZANU (PF) from around 2002, all in the name of the indigenisation programme. This land programme saw white commercial farmers losing their farms without compensation and legal statutes to back up the process. However, the law was later enacted to compensate farmers for the “improvements to the land”, such as dams. The land was then parcelled to the black majority. It then emerged in the research that Bishop Kunonga also took advantage of the commotion and lawlessness prevailing in the country to grab church properties in the name of indigenising the Anglican Diocese of Harare.

However, the irony of it was that Bishop Kunonga, though being a theologian himself seemed to have forgotten that the term ‘Anglican’ simply means ‘English’ and still wanted to hold on to the ‘English’ church name by retaining the term ‘Anglican’ for the name of his church.

The political editor of the daily paper, The Herald, Caesar Zvayi, who was Bishop Kunonga’s supporter, wrote:

Bishop Kunonga only has two ‘crimes’, the first is defeating a white man, Timothy Neill, to head a white church; and the second is ‘abusing’ his position in a white church to fight for the dignity of the Blackman.... Bishop Kunonga was attacked in the local opposition and Western right-wing media for refusing to join the bandwagon of narrow-minded hypocrites, who always parrot baseless claims of alleged lawlessness, land grab, corruption and so on that the western world makes about Zimbabwe (Zvayi, 2007).

In our findings, this kind of reportage gave Bishop Kunonga the leverage that he wanted in his mission to grab church properties from the legitimate owners.

It also emerged in the research that Bishop Kunonga underestimated the faith of CPCA members by assuming that their faith in Anglicanism was based on properties and that they could never leave their church buildings. Unfortunately, he was proved wrong when the CPCA members worshipped under trees and in open spaces or rented properties for five years, leaving their churches at the mercy of Bishop Kunonga.

Anglican parishioners in the CPCA proved that through prayer and steadfastness, they could conquer all challenges. Their faith was so strong that even tear gas could not stop them from worshipping their faithful and unfailing God. Rooted in scripture and coupled with the unity of purpose they exhibited, they remained resolute, fighting for their rights despite the involvement of the state apparatus. The slogan and rallying cry:

Mukristu usanete, Namata urinde;
Namata urinde, Mukristu Usanete,
(Christian! Seek not yet repose, Watch and pray)
(Watch and pray, Christian! Seek not yet repose),
became a motivational slogan for Christians to remain steadfast.

It also emerged in the research that the role played by the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) and sister organisations were of paramount importance. The concept of recognition they displayed played a significant part in sending a strong message to the persecutors that the Christian world was rallying behind the CPCA. The concept and spirit of ecumenism was shown as most of the Anglicans from the CPCA were accommodated by other denominations and given space to conduct their services, disregarding their safety and properties.

This resulted in relationships being forged with other denominations, including some formerly not considered to be in communion with the Anglican Church. Examples include parishes like St James' Warren Park, which was accommodated by Mushakata Apostolic church, St Luke's Greendale and St Peter's Mabelreign, who were offered time slots in the Roman Catholic churches. For those who found shelter in the Roman Catholic churches, it was a 'first' in Zimbabwe to see an Anglican priest celebrating Mass on a Roman Catholic church altar, but such was the unity that was exhibited during this decade of turmoil in the Anglican Diocese of Harare 2002-2012.

6.3 Recommendations

Following a thorough examination of the Anglican Decade of Turmoil (2002-2012), it would be well in order to categorically state that all the challenges and issues unravelled in this research hinged on the Bishops' election process in the Province of Central Africa. The research strongly recommends that the Anglican Province of Central Africa adopt a new electoral system in line with current practices in other Provinces such as the Province of Southern Africa. This was coming against a backdrop of our findings which revealed that Bishop Kunonga's hand was behind his own election and that of other Diocesan Bishops in the Province of Central Africa, even before he broke ties with the Province, such Bishop Jakazi of Manicaland.

The current system being used in the Province of Central Africa is prone to manipulation since only twelve out of thousands of members are given the mandate to elect a Diocesan Bishop-though with the assistance of six others from selected sister dioceses. The composition of the current elective assembly in the Province of Central Africa is constituted as follows:

- a) The Archbishop or Dean of the Province (ex officio)
- b) Three Bishops, other than the Archbishop, three clergy and three laity, chosen after due consultation and consideration of national and geographical factors by the Archbishop from the Diocesan panels of electors, other than from the panel of the vacant Diocese.
- c) Six clergy licensed in the vacant Diocese, and six laity from that Diocese, all (elected at Diocesan Synod) (Constitution and Canons, 1969:11).

In addition to the above composition, the Archbishop or Dean of the Province would be assisted by the registrar (or his assistant) of the Province plus the Provincial Secretary. That brings the number of people responsible for electing a Bishop of a diocese to twenty-one. However, of the twenty-one, three are ex officio members: the Archbishop himself (or Dean of the Province), the Registrar, and the Provincial Secretary. With this in mind, one needs to consider that a two-thirds majority would elect a Bishop - thus, only twelve members could then elect a Bishop for any given diocese in the Province of Central Africa.

In comparison with the Province of Southern Africa, what is called the elective assembly in the Province of Central Africa is regarded (in the Province of Southern Africa) as the Advisory Committee whose role is to

compile and make reports on all nominees from all clergy and parishioners in the Diocese with the vacancy. Of interest is the composition of the Province of Southern Africa's elective assembly, whose membership is constituted as:

- a) The metropolitan or a deputy, who shall be President...
- b) Members elected by Provincial Synod to the Advisory Committee...
- c) All Bishops Suffragan commissioned in the diocese with a vacancy, and all Assistant Bishops licensed therein;
- d) All clergy licensed in the Diocese with a vacancy, other than retired clergy who are not licensed to a pastoral charge;
- e) Lay representatives, who are parishioners of a Pastoral charge (elected as synod representatives);
- f) Laypersons elected by the Synod of the Diocese to serve on the Advisory Committee.... (Anglican Church of Southern Africa).

If one were to insert figures in the above representation using the attendance register of the Anglican Diocese of Harare (CPCA) synod held from the 5th-6th of September 2014, the total number of the elective assembly would come to about two hundred and five. This number would be made up of seventy-nine Diocesan priests and sixty-three parishes, with each parish sending two synod representatives (Secretariat, 2014). Such a large number would not be easy to manipulate. This would then minimise the chances of the diocese having a Bishop not well-vetted by various organs of the diocese, including parishioners. This further justifies the call for the Province of Central Africa to revisit its elective process to conduct credible elections that will usher in God-fearing and Holy Spirit-filled Bishops.

The researcher recommends that the Anglican Diocese of Harare CPCA continue with programmes that promote inter-denominational relationships. The foundation for such inter-denominational relationships has been set already and what is left is for continual engagement, which will also act as a form of 'Thanksgiving' to those who supported its struggle. This will enable Christians to realise that the core of our faith is based on unity.

Further research still needs to be conducted to evaluate the legal proceedings and costs, with special emphasis on its impact on the mission and growth of the church, considering that it was costly for both groups to fight the legal battle in the civil courts.

6.4 Conclusion

This research made a critical evaluation of the Anglican Diocese of Harare's "Decade of Turmoil" from 2002 to 2012. The process distinguished some critical components of church administration that caused great suffering to the ordinary Anglican parishioners in the church. In that process, we discovered how Bishop Kunonga tried to avoid being taken before an ecclesiastical court by establishing an independent APZ. This was in the light of thirty-eight allegations which were being levelled against him by the Diocese of Harare parishioners, some of which had to do with inciting murder and defying or disregarding the dictates of the Constitution and Canons of the Province of Central Africa and the Acts of the Diocese of Harare.

Though Bishop Kunonga tried to use the indigenisation of the church card to win support from the government and the black parishioners, this could not hold because the church itself had since moved from that era and mindset. However, we also established that though the ruling party ZANU-PF, through some government organs such as the police and the Central Intelligence Organisation, was gullible by accepting the bait set by Bishop Kunonga, it later realised that it was being used to prop up his agenda which had no bearing whatsoever on the well-being of the Anglican Church and the nation of Zimbabwe at large.

The allegation by Bishop Kunonga, which was his main anchor to sever ties with the Province of Central Africa that the Province of Central Africa was condoning homosexuality, was just a way of trying to justify his actions through a doctrinal matter. Though the Anglican Communion Worldwide is seized with the debate on homosexuality, this was not the case with the Province of Central Africa and, in particular, the Diocese of Harare. Bishop Kunonga was seized with fear of the outcome of the ecclesiastical court against the 38 charges levelled against him if ever it was going to take place and aspirations of taking over the Anglican Diocese of Harare as his "personal" property.

On the whole, the Anglican Diocese of Harare was dragged into this harsh decade as a result of one person's ego. That could have been avoided if due diligent mechanisms were in place in choosing the right candidate for the office of Bishop. However, it remains to be stated that more still needs to be done in aligning the Anglican Diocese of Harare and the Province of Central Africa's election processes to the more modern best practices in the world, which, through technology, has become a global village.

The Anglican Diocese of Harare CPCA emerged out of the Decade more united and stronger in terms of spirituality than before the onset of persecution. Through the leadership of Bishop Chad Gandiya, Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare were able to forgive and reconcile with those who used to persecute them from Bishop Kunonga's church, who came back to re-join the CPCA. Conditions were set for former Bishop Kunonga's supporters among the priests who wanted to re-join the Diocese of Harare CPCA. They were to go and apologise to all the parishes they had tormented or worked. Once those parishes accepted their apology, they were required to join (as ordinary members) any congregation of their choice, which would assess them if they were sincere in their coming back.

One positive attribute of the decade under review is that the Diocese of Harare came back from the "exile" with an improved asset register. Many parishes, while in exile, had purchased land on which they intended to construct new churches and rectories since they were not sure if they were going to be able to reclaim their properties from Bishop Kunonga. The parishes had also purchased vehicles and furniture for use by their priests during the period of "exile", hence the expanded asset register.

There was a great deal of excitement on the part of the Anglican Communion, first in that the Diocese of Harare CPCA had been vindicated in its struggle to reclaim its properties from the control of Bishop Kunonga and his church of the Province of Zimbabwe. Second, in that, the persecution of the faithful in the Diocese of Harare CPCA by the Police and State Security machinery had come to an end. The excitement culminated in the visit by the former new Archbishop of Canterbury, The Most Rev'd and Rt. Hon. Justin Portal Welby, on the 17th April 2016. He subsequently celebrated Mass at the Glamis Arena Harare as a sign of solidarity with the Anglicans in the Diocese of Harare CPCA and Zimbabwe at large.

Life in the Anglican Diocese of Harare CPCA returned to normalcy with the churches embarking on sprucing up their properties which were now in a dilapidated state due to lack of maintenance over the years of struggle. However, the unfortunate development was that many parishes inherited utility bills in excess of tens of thousands of United States dollars, left behind by Bishop Kunonga's Church of the Province of Zimbabwe. These utility bills acted as constant and painful reminders of the decade of turmoil since many parishes struggled to settle the bills.

Bishop Kunonga was to be dragged before the courts again by the Diocese of Harare CPCA, as it sought to recover money amounting to US\$ 427 892.00,

being the value of investments in various companies, which Bishop Kunonga and his Board of Trustees' had illegally liquidated. On the 17th of March 2017, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Diocese of Harare CPCA, ordering Bishop Kunonga to pay back the amount as compensation to the Diocese of Harare CPCA.

One would not want to envisage a recurrence of the same challenges that led to this decade of turmoil, 2002 to 2012. Therefore, the Anglican Diocese of Harare, in conjunction with the Province of Central Africa, needs to conduct more research on how the 'quest for belonging' can be addressed in the form of fair elective structures that would usher in a God-fearing Bishop.



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Abbreviations

APZ	Anglican Province of Zimbabwe
CPCA	Church of the Province of Central Africa
Cde	Comrade
ECUSA	Episcopal Church in the United States of America
EDS	Episcopal Divinity School
Fr	Father
MSASA	Massachusetts Scholarship for African Students in America
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
Rev	Reverend
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
Ven	Venerable
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

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2002-2012, the Anglican Diocese of Harare went through a decade of turmoil caused by Bishop Kunonga's break-off from the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA). The 'doctrinal' reason for forming his own province called the Anglican Province of Zimbabwe (APZ) was CPCA's condoning homosexuality, which drew the ire of the state. Although Kunonga justified his actions in an anti-Western pattern, as an Anglican "quest for belonging", the fierce fighting between the two provinces (with the state forces supporting APZ) was more about property and politics. In 2012, Zimbabwe's Supreme Court brought the matter to its finality when it declared that Bishop Kunonga had no right to claim CPCA properties.



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