CHAPTER THREE

THE CHURCH IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC 1964-1972

INTRODUCTION

Though the chapter basically looks at the First Republic, it begins with a discussion of the Lumpa Church which characterised the religious and political circles of the 1950s and early 1960s. It examines the conflicts that occurred right at the genesis of the First Republic three months before independence between the UNIP as an interim government and the Lumpa Church. This Church-State conflict led to a loss of many lives. The study discusses the Church-State relationship in post independence Zambia between 1964 -1972 and the role played by the Church in the politics of this period. The chapter shall further analyse the introduction of the Zambian Humanism as a national ideology and how it was implemented. It will then analyse the Church’s response to the implementation of nationalisation. Discussions will end by looking at the Church’s reaction to the Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1972. Therefore, chapter three is a discussion of how the Church and the Government complemented each other or differed on national matters.

The Lumpa Church

About twenty to thirty thousand Lumpa faithful fled the country to settle in the Katanga Province of the Republic of Congo. Two thousand of its members were killed by Government soldiers alone but the official death toll was at one thousand one hundred and eleven.¹ Additionally, thousands more were wounded with others dying of starvation, sickness and trauma on their journey to places of safety.² Prior to this, the following are accounts as to what led to this sad state of affairs.
Lumpa is a Bemba word, meaning to excel, to be superior or to surpass.³ For some it meant “from on high”, the highest or even “that which excels the others in the order of salvation.”⁴ Some scholars⁵ have said that it was a breakaway Church from the protestant Presbyterian mission (which was at times referred to as the Free Church of Scotland) of Lubwa in Chinsali district of the present day Muchinga Province of Zambia. It was started in the 1953 by Alice Mulenga Lenshina, a woman with a humble peasantry background and with very little education.⁶ Though she was initially incorporated in the Presbyterian Church, she was later rejected. According to Lenshina, she was willing to work together with the missionaries at first but as they were jealous of her and did not allow her to preach in their Churches she started her own Church.⁷

These differences between the missionaries and Lenshina led to the formation of the Lumpa Church which was officially given recognition in 1957 and met with great success. Both the Catholic Church and Presbyterian missions within the area were amazed to see many of their members defecting to the Lumpa Church. The Lumpa Church which started among the Bemba of Chinsali had the capacity to transcend cultural boundaries by drawing converts from the mainline Churches and tribes in many parts of the country.⁸

The Lumpa Church challenged both the western mainstream Christian Churches and western colonial politics which had been in Northern Rhodesia since the 1890’s. It began to attract a large following of between 50 000 to 100 000⁹ that encompassed Northern, Muchinga, Luapula, Eastern, Central, Lusaka and Copperbelt provinces and even neighbouring countries like Congo, Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe due to labour migration. It took only four years for the Lumpa Church to spread to the Copperbelt and Zimbabwe.¹⁰ The Church had power to shake even the long standing
reverend minister’s wife, Helen Kaunda, mother to the first President of Zambia and her other son Robert Kaunda of the Lubwa Presbyterian Church to be actively involved in the administration of the Lumpa Church.\(^{11}\)

One of the reasons put forward for the striking success of the Lumpas Church was the disappointment of the people in Chinsali in the African National Congress (ANC) which failed to stop the Federation.\(^{12}\) The Africans openly opposed the Federation and the African National Congress decided to have two days of national prayer. Despite the backing given by the Trade Unions on the Copperbelt, the Federation went ahead. This humiliation was felt by everyone. Chitimukulu of the Bemba was one of those that signed the petition sent to the House of Commons and Lords in London. Even when a delegation of chiefs left for London and begged for an audience with the Queen, it was refused. At this point the Labour Party in Britain admitted defeat to the path colonial politics had taken. This finally gave birth to the Federation in 1953.\(^{13}\) The majority of Africans blamed it on the ANC and looked for a tangible institution that would replace the ANC and even the role of chiefs.\(^{14}\)

One other factor which helped the movement’s success is linked to the management of finances in the Lubwa Church itself. Africans wanted to be actively involved in the administration of funds from abroad and not to be managed by a white minister only. The desire to be free from European control at least in Church matters attracted many to Lenshina. This also included the cultural aspect which for the first time allowed Africans to praise their God using African compositions that was experienced in the Lumpa Church.\(^{15}\) At the same time, the Lumpa Church was sensational, for example, Lenshina promised her followers that she was to invite Christ if they built the Church at Kasomo. This they did and the Church was opened on 30\(^{th}\) November, 1958\(^{16}\) although Christ never showed up physically.
The Lumpa Church’s popularity came also from the way it dealt with witchcraft or sorcery, praise, thanksgiving, the confession of sin, and its ability to create a public liturgy which gave full cultural sense to its participants in terms of symbols, gestures and language.\textsuperscript{17} In dealing with witchcraft the Catholic Church was not spared. Lenshina had urged her followers to throw away rosaries, equating them with witchcraft symbols [as white man’s magic]. At the same time, the Lumpa Church accused the Catholic Church of having killed Jesus Christ. To the members of the Lumpa Church, the Roman Pontius Pilate was associated with the Roman Catholic Church. In addition, a member of the Lumpa Church, Joseph Mumba accused Father Kakokota, a Catholic priest of witchcraft. This was an offence against the witchcraft Act. This case went before the court of law and Joseph Mumba was sentenced to one month in prison despite demonstrations by the Lumpa followers to have him released. These demonstrations led to the arrest and imprisonment of Petros, Lenshina’s husband for two and half years.\textsuperscript{18}

Meanwhile, there were at least three thousand defectors from the Presbyterian Church of Lubwa and about fourteen per cent of the baptised Catholics plus fifty per cent of catechumens defected. When these went to Lenshina’s Lumpa Church, they were baptised again at their request.\textsuperscript{19} In turn the Catholic Church in 1955 declared Lenshina and her husband as heretics.\textsuperscript{20}

Attempts were made by both the Presbyterian Church of Lubwa and the Catholic Church to regain their former Christians and have them renew their vows. There were only about four hundred out of three thousand five hundred defectors who were regained.\textsuperscript{21} Often the comeback campaigners were rebuffed by the Lumpa followers. In this way Lenshina and the Lumpa Church were treated as common enemy of both the Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church of Lubwa. This state of affairs
caused Reverend Fergus Macpherson in 1958 to whom Lenshina had first narrated her claimed encounter with Jesus to lament that “what might have been a revival moment found in the Church [the Church of Scotland] so tied to its set practices and so wanting in zeal and vision that it had not the strength to enable it to contain Alice”.  

In short, Macpherson had hoped that Lenshina could bring about the necessary reforms in the western type of worship to the African liturgy that is, moving away from western Christianity to African Christianity. This is the role which Lenshina could have played within the Presbyterian Church but the Church failed to keep her within because of its conservative rules.

The major role played by the Lumpa Church in the growth of Zambian/African Christianity was that the mainline Churches were deeply shaken by the mass defections of so many of their followers to the new faith. It brought about change in the missionaries’ attitude towards Africans by compelling them to start involving local people in Church affairs by showing greater humility and respect for Zambian needs and customs, and by allowing greater African participation in Church services, especially through more singing and music. It was also a signal to the colonial government of the immense ability of Africans to organise themselves even without western education, Lenshina demonstrated such capacity.

It is also important to note that there were obstacles in the Lumpa Church ideology that posed as a challenge to national peace. Its ideology was not in line with traditional authority of governance, UNIP’s quest for cooperation in the fight for national political independence or to the maintenance of national peace and order. For instance, during 1958 and 1959, Lenshina refused to register the Church under
the provisions of the Societies Act in either Chinsali or the Lundazi districts which was a serious offence against the authority and the law.\textsuperscript{24}

Additionally, from 1953 the chiefs were subjected to special pressure on the part of the British Government. They were told to silence the “evil men” that is, the politicians. In 1958, as a reward for the banning of the Zambia African National Congress, Chitimukulu received a chiming clock from the Governor, but the prestige of the chief was now notably diminished. Already from 1956 he was considered by the Lumpas as unable to govern his country by stating that: “No chief will govern this country, only Lenshina; she will settle all the cases when the Europeans have gone.”\textsuperscript{25} Therefore, it is from this background that the Lumpa followers began to disregard customary permission from the local chiefs, and large numbers settled at Kasomo village without permission.

In reaction to these unauthorised settlements, in May 1959 Chief Nkula sent his Kapasus (court messengers) to evict these settlements in his chiefdom. The Kapasus and the District Messengers sent to reinforce them were defied with threats of violence. The District Commissioner requested Lenshina to remove the illegal settlers; failure to which force would be applied. When this order was ignored, a Northern Rhodesia Police Mobile Unit detachment was sent to Sione, the Lumpa Church capital. These were met with spears and stones. Some Lumpa followers were arrested and the settlers were evicted. While Lenshina fled for a while to Lundazi district. This acted as warning that further breaches of the law would not be tolerated.\textsuperscript{26}

Later in mid 1963, the tension between the Lumpa followers and UNIP cadres intensified. In their desire to escape from social, political and religious
estrangements and violent attacks from UNIP cadres, the Lumpa followers moved out of traditional villages to join exclusively unauthorised Lumpa settlements for greater safety. These were fortified with timber stockades. There were about twenty-two settlements established in Chinsali itself, six in Kasama, three in Isoka, two in Mpika and five in Lundazi. These became no go areas for authorities as the Lumpa members considered themselves to be above the law. Additionally, they refused to send their children to school or to be vaccinated against smallpox when there was an outbreak of this endemic in Northern Province. They went as far as chasing away the chiefs’ messengers attempting to serve summonses. This was proper civil disobedience.

Another sad incident happened among the Lumpa settlements in Isoka. Deacons told people not to plant crops, to slaughter and eat their livestock because a ladder would soon come down from heaven for them to ascend to a life of plenty. Later faced with acute food shortages, their leaders adopted the policy of “eat with them”. This meant the followers should help themselves to the food supplies of the opponents, even with force. This was because they blamed UNIP cadres for having driven them out of the villages. The Lumpas Church followers came to be regarded as dangerous thieves and outlaw. Lumpa followers became a threat to society as they equipped themselves with arms, spears, axes and rifles. This led to people leaving their villages and taking refuge at the Mulanga Catholic Mission about fifty kilometres to the south east of Chinsali for protection.

The other serious bone of contention was between Lumpa ideology and the African National political parties especially the United National Independence Party (UNIP). At the beginning the ANC and Lenshina were in good terms. The ANC is said to
have promised the Lumpas to establish them as the national Church. Unfortunately in 1960 when UNIP stepped in there was no more question of such an eventuality. Kenneth Kaunda had an idea that was ecumenical like the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) and therefore, he was too universal to think of transforming the Lumpa Church into a national Church. This did not augur well with the Lumpas and Petros, Lenshina’s husband who had aligned the movement with the ANC, pledged to be Kaunda’s rival.

The nationalists campaigned for national unity during the Federation. For October 1962 elections UNIP wanted maximum support and registration of voters to fight for national political independence. Both UNIP and the Lumpa Church had their headquarters in Chinsali. The Lumpa Church had membership which outstripped that of all other Churches in Northern Province and flourished in other areas such as Lusaka, Copperbelt, Kabwe, Livingstone and Zimbabwe. Repeated attempts were also made during 1963 by senior UNIP officials from Lusaka. Both Kenneth Kaunda and Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe had meetings with Lenshina. Kaunda and Kapwepwe had grown up with Lenshina in Chinsali district. This was in an attempt to resolve the differences through peaceful means since Kaunda’s mother and his brother were members of the Lumpa Church.

The colonial office insisted on some form of unity among Africans before it was ready to relinquish political power. For this purpose UNIP and ANC managed to form a coalition government. It was the same reason that made Kaunda and other nationalists appealed to Lenshina and her large following to unite with the political parties for the purpose of national independence. Unlike Lumpa members, UNIP activists failed to stand against strong opposition within their headquarters where they saw some of their own race hindering any evolution.
The Lumpa Church entered the battlefield when Lenshina told her followers to destroy their political party cards. There was strong evidence that Lenshina gave this strange order because they were promised a very big sum of money by the supporters of Welensky who wanted UNIP to be defeated, especially in the Northern provinces. For this reason from April to May 1963, various buildings and Lumpa Churches were burned in Chinsali and Lundazi Districts. Many of the UNIP members believed that ‘unholy alliance of Welensky, Tshombe and Nkumbula were behind the effort to prevent Lenshina’s thousands of followers from using their vote.\(^{35}\) It was a big loss for African political parties when Lenshina and her large following distanced themselves from politics and politicians.\(^ {36}\) Time and again Lenshina told her followers not to take part in politics.

The Lumpa Church became an opposition to challenge UNIP as its message was “do not obey man, obey God”. Lukas Soko noted that this was in contradiction to the match towards independence. A big number of its followers were perceived as a threat to the independence of Zambia, and therefore, action had to be taken quickly to prevent further civil disobedience from recurring.\(^ {37}\) If the Lumpa were left to their whims, they could have cost a loss of thousands of votes just because of religious fanaticism. \(^ {38}\) In this situation it was difficult to use a non-violence policy, a situation where Lenshina insisted in telling her followers that one cannot be a Christian and a member of UNIP.\(^ {39}\)

The sympathisers of the Lumpas Church members advocate for Kenneth Kaunda and UNIP militia to be tried for crimes committed against humanity. They argue that the Lumpa’s retaliation and violence against their opponents was in response to the failure by the authorities to curtail UNIP instigated attacks. For example, Malama
Katulwende noted that several times Lenshina begged the Government to protect her members. When this failed, the sect left their traditional villages and established their own settlements away from the UNIP violence. He argued that even though some Lumpa followers committed murder and arson that was just in retaliation against UNIP cadres who torched their Churches, food stores and assaulted their members. On the other hand it is false to claim that all Lumpa members, wherever they were, committed murder and arson in the name of their sect. The Government could have dealt with the culprits and spared the lives of the thousands that were murdered by Government soldiers.

The evidence put forward by the Lumpa adherents in terms of verbal sentiments of some senior UNIP Government politicians like Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe against the Lumpa followers express total hatred against the sect. Kapwepwe was quoted as saying:

"Lenshina and her adherents, people who eat their dung, washed their bodies with their own urine change into a devil; even five times worse than a devil, they actually would be wild beasts. When you find a wild beast eating in your gardens or trying to kill: what do you do? You would come together and start to follow it till it is dead. And even after death, you would break its legs, spit on it and roast it above the fire till nothing is left anymore. Our government is determined to destroy this wild beast."

This sentiment was targeted on the one hundred thousand (100,000) Lumpa memberships. It, therefore, gives an idea of the position the UNIP Government took that it was ready to terminate such a magnitude. Moreover, Kapwepwe was the Minister of Agriculture, a Cabinet Minister who in this position was the adviser of
the President and policy maker. Hence, one cannot blame everything on the soldiers who were deployed to fire shots even where there was no resistance from the Lumpa women and children. The soldiers carried out orders of the Government in line with their work. The blame is on the Cabinet and its Government that decided to use over two thousand well trained troops armed with 7.62mm NATO self-loading automatic rifles\textsuperscript{42} with the intentions as reflected in Kapwepwe’s statement.

However, the African National Congress (ANC) sympathised with the Lumpa faithful arguing that they had the right of Association and worship.\textsuperscript{43} As Nkumbula, the President of the ANC later in March, 1967 argued that the Lumpa were people who decided to form a religious sect or organisation so that they could worship God in the way they liked to worship Him. His argument was based on the reports which showed that members of the Lumpa Church were being forced to join UNIP a move which they refused and for this, the government shot them down.\textsuperscript{44}

In the final analysis, it can be said that what happened between the UNIP activists and the Lumpa Church was a demonstration of the way UNIP was to deal with the political opponents later. This manifested itself in the introduction of the one party state. Even in the one party state stein action was taken against those that seemed to have different political views as opposed to those of the Government’s. Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe was last to fall victim of the same system that he helped to formulate.

\textbf{The Church’s Limitations and strength in the First Republic 1964 – 1972}

At independence, the Church administration and structure in most cases was still white. The many Protestant Churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church and those that formed the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) immediately started Africanising
their leadership. In the Catholic Church the process of Africanisation was very slow. Though the top leadership of the Catholic Church changed, Carmody and Hinfelaar have argued that the bulk of its priests, brothers and sisters remained white. The whole country had only 25 local priests in the rural areas of the white fathers’ parishes in the Northern and Eastern part of Zambia; and 60 African sisters in local congregations.

Ecclesiastically the country was still in the hands of missionaries belonging to different Religious Orders composed of different nationalities, pastoral policies, and opinions. This situation forced President Kaunda and some of his ministers at a five day Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church held in January 1973 to urge the Church to catch up with government in Zambianisation of its Leadership. The revolution was to start without delay for Church could march with the government.

When Bishop Dennis de Jong was asked to explain why by 1982 there were more missionaries than local priests, in answer he said the Church always demanded a very high standard from priests. Priesthood is a very dedicated way of life. A priest must be willing to leave everything – property, possessions and family, very high ideal. The number of years spent in training had something to do with it. The training requires a basic training in humanities and philosophy before the student goes on to study theology.

Shortage of the African clergy, religious brothers and sisters could be attributed also to the initial rejection of recruitment of Africans by most of the missionary congregations like the Dominicans. Many of these international religious congregations aimed at empowering the local Church first before embarking on the
recruitment exercise for their own society. Examples of such Catholic Religious Societies are Missionaries of Africa, popularly referred to as White Fathers who came to Zambia in 1895 and the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa known as White Sisters who arrived in Zambia in 1902.\textsuperscript{52}

These international congregations felt that it was not right to carry out the formation of priests and sisters to work as missionaries in other countries when they knew were mostly needed for work in Zambia. Their primary aim, therefore, was to make recruitment first for the service of the local Church.\textsuperscript{53} This resulted in the White Sisters training the Sisters of the Child Jesus, founded by Bishop Larue in 1926.\textsuperscript{54} In the same manner, the Dominican Sisters helped in the training of the Handmaid sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but the first sisters of this congregation were sent to Southern Rhodesia in 1945 by Bishop Wolnik for their two years novitiate training at Makumbi.\textsuperscript{55} These sisters returned to Zambia in 1949. It was only in 1961 that the Handmaid sisters were officially recognised by Rome as a Zambian local congregation.\textsuperscript{56}

However, Ridder attributed the small number of local clergy and sisters in Zambia at independence to the fact that the faith in Zambia had not been tested through the hardships of war which in most cases allowed people to seek God’s closeness. Zambia had always been reasonably peaceful as compared to the Republic of Congo, Ghana or even Poland where the White Sisters had many vocations.\textsuperscript{57}

Others have argued that the missionaries adapted “hasten slow”\textsuperscript{58} policy which was against training African leaders in the Church. This policy meant that as long as you were black and an African/Zambian, you were under the missionary’s supervision.
The colonialists influenced the missionaries to such an extent that they sidelined Christian norms. This policy meant that a native minister could not be ordained. 59

The policy gives the reason why it took the Dutch Reformed Church mission 30 years to accept a Zambian into ordained ministry. Even then, the Dutch Reformed Church was the first mission Church to ordain a Zambian in 1929 by the name of Justo Mwale. The London Missionary Society came to Zambia in 1885 but its first Zambian Minister was not ordained till after 52 years in 1937. The Church of Scotland took 35 years to do so after being in the country since 1895. The Roman Catholic Church that arrived in Zambia in 1890, only ordained the first African priest after 56 years. The Wesleyan Methodists, who arrived later in 1912 when a small number of Africans could read and write, were only able to ordain its first local national in 1937.60

Zambia’s political independence brought change in the missionary Church attitude to the ordination of blacks; the “hasten slow” policy that was against African leadership in Church took a new shift. The missions’ former pupils were in positions of leadership in the new black government whose decisions now affected the Church’s existence in the country. This led to the Church taking up a new role in politics of being part of the democratisation and Zambianisation process of the nation.

Even though the mission Church was not democratic in itself, it inculcated (in its pupils) the western parliamentary democracy as the ideal form of political organisation.61 Therefore, the Church embarked on firstly, developing a relationship with the new government for its own existence; and secondly, working together with the government in development in all sectors of life, economically, socially and politically. The Church still conscious of former alliance with the colonial
government came to uphold the same good relationship with the post independence government. All in all, the collaboration of the Church with government can be attributed to the Church’s belief that the power invested in the state comes immediately from the people but ultimately from God.

**The Church-State Relationship in National Development**

It is worth noting that originally, most of the Church institutions practically depended on their own individual initiatives to raise resources to run them. Such resources were supplemented by private donations from well wishers in Europe. Though in the case of the Christian Mission in Many Lands, missionaries did not receive much support for donors in Europe found their fundamentalist creed too extreme, most of them were, therefore, unwilling to support its missionaries. As the result most of these institutions were usually underfunded and under staffed, compelling them to rely on local resources such as food and sometimes even medicines for their up keep. It was only in the 1920s, when the colonial government extended its grants in aid to many mission owned institutions, following the financial requests made at the General Missionary Conference of 1922.

The mainline Churches were mainly involved in health and education provision, from dispensary to nursing schools and primary to tertiary levels respectively. This is because both were used for evangelisation purposes. Schools, on the other hand, were used for inculcating moral and religious beliefs in young Africans. At the same time schools were seen as integral to mission work, since it was on young people that missionaries placed their main hope for stable converts to Christianity. Missionaries were motivated to give formal education (literacy, numeracy) so that people could read the Bible and spread the gospel message to others.
Medical missionaries, on the other hand, believed that their medicine was a rational and effective form of healing whose acceptance by Africans could diminish the influence of local healers and diviners, whom missionaries perceived as their rivals in their efforts to win the trust of the people for Christian conversion. By using western medicine missionaries hoped to reach out to African societies and wipe out superstitious medical beliefs practices and irrational fears which missionaries saw as unacceptable to Christian faith. Evangelical medicine (western medicine) was also intended to confer upon the African the blessings of western civilisation. Therefore, it can be said that to medical missionaries, African conversion to Christianity was only to take place after Africans were set free from African superstitions and the influence of the local healers and diviners.

It is, therefore, important to note that before independence the Colonial Church owed its allegiance to the colonial state. The Church needed the government’s support in the provision of social and spiritual services. In turn the government needed the missionaries’ support in implementing its policies and especially in the provision of social services. To this fact, the first Minister of Education, John Mwanakatwe was able to declare that:

My ministry welcomes the participation missionary agencies in primary as well as secondary education and has made it clear that, although it will welcome taking over any primary schools which wish to give up, it is not going to force them to give these schools up.

Though, at times colonial administration influenced the missionaries to such an extent that they sidelined Christian norms. For example, the Dutch Reformed Church implemented the policies of segregation and discrimination in its delivery of biblical
message despite the fact that these segregate policies were against biblical principles.\textsuperscript{69} In retaliation to this the nationalists attacked mission stations.\textsuperscript{70}

For this reason towards the end of colonial period, the nationalist movement for independence gained momentum. In 1958 the Dutch Reformed Church experienced abrupt departures of missionaries. This trend continued especially during the critical years of the nationalists’ struggle preceding independence. These sudden departures were due to the fact that some missionaries had tendencies of segregation and so feared the reaction to the crimes of Imperialism after political independence.\textsuperscript{71}

On the contrary, Muhali Muhali, the Education Secretary of the United Church of Zambia attributed the sudden departures to the abrupt stoppage of the flow of finances from missions abroad which made it difficult to run the missions shortly before and after independence. In these situations, the government had to act fast by taking over hospitals like Chitambo and schools like Mabel Shaw at Mbelesi.\textsuperscript{72} The government went further and took-over institutions in an event where a missionary body was not in a position to run the institutions according to the required standards of the time.\textsuperscript{73}

Already by 1963, among the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia, five large missionary societies expressed their wish to give up management of their primary village schools either at the end of 1964 or in the middle of 1965. By the end of 1964, the government took over 36 institutions under the United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia (U.C.C.A.R), old London Mission Society institutions in the Luapula and Northern Provinces. The Paris Missionary Society gave up the management of 119 schools to the Church of the Barotseland which also gave up management in the middle of 1965, the Dutch Reformed Church relinquished
management of its only 91 schools in the Eastern Provinces to its successor body the African Reformed Church, a purely African body, which too had no capacity to run them financially and on the 1st January 1965 the Methodist Missionary Societies handed over 72 village schools to the African Reformed Church. But it was proved that the African Reformed Church had no financial capacity to run these institutions for by September, 1964 it was in debt of £20,000 within the first year of its existence.\textsuperscript{74}

The Anglican Church was another missionary society that handed over its schools. Others were Salvation Army, Lutherans, Brethren in Christ and Pilgrim Holiness.\textsuperscript{75} This came about not because these missionary societies objected to the management of primary village schools in principle. On the contrary it was because of lack of funds and the reluctance of the Ministry of Education to assist them with more funds in the management of these institutions.\textsuperscript{76} Thus, the United Missions to the Copperbelt were first missionary society to hand-over their schools to the government in 1950.\textsuperscript{77}

In these circumstances, the Roman Catholic Religious Orders stood firm against the idea of relinquishing the management of their primary village schools to the government. They believed that there would be no Catholics unless there were Catholic schools with the teacher who had to do most of the work of teaching religion and holding prayers for villagers on Sunday. With preference, this teacher had to be trained not only professionally and academically but also morally. Therefore, this teacher was to be trained by priests, with whom and for whom he was going to work.\textsuperscript{78} This was because the Catholics, unlike a number of other Churches, continued to regard the school as an important means of conversion and Church growth.\textsuperscript{79}
It can be noted that Catholics and Protestants had different perceptions of the importance of schools. It was very important among many Protestant societies that the converted be able to read their Bibles. This was not considered important among Catholics. To the Catholics, the school played a more important role in the education of the whole person. For Catholics aimed at incorporating their converts into the Roman Catholic Church, founding a new Church province was of paramount. Furthermore, Catholics considered evangelisation not only the means to bring about Church growth through baptising people, on the contrary, evangelisation is a process of transforming persons and structures so that they do not only aim at themselves but also work for others in terms of justice, equality, bringing about a society that is free of corruption and bribery. The aim of the Protestants was to found independent (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating) Churches run by Africans which, after a certain time, were to be independent of the European missionaries. For this to be possible, responsible Christian African leaders were needed. In this way it was easier for Protestant societies to give up their institutions than the Catholic Missionaries.

In fact the giving up of the management of most missionary institutions was not initiated by the missionary societies but rather it was the colonial government that wanted to have some power in the administration of these institutions. This goes as far back as 1945 when the African local government in the Education Department felt it was necessary to have more of its efforts in the powers and functions of Local Education Committees. The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia reacted by stating that the take-over of mission education by the local Authorities must be gradual.
To this effect a Commission led by Cartmel-Robinson was set up in May 1949 to inquire into the possibility on whether African Local Authorities should take-over the management of primary education in their area. The Commission’s report favoured the African Local Authorities taking over the management of all education up to standard IV. In the absence of the Catholic representatives, the Protestant missionaries agreed on the principle of giving up authority over primary education to the local authorities. Later in June the same year, before the African Education Advisory Board, the Catholic Church, through Father Killian Flynn, objected to the idea of handing over of its schools to the local government or Native Authorities. This had to wait, he advised, until such a time when Chiefs and councillors understood what education really meant.

Following the Episcopal Conference in January 1951, Catholic Bishops expressed the same sentiments on the issue of losing control both of their primary schools and that of their teachers. They proposed to protest in the strongest terms against this grave danger which now faced the Catholic Church. The Church went further to form the Catholic Association for teachers and campaigned vigorously to alert Catholic parents on the government’s intentions of taking over the running of the Church primary schools. The Catholic Church clearly stated that they could not accept the posting, transfer and control of teachers in their schools to be outside their control. If this was to happen should be done gradually.

On the 29th June 1951 the Catholic Church went further to seek audience with the government representatives and made the request to be given the mandate to assess teachers for employment in agency schools by the agency concerned. The bishops agreed to prepare more teachers than they would need, if the government so desired. This was accepted for it did not pose any difficulties to the government. Meanwhile,
the Draft Education Ordinance of 1951 came to authorise the Local Education Authorities to take over existing government schools and any schools which the Native Authorities and Voluntary Agencies did not wish to continue to manage. Additionally, the Local Education Authorities would also have the authority to control the opening and closing of schools as well as inspect schools. It went further to propose the creation of a United African teaching service with parity of conditions for government and mission teachers. This was heavily debated and worried the Catholics. In the end the Catholics fought to retain substantial control of their schools. However, this development did not please other Voluntary Agencies for the Catholic Church was seen to work in isolation even in circumstances where an agreement with the Episcopal Conference was made not to act separately. On the eve of Zambian’s independence, the Catholic Church remained steadfast in its mission to give Catholic children Catholic education in the Catholic schools. This proved impossible because many Catholic children received their education outside the Church especially those on the Copperbelt. The Catholic Church alone had roughly 30% of the overall schooling up to Grade VI for boys and girls. This stood at 556 aided Catholic schools and about 598 for Protestant aided schools by end of 1964. Therefore, by 1969 the Catholic Church was in control of about 820 primary schools, 15 secondary schools for girls, 19 secondary schools for boys, 2 teachers’ training colleges, 2 technical education colleges, 4 agricultural institutions, 6 nursing schools, 2 schools for poliomyelitis, 1 school for the deaf and dumb, 15 home craft centres for girls and adult women, 2 schools for the blind, 4 orphanages, 6 leprosy settlements, 33 hospitals, and 23 credit unions.
Furthermore even after surrendering quite a number of schools to the Local African Authorities, African educational system, as inherited at independence in 1964, was mostly run or controlled by missionaries. 56.4 per cent of these were primary. For both primary and secondary school levels, four (4) categories of schools existed: non-fee-paying aided schools, unaided schools, fee-paying schools and private schools.  

When the black government came into power, there was a slight shift in the way schools were to be structured and run. To start with the UNIP manifesto declared that the government was to provide education which was independent of the individual’s colour, creed and sex. The nationalists’ aim was to establish a system of education in which there would be equal education for all. Great emphasis was given to this view. This aimed at removing the practice of racial segregation in schools. In this case freedom from discrimination on the grounds of creed implied the right of the individual to withdraw from a religious institution which was not consonant with his/her beliefs.

This was in line with the 1961 UNESCO Addis Ababa Conference’s long term plan on African education which was to run from 1960 to 1980 that advocated for primary education to be universal, compulsory and free. There was a shift from local control to state control of education in the post independence government. Rather than encouraging local control efforts in education, the new government promoted the centralised education system with strong government control. The Education Act of 1966 vested legal powers in the Ministry of Education to exercise effective control in the implementation of the government’s education policy. At this time the government was eager to develop a national system of education in line with the national motto “One Zambia and One Nation”. For both primary and secondary, the
government integrated both the fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools so that by 1969 there could be only one unified government school.\textsuperscript{94}

The Catholic Church continued running its schools mainly for the purpose of evangelisation up to 1973 when it handed over a number of primary schools to the government. This was when it became obvious that the government wished to run these schools and made it clear that it was in charge.\textsuperscript{95} Therefore, by 1974 the role of voluntary agencies in running primary schools had drastically minimized. The use of government aid to mission schools was and is still a means of regulating the activities of these schools.\textsuperscript{96} In this case it was the government’s desire to take over Church schools and not so much the lack of funds.

However, we cannot rule out the fact that lack of funds was the major challenge faced by Church institutions that compelled them to hand over most of their primary schools and some health institutions to the government. This was what was expressed by the different Church Education Secretaries like Fr. Patrick Mwela for ZEC\textsuperscript{97}, Muhali Muhali for the United Church of Zambia\textsuperscript{98} and Reverend Violet Sampa Bredt, former Secretary General of Christian Council of Zambia.\textsuperscript{99}

The other important reason that cannot be ruled out is lack of personnel within the Church institution to manage the institutions. For example, the \textit{National Mirror} of April, 1976 carried out an article by Sister Mary De Pace, the Mother General of the Dominican sisters announcing the handover of their primary schools to the government due to lack of personnel. She noted that the number of Nuns who were trained as educators and administrators was diminishing. She conceded that the present members of the Order were partly to blame, because they did not carry out recruitment drives to have young sisters. Most of the sisters present were now old.
Among the schools handed over to the government by the Dominicans were Luanshya Dominican Primary School and Mufulira Dominican Primary School. To be precise, by 1990 all the Catholics primary schools were either handed over to government or turned into secondary schools such as Ndola Dominican School and Kabwe Caritas Secondary School.

The government’s aim to quickly educate as many Zambians as possible was one of the reasons why it embarked on taking over Church primary schools. Under the government the schools would exceed the required number of pupils in class which could not be tolerated under mission supervision as this could mean compromising with the education standards.

It is important to note that the government never issued any policy of taking over Church health institutions but had to put health personnel on government pay-roll, offered grants to run the centres and supplied the necessary medical facilities to all these centres. The government only took over the management of those health institutions where missionaries left or the Church failed to manage them. In fact in most cases the government only took-over the management of these institutions without getting rid of the Church teaching or medical stuff in those institutions. These were also incorporated on the government pay-roll if they wished to work under the government. On record we have the Methodist Education Secretary requesting the Provincial Education Officer to have three European Church teachers to continue teaching at Kasenga Primary School in Choma after the school had been handed over to government in December, 1964. Perhaps the biggest challenge faced by institutions taken over by government on the mission land had no room for expansion. It was only that piece of school land that became government land and
the rest remained mission property, hence, the failure of the government to put up more structures for expansion.\textsuperscript{104}

Nevertheless, the Churches continued to maintain their secondary schools and two (2) teachers colleges. By the 1990s, there were forty-one (41) Church secondary schools. Twenty-seven (27) were run by the Catholics, five (5) by the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), four (4) by the Brethren in Christ, two (2) by the Anglican Council, and one each by the Salvation Army, the Reformed Church in Zambia, the Seventh Day Adventist, the Evangelical Church in Zambia and one by an autonomous Church body.\textsuperscript{105}

In the field of medicine, by 1990 the Catholic Church had fifteen (15) hospitals; Christian Missions in Many Lands (C.M.M.L) mostly in the north western party of Zambia had four (4), one (I) each for Salvation Army and United Church of Zambia.\textsuperscript{106} For this reason the Catholic Church boldly proclaimed this unity of purpose to the nation in 1973 in these words: “\textit{Eklesia wesu Alikatana no Buteko pa Kwimya Icalo Cesu}”.\textsuperscript{107} Meaning the Church cooperates with the government to develop the nation.

**The Church in National politics**

Early in 1960 the Church was quick to recognise the deficiency in the political preparedness of the African politicians. In order to help the newly independent African states, the Jesuits and White Fathers applied for funds from Misereor in Germany for a training centre in Great Britain where future political leaders in Zambia and other newly independent African countries could be trained by following courses in political science and social sciences.\textsuperscript{108} With these funds they bought a house which was in the middle of London near Victoria Station. The house
was named Claver House and has been in existence since 1960.\textsuperscript{109} Hundreds of future leaders were given courses in the social, political and economic sciences in the years that followed.\textsuperscript{110} An attempt to get the names of Zambians that got their training there failed, the Assistance Archivist declined for data protection reasons.\textsuperscript{111} It was, therefore, not surprising that after independence Church leaders mingled well with politicians. Regularly, Kaunda would invite them for dinner at State House every six months to give them a chance to approach him directly so that they could not criticise him publicly.\textsuperscript{112} At the same time Kaunda was always represented at major Church events; such as the installations of Bishops or the celebration of jubilees.\textsuperscript{113} Kaunda, in turn, expected the Church to play an active role in national development.

With this encouragement, the Church felt accepted and incorporated in the ruling system. The evidence of this fact was when in the early 1970’s the Church leaders accepted political appointments in government: the right Reverend Bishop Elias Mutale, the then Catholic Bishop of Mansa Diocese, and the president of the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), the right Reverend Jackson Mwape became part of the Chona Commission on the One Party State in 1972.\textsuperscript{114} Elias Mutale who in 1973 became Archbishop of Kasama also served as member of the Rural Development sub-committee of UNIP’s Central Committee and of the National Sub-Commission on the One-Party State in 1973. While Fr. Colm O’Riordan SJ served as a member of the Electoral Commission in 1973.\textsuperscript{115}

Additionally, other political appointees made in the early 1970’s included Reverend Jalabafwa of the UCZ who served as Rural District Governor and Reverend Merfyn Temple (UCZ) worked in the Land Resettlement Office. Archbishop Emmanuel
Milingo served as a member of Cultural and Social Sub-Committee of UNIP’s Central Committee and of the Mufulira Disaster Fund Committee in 1973. Fr. S. Mwansa was the District governor of Kaputa and Fr. Protea Mwela became a member of parliament for Kawambwa. While at local level, the clergy were encouraged to become members of Village Productive Committee and other UNIP initiated projects.116

Furthermore, Kaunda urged the Church to speak out on both national and international issues, for he saw the Church as a symbol of love, social justice and peace. The Church was supposed to speak out with courage and conviction without fear and favour against the infringement of love, social justice, peace and liberty. It was to act as a national barometer to measure the national atmosphere.117 As a teacher, Kaunda wanted the Church leadership to be better informed than their congregations about their national and international environments so that the nation can benefit from informed Church opinion.118

The Church and Zambian Humanism as the National Ideology

To Kaunda Humanism meant in practical terms selflessness. This meant giving service to the people. Selfless service to man and through him to the nation was the basis of the teaching of the philosophy of Humanism.119 Kaunda observed that the objective of Humanism was not only to make yourself a better human being but to increase your contribution to the efforts of the party and Government to your fellow citizens as better human beings. Hence, the shaping of Zambia into a truly man-centred society depend on every individual’s involvement to make it work.120

The Philosophy of Zambian Humanism was introduced in the country in June 1967, an ideology propounded by President Kaunda. There were some historical steps taken by the Party and its Government in their attempts to introduce Humanism as a
national ideology that later in the 1970s camouflaged into Scientific Socialism. The first attempt came with Kaunda’s declaration in 1967 that the Party would strive to establish a true Socialist State. And that it would not be possible to be Humanists without being socialists since the former could not be instituted without the later. The Church then did not react, but instead gave Humanism a Christian interpretation and ignored the clause that the Party would strive to establish a true Socialist State. Church leaders observed that Zambian Humanism was basically Christian and God based due to the following values it incorporated:

- Communal living and concern; belief in God as Supreme; respect for the dignity of the human person; care for the infirm and aged; communal work – assisting each other like working in the fields; extended family – clan system, no orphanages, no old people’s homes, that is, living a life of the apostles;
- Sense of commitment, working for the success of all; respect for life; respect for the individual; sense of decency, that is respect of oneself; sense of heroism, that is, one was ready to die for another or for the community; man centeredness which does not rule out the supremacy of God; and sense of honesty and trust.

Church leaders welcomed the ideology of Humanism as a rediscovery of identity for the Zambian people and as a rescue after colonialism which had degraded Africans. The Church felt that during the colonial period Africans were without identity, and were considered as an appendix to existence. Zambian Humanism rediscovered African’s values and their dignity as expressed above. The Church leaders acknowledged that Zambian Humanism helped the people to rediscover their past after such a long time of colonialism. The Church observed that from the religious point of view there was harmony and complementarities which united traditional
values and Christianity. These had the same spiritual orientations and conceptions of man.\textsuperscript{124}

In the 1970s the president of the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church union, Pastor Henri Marais was quoted saying, "We [SDA] fully support the creed of Humanism and its policy of concern for all and are grateful for the positive religious freedom granted to all within our borders."\textsuperscript{125} For these reasons Church leaders recommended to all the Christians to study and practice the philosophy of Humanism which was proposed for the direction of the lives and conduct of the people of Zambia.\textsuperscript{126}

President Kaunda also depended on the Church. He saw the Church and religious organisations as an arm of the Party.\textsuperscript{127} The Church was called upon to support and promote state programmes and policies in addition to its own which were geared towards authentic social and moral development.\textsuperscript{128} Kaunda’s dependence on the Church to transform society into a Humanist one, to make people live in clans, decency and honesty, and to make them love and help one another was welcomed with enthusiasm. In turn the Church incorporated Humanist principles in all religious education syllabi and it was taught in schools side by side with religious education and became examinable.\textsuperscript{129}

The Humanist principles enshrined in this ideology had the power to unite the Church and the State. The State in the forefront co operated with the Church without favouring any particular denomination. This was seen in the way Kaunda attended important Church functions without discriminating any denomination. In turn, Churches’ administration adhered resolutely to the emphasis that they were
independent and could not be manipulated by UNIP. This was a key idea that stood at the Centre of most statements made by Church leaders.\textsuperscript{130}

**The Church in the Nationalisation/Zambianisation of Industries**

Kaunda’s speech at Mulungushi in 1968 gave an idea that the country totally rejected capitalism as a way of developing its economy but took the path of communism and socialism. He said that some property should be privately owned but what was important is how the property was accumulated and used. He further pointed out that as humanists Zambians were not to develop into capitalists.\textsuperscript{131}

The Church, like Kaunda, rejected capitalism and condemned all forms of capitalism which placed profit before person and instead placed emphasis upon understanding of the importance of the human person. The Church also denounced materialism as a form of capitalism which ignores one’s dignity. The Church noted that Christianity never taught an absolute right to private property. It always qualified the right of ownership in two ways. Firstly the ownership is stewardship of property given by God to owners for the benefit of all. Secondly, the Church taught that ownership should be widely distributed so that each one may have his or her just share.\textsuperscript{132}

However, Mbanefo argued that the secret to economic development is not communism, capitalism, socialism, humanism, or any other “isms” but to produce or perish.\textsuperscript{133} The human animal was basically selfish. Any economic policy or philosophy that ignored this fact was doomed to failure. The way to turn this selfishness to common good was not to ignore it, condemn it, or preach it, but to tap it for the benefit of the country by letting it produce the goods or services first and then taxing away some of those benefits for the use of the nation as a whole.\textsuperscript{134} This
was one way of expressing belief in capitalism principles as the means of production which was contrary to the Church and the government’s point of view by then.

It can be acknowledged, therefore, that UNIP’s selfish desires and short-sightedness led the nation into total ruin for the nationalised industries were soon characterised by political interference, mismanagement, and lack of reinvestment and personal greedy led to the general decline of the country’s economy.

To highlight the political interference, Hugh Macmillan gave two accounts of Geoff Kates and Andrew Sardanis. Geoff Kates managed Zambesi Trading Company efficiently after the Government took over the business. He resigned in the early 1970s because of political pressure. He had refused the demands from the District Governor and a minister to employ unqualified staff, to which he responded that he had an obligation to the Government to ensure that the business was profitable. Andrew Sardanis agreed to a number of political appointments to jobs in the Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO) group of Companies after nationalisation. He noted that the employment of unqualified personnel contributed to the poor performance in these industries. He later resigned in 1970 because of political interference in business.

From the time the economy was nationalised in the late 1960s and early 1970s, corruption and nepotism affected Zambia in the government controlled formal sectors. To be employed or promoted depended on whom you knew and was therefore, not based on merit or qualifications, resulting in poor performance.

**The Church and 1972 Termination of Pregnancies Debate**

Before October 1972, the laws of Zambia that related to abortion were based on section 151 of the Penal Code, which stated that: any person who, with intent to
procure the miscarriage of a woman or female child, unlawfully administers to her or causes her to take any poison or other noxious thing or uses any force of any kind or uses any other means whatsoever, commits a felony and is liable upon conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years.  

The Penal Code further stipulated that any woman who administers any poison or noxious thing or used any force of any kind or used any other means or permits the same to be done committed a felony and was liable to imprisonment for fourteen years.  

The Act even extended liability to people who supplied to, or procured for, any person anything whatever knowing that it was intended to be unlawfully used to procure the miscarriage of a woman or female child and the punishment was imprisonment for fourteen years.  

It can be acknowledged that the Zambian Constitution then ensured that the unborn child had the right to life.

The 1972 Termination of Pregnancy Act was passed without much objection from the members of Parliament. The seventy-nine Members of Parliament present for the second reading sixty six (66) voted in support of the bill.  

There were only four days of Parliament debates on the bill from 25th July when the bill was presented to parliament by the Attorney General, to the first reading on the 28th July, the second on 1st August and became law on 3rd August, 1972.  

The observations made were that there were many illegal abortions carried out by non medical practitioners. The Minister of Health, Mr. Chikwanda noted that the two most common complications of illegal abortion were severe bleeding and infection. Invariably the women died from these two complications. He said the government in reality does not want abortions to be done, but if done should be by registered practitioners, so as to avoid death at the hands of practitioners that have no ability to
carry out the service properly. Therefore, the bill was passed without public debate.

Most of the Members of Parliament had received Christian education and had passed through mission schools. The Church was, therefore, surprised that its former pupils now in parliament could authorise abortion. It was then resolved that abortion could be done by registered medical practitioners and specialists in the branch of medicine. The expectant mother had to be examined before a decision on whether or not an abortion could be performed. Under this regulation, any registered medical practitioner who terminated a pregnancy was required to give a notice of the termination of pregnancy which was disclosed to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Health.

Abortions that were medically warranted were legalised to be carried out in consideration of the health of the pregnant mother which could either be immediate or after some time. This was done to save the life or to prevent grave permanent injury to the physical (as to be seriously handicapped) or mental health of the mother or the mental health of any existing children of the pregnant woman.

Therefore, Zambia’s abortion law came to be based on socio-economic and medical health grounds. The 1972 Act placed Zambia as having one of the most liberal abortion laws in Sub-Saharan Africa, which allowed abortions to be carried out on broad health, as well as socio-economic grounds.

The Church seemed divided over the issue of abortion. For some Churches contraception and abortion were sinful. For others abortion was sinful in some contexts especially in single mothers but not in others like married women. The Roman Catholic Church’s view was that the foetus had a right to life and that
contraception and abortion destroy this right and condemned it in totality. Protestant Churches did not oppose population control or family planning as such. What they resented were methods they perceived to be conducive to moral laxity. The Protestants advocated for indigenous sex education and pre-marital etiquette to reduce juvenile promiscuity and pregnancies.\textsuperscript{147}

Some Protestants argued that Catholic clergy condemned contraceptives and abortion in totality because they were not married to understand marital problems and what it meant to lose a spouse and its impact on the family. When it came to choosing, men will always prefer to save the life of the spouse to that of the foetus.\textsuperscript{148}

In fact the Church was under the mistaken belief that Parliament which was ninety per cent Christian, would vote against abortion. When the bill was passed as a law, the Catholic Church reacted against it to the extent that Archbishop Milingo had even to call President Kenneth Kaunda to his residence for a discussion on the Termination of the Pregnancy Act.\textsuperscript{149} The Catholic Church went further by sending a pastoral letter to all the Catholics in Zambia. It argued that the mere risk of injury to the physical or mental health of the pregnant woman or that of her existing children is not an adequate or valid reason for taking the life of the unborn child; and that medical science with all its modern developments is still unable with certainty to predict that a non-viable unborn child will be seriously handicapped by physical or mental abnormalities.\textsuperscript{150}

The Termination of Pregnancy Act caused the deterioration of relationship between the Catholic Church and the state.\textsuperscript{151} Four years later, the Catholic Bishops tried once again to appeal to the nation indicating that violence and injustice are partners in the
crime of abortion. Abortion is the greatest injustice in our society since it takes away the very first of all human rights, the right to life.\textsuperscript{152}

Since most of the politicians in the Zambian Government including the President were Christians, they generally tried to avoid direct confrontation with the Churches on matters of socio-cultural values. Therefore, by the late 1970’s the Government had submitted to the Churches’ viewpoint by declaring abortion on non-medical grounds illegal and by streamlining procedures for procuring contraceptives in a bid to minimize their abuse among the youth.\textsuperscript{153}

Some women have observed that in all the discussions and outcomes over the contraceptives and abortion done in 1972 and the proceeding years by the Church and government were not solutions to the actual problems facing women. In fact they were just mental torture to pregnant women seeking abortion. They have looked at Great Britain with envy where single mothers receive benefits to help support their children. In Zambia, single mothers and even married couples have to fend for themselves. Given that wages for the majority of workers are low and that no support care is given both by the Church and the state, the families’ ability to provide care for the new infant weigh more in a decision to terminate a pregnancy than to continue it.\textsuperscript{154}

\textbf{Conclusion}

The way the UNIP activists and its Government handled the Lumpas stood as a warning and example of the way they were to deal with opponents in their reign. This affected the Church too especially in the first decade of independence. This was seen in the way the Church chose to ignore the clause in the Philosophy of Zambian Humanism which stated that the Party would strive to establish a true Socialist State.
Even when Kaunda declared in 1967 that one cannot be Humanist without being socialists since the former could not be instituted without the latter.

The first decade of Zambia’s political independence was a period of honeymoon between the Church and government. The Church was united with the government in the formation of the young nation. The Church was actively involved in the national development as well as in Government to the extent of rubbing shoulders with political leaders in social gatherings. Kaunda and his Government were often present at important Church functions without favouring any particular denomination.

Confrontation between the Church and Government, especially with the Catholic Church only started when Parliament enacted the Termination of Pregnancy Act in 1972.
Endnotes

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118 National Political Museum(NPM)/Humanism for: Radio Commentaries No. 1 – 42, p.3
119 NPM/Humanism for: Radio Commentaries No. 1 – 42, p.3.
121 Kenneth Kaunda, in Ranganathan, *The Political Philosophy of President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia*, p. 3.
125 JCTR ‘Christian Response made at the First Leaders Seminars on Humanism and Development,’ p. 3.
126 Henri Marais, in Mary Namakando, ‘Should Churches be Involved in Politics’, *Times of Zambia*, June 10th 1979
132 Marxism, Humanism and Christianity: A Letter from the leaders of the Christian Churches in Zambia to all their members about scientific socialism. Zambia Episcopal Conference(ZEC), Christian council of Zambia (CCZ) and Zambia Evangelical Fellowship (ZEF), August 1979, Lusaka, pp. 4-5.


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