Church and state relations: 
the contribution of John Calvin to the understanding of 
church-state relationships in 21st century Zimbabwe

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Abstract

This article deals with the contribution of John Calvin (1509-1564) to the understanding of 
church-state relations in the 21st century in Zimbabwe. One of the key characteristics 
of Calvinism and the Reformed tradition is their tendency to produce new confessional 
statements of faith when new historical situations demand that the church speak out. The 
point here is that God’s Word is continuously new and there is a need to renew the older 
confessions in the context of new situations. The influence of Calvin and his brand of 
Reformed faith can be seen to this day; most of the arguments used in Zimbabwe owe 
more to Calvin than any other theologian. In his Institutes of Christian religion (1536), 
Calvin spelled out the sequence of the Christian faith in relation to church-state relations. 
He believed that the church should not be subject to the state, or vice versa. While both 
church and state are subject to God's law, they both have their own God-ordained spheres 
of influence. He espoused that the state should not intrude on the operations of the 
church. However, it has a duty to protect the church and its ability to function as the 
church. It can be argued that Calvin’s ecclesiology sowed the seeds of the modern 
secular democracy. This article will outline the central thoughts of John Calvin on 
church-state relations and show that Christians in Zimbabwe find a theological ally in 
him. It will argue that Calvin’s unflinching loyalty to the truth as he saw it in the Word of 
God for his day provided insights for the faithful in the era of political turmoil for 
Christians in Zimbabwe

Introduction

This work is an interpretive history of the church’s quest for the promotion of democratic values in the 
socio-political context of struggle and change in Zimbabwe. The practical problems involved in the 
relationship between church and state in Zimbabwe have in recent years become burning political and 
thological issues. Church-state relations were a significant factor in the parliamentary campaigns and 
elections of 2000, 2005 and 2008. They were also major issues in the presidential disputes in 2002 and 
2008. These practical problems and the many others that have arisen in Zimbabwe are worthy of 
consideration and discussion in the context of the rich Reformed confessional tradition. But perhaps 
even more important than these practical problems are the theory and principles of the right 
relationship between church and state. It should be acknowledged that principles in themselves do not 
solve practical problems. Yet it is a truism that “practical questions can be solved only in the light of a 
correct idea of what the right relations between church and state ought to be” (Wolf 1966:191). 
Therefore, it is essential to have an understanding of John Calvin’s position on the proper relation 
between church and state. This article will examine Calvin’s thoughts on the question of church-state 
relations and expose the insights that have enriched Zimbabwean churches during the political 
upheavals in the 21st century. This work is a historical study tracing church-state relations from 2000 to 
2008.

The first place to begin the discussion of church-state relations is with the very basic point of 
definitions. Defining terms is important because in the area of church-state relations most Christians 
and politicians are confused about the nature of things which are to be identified or separated. Let me 
hasten to point out that the problem of the relations of church and state involves a political problem and 
a theological solution. The political problem cannot be solved except in the light of a theological 
solution. John Calvin understood the church to mean a spiritual authority, which derived its right from 
a direct commission of Jesus Christ. As such it does not depend upon human institutions or any right of
reference in its spiritual authority by any human being or institution other than its own constituted hierarchy. In his opinion, the church is also a juridical institution with its own internal order of law and is competent to solve its own internal problems. On the other hand, Calvin saw the state not as a person or a group of persons, as is society, but rather a set of institutions organised in a certain way for a very definite and limited purpose of political good and the good of citizens.

Calvin’s brand of Protestantism can be seen to this day. The Calvinists in Zimbabwe are the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe and congregational churches such as United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, Church of Christ, United Church of Christ, Baptists and Presbyterians. Calvinism, or the Reformed faith as it came to be known, had many profound social implications and Calvin’s basic ideas on church-state relations will be sketched below.

The life of John Calvin (1509-1564)

John Calvin was a French theologian and a major leader of the Protestant Reformation. One of the major branches of Protestantism – Calvinism – is named after him. Calvin was born in Noyon, France, a cathedral town midway between the two famous cathedral towns of Amiens and Reims in 1509. He received a broad education, including studies in the field of law. Kerr (1966:160) states that Calvin “was never ordained, though he became, next to Luther, the greatest Reformer of the day; he never practiced law, though he helped to rewrite the civil statutes of the city of Geneva, and the Protestant tradition he founded has always been deeply involved in political as well as religious matters”. Calvin’s influence became definitive for the entire Reformed tradition.

Calvin was forced to flee from France in 1534 because he “rebelled” against Catholicism and accepted the Reformation. In 1536, while in Basel, he produced a doctrinal manual, The institutes of the Christian religion. He went to Geneva, his main headquarters, in that same year and took charge of the Reformation there. He imposed a strict form of discipline on the church there. Of importance to this article is that he designed a new congregational order, based on a college of presbyters working in close co-operation with the secular authorities. His influence spread from Switzerland into the Rhine valley, stimulating the theological impulse of the Huguenots in France, the Protestants in England and the Presbyterians of Scotland and America. Calvin died in Geneva in 1564.

Calvin’s life was significantly shaped by his encounters with the political forces of his time. For example, he was forced into exile due to harassment and persecution of those suspected of Protestant inclinations by the French powers, and through the political manoeuvres of the Spanish military troops he ended up in Switzerland. These encounters with political forces left an indelible mark in Calvin’s theology. He sought a sanctuary where Christians could practise their faith without political interference.

Calvin was persuaded to return to Geneva in 1541 where, with the aid of Protestant refugees from all over Europe, he undertook to make the city into a model Christian community. Calvin was officially a pastor in the Geneva community from 1541 to 1564, but he was the virtual leader of the community. With the expulsion of his opponents in 1555 Calvin’s community thrived. The Geneva community is the best known example of an attempt in Protestant history to apply collective Christian responsibility.

Church-state relations in Calvinistic Protestantism

The relationship between church and state has been seen differently by different people. Some regard the state as having a positive obligation to promote true religion. The idea of church-state relations occupies a central place in Calvin’s theology. Although Calvin did in some respects perpetuate the tradition of Ulrich Zwingli and Martin Buber, he thought himself above all a faithful follower of Luther. But it should be noted that Calvin’s theology bears a stamp different from Luther’s. Calvin became a renowned systematiser in matters relating to church government and administration. What makes Calvin’s theology relevant is the fact that it transcends its own time. A word can be spoken through religion to the people of our time only if it is a transcending and therefore a transforming word.

The central principle of Protestantism is the doctrine of justification by grace alone, which means that no individual and no human group can claim a divine dignity for moral achievements. If any group claims such a dignity, Protestantism requires that they be challenged by the prophetic protest, which gives God alone absoluteness and sanctity and denies every claim of human pride. This principle holds for Lutheranism as well as for Calvinism and even for modern Protestant denominationalism. Thus every genuine Protestant is called upon to bear personal responsibility for this.
While in Lutheranism the individual’s relation to God is of paramount concern, in Calvinism there is a profound sense of the need for re-ordering the total life of the community into a truly Christian society. Calvin emphasised the importance of the corporate ethic rather than the individual ethic. In Calvin’s Protestantism, no activity is to be omitted. All spheres of life are the domain of God’s activity and the areas of collective Christian responsibility.

Calvin stressed progress in the Christian life, but he believed that Christians need the state for the welfare and ordering of their own lives. In his opinion, the state is a remedy for sin, preventing disorder and promoting order. The state enhances concord, order and peace given by God for the well-being of the Christian in his/her earthly journey towards final redemption. Even though the state is evil by nature, it is a very positive blessing of God. Unlike Luther, Calvin believed that the state guarantees and protects religion. The point here is that the state is ordained by God and a gift for this life. Therefore, Christians have no option but to accept it. He advised Christians against interfering in its functioning. In Calvin’s theology people in authority are like gods under God, and rejecting the power of the state is tantamount to rejecting God.

Calvinism espouses that rulers ought to govern justly otherwise they will pay the penalty before God. Calvin clearly pointed out that they could and must be called to account by the Word of God. While Luther was emphatic that in the face of injustice the Christian can only suffer and reject active resistance, Calvin made two qualifying statements. These statements have become Calvin’s legacy for posterity. Firstly, he gave the analogy of obedience to parents. Parents should be obeyed only if their demands are not contrary to God (Calvin 1949:38):

If they (parents) instigate us to any transgressions of the law, we may justly consider them not as parents, but as strangers who attempt to seduce us from obedience to our real father. The same observation is applicable to princes, lords, and superiors of every description

Thus Calvin categorically rejected loyalty to wayward parents or tyrants. In other words, one’s obedience to God is more important than duty to the parents or state. If the government violates religious obligations, Christians may refuse to obey it.

Secondly, on a more activist note Calvin suggested practical resistance to evil rulers (Calvin 1949:31):

For if they be, in the present day, any magistrates appointed for the protection of the people and the moderation of the power of he kings … I am so far from prohibiting them in the discharge of their duty, to oppose the violence or cruelty of kings that affirm that if they connive at kings in their oppression of the people, such forbearance involves the most nefarious perfidy because they fraudulently betray the liberty of the people of which they know that they have been appointed protectors by the ordination of God.

Calvin showed support for magistrates to actively resist tyranny. It is a duty of those leaders tasked with the checks and balances of the political system. Calvin was impressed by the just distribution of power in society.

The Geneva experiment

According to Dillenberger and Welch (1954:86), by intent and design “Geneva was democratic rather than authoritarian”. At the apex of the Geneva community was the community of the elect. Authority in the community was distributed among pastors, doctors, elders and deacons. Pastors were responsible for the ministry of the Word, preaching and the administering of sacraments. Doctors were tasked with the responsibility of teaching. Teaching ensured proper understanding and the future of the state. Deacons were responsible for visiting the sick and alleviating the plight of the poor. Elders made up a court of discipline; it was their responsibility to see to it that Christians obeyed the precepts of the gospel. Christianity was “state” religion. Christians had no option to recant their faith.

Below the community of the elect was the Consistory, which comprised the clergy and laymen. Its task was to supervise the corporate life of the community. The council of the city enforced the decisions of the Consistory. Calvin was averse to the state’s involvement in the life of a Christian. He wanted civil powers to maintain and protect the faith. The Geneva community demonstrates how being
a magistrate was a Christian vocation and responsibility. It also entailed the responsibility for civil order and for the right religion.

The power of context is of paramount importance in assessing the Geneva experiment. The community did not tolerate any dissent and divergent views. The execution of Michael Servetus in 1547 is a case in point. Servetus was a danger to religious uniformity and a threat to the leadership of Calvin. He epitomised heresy and the suitable punishment for that time was the death penalty. There was no freedom of worship. The Geneva community represents Calvin’s vision of a society in every way dedicated to the glorification of God. Notwithstanding the Servetus incident, the Geneva experiment was a manifestation of how the faithful could safely be trusted to enforce Christian standards of collectivism. The Geneva model was unique; however, it could not be implemented in other areas where the Reformed tradition flourished. This was so because constituted authorities thwarted any Geneva ambitions of a Christian-governed community. Geneva was envied as a symbol of the Reform movement and dedicated friendly authority.

In the world at large, Calvinism set for itself the rigorous discipline of trying to act and think from a Christian perspective at every point. Seldom has Calvinism failed to defend and protect the centre of Christian theology against encroachment from outside. In Zimbabwe the Calvinistic influence can be seen through the church’s exercising of the prophetic mission vis-à-vis politics at different levels.

**Christians and the state in Zimbabwe**

The brief overview of Calvin’s stance on church-state relations allows us to formulate an answer to the question whether or not Zimbabwean Christians can claim to have Calvin on their side. The Christian churches in their public role in the democratisation process in Zimbabwe have continued to exercise their moral influence. The Catholic, Evangelical, Pentecostal and Protestant churches participated in the democratisation of the country through their para-church agencies such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC). However, the focus of this article is on the role of Calvinistic churches. It must be acknowledged that Calvinistic churches do not work in isolation; they are part of umbrella bodies such as the ZCC.

Calvin provided insights that helped the church to embark on an inexorable mission as the conscience of the nation. As Verstraeten (1998) has illustrated in his very illuminating *Zimbabwean realities and Christian responses*, the church can exercise its ethical task or prophetic mission vis-à-vis politics at different levels by condemning the tyranny of unjust rulers and demanding democratic political space for all citizens. The author argues that the church in Zimbabwe exists in a socio-political and economic context of struggle and change and must, as a matter of urgency, define its role in the quest for the promotion of democratic values in the country. The church can either legitimate the status quo or call for its reconstruction and transformation. Thus the church functions in two significant ways in society in relation to prevailing political, social and economic conditions. That the Zimbabwean church pastors do not agree on the relationship between politics and religion is abundantly clear from the way they conduct themselves. Some play the legitimating role while others play the watchdog role.

In line with Calvinistic teachings Kambudzi (2000:35) avows that by preaching and promoting peace, welfare and salvation, the church stands above national political issues and can easily be seen by any citizen or political parties, and even political authorities, to be non-partisan, neutral and human-centred in outlook. Thus the church, as a social institution, should not barricade itself from political, social and economic evils, but should identify human problems and come up with appropriate action plans. The church is the largest constituency in the Zimbabwe. About 73% of the Zimbabwean population is Christian (Mhloyi 2003:23), including many in the political leadership. This percentage includes all Christian denominations. The church is a nation-wide club offering a badge, community, social security, support and moral integration of the state. Calvin demonstrated that the church, as a social institution, has enormous potential to promote social change. The churches are also closest to the people and have a credible voice.

In September 1999, a new opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai. It represented a new political order in the country and a real challenge to the ruling party in Zimbabwe. Although nine political parties were registered for the 2000 elections, ZANU PF (the ruling party) and the MDC became the dominant parties with broad national support. A two-party system took root from 2000 onwards. It is from this era that Zimbabwe witnessed the worst brutality ever. For instance, in 2000 the government created the ZANU PF militia, called the Border Gezi Youth Training Programme. The schools for this militia are found in every province and district in Zimbabwe. Prior to the elections, the youths were to act as ZANU PF agents to
In a move that many critics believe was a wave of reprisal against the urban dwellers for not supporting Mugabe’s party in the elections, the ruling party embarked on Operation Murambatsvina’ (Operation Restore Order) in May 2005. The government said the operation was meant to stamp out the black market and reduce pressure on overcrowded urban areas (Daily Mirror 2005a). There was no respect for property rights. Several people had their houses demolished by the soldiers, police and the ZANU PF militia. Some families were forced to demolish their own houses. The Reformed Church in Zimbabwe, in line with Calvinistic theology, condemned the operation as a violation of human rights and urged the government to restore the rule of law (Harold-Barry 2005:14). On 16 June 2005, the EFZ wrote a press statement averring that “the church calls upon our government to take heed of the plight of the poor as commanded by God in Holy Scriptures” (Daily Mirror 2005b). During Operation Restore Order the pastors accommodated members displaced by this nefarious operation in their churches (Daily Mirror 2005c). This was testimony that the pastors were with the people and not the church leadership. This was a slap in the face of government and the evictees were quickly removed from church premises. The UN estimated that the campaign left at least 700 000 of the poor people homeless.

Calvinist tendencies clearly manifested in Zimbabwe through the creation of the Christian Alliance (CA) in October 2005. It was formed by like-minded church leaders who felt called to help solve the crisis in Zimbabwe through prophetic actions. The group comprised church leaders from the
Evangelical and Protestant churches. The ZCC and other church groups collaborated more closely in the democratisation process in 2006 by launching their national vision document, *The Zimbabwe we want*, in which the churches criticised the state over its failure to initiate a national dialogue about the land, micro-economic policies, the constitutional debate, electoral process, human rights, governance and national reconciliation. The churches also criticised the state over its failure to establish an independent land commission that would ensure transparent, equitable and fair land distribution. In this document the churches implored the nation to shun political intolerance (Zimbabwe Council of Churches and Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe 2006:8):

Political intolerance has unfortunately become a culture in Zimbabwe. The trading of insults, violence with impunity, lawlessness and hate speech has unfortunately been characteristic of inter-party and intra-political parties. The Zimbabwe We Want must cherish, embrace and celebrate a culture of tolerance of dissent, political plurality and a willingness to accommodate political differences. Intolerance breeds hatred and hatred breeds violence. Violence, in turn, leads to destruction and social rupture. These vices cannot build the Zimbabwe We Want

Political tolerance is an important ingredient in the efforts towards democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe.

The 29 March 2008 elections

The 2008 harmonised elections, comprising local government, parliamentary, senatorial and presidential offices, were held in a relatively calm environment. The electoral process was significantly overhauled in the 2008 parliamentary and presidential elections. The church started playing an increasing prophetic role in the 21st century. It realised that democracy would not be handed down to Zimbabweans on a silver platter.

In spite of the state’s infiltration of churches and using divide and rule tactics among church organisations, the churches seem to have weathered the storm. In the events leading to the harmonised elections, most church organisations continued to speak out against violence. The ZCC thus issued the following statement (Kubatana.net):

Government should provide a level playing field for all those seeking political office. Let justice flow like a stream and righteousness like a river that never goes dry (Amos 5:24). All political parties, candidates and their supporters are to exercise maturity, tolerance and to seek power only through the ballot. To campaign in a peaceful and honourable way, shun all forms of violence, to observe and encourage peace at all times. The law enforcement agents should execute their duties in an efficient, effective and non partisan way to protect life and property. To apply the law without discrimination or favour, for God hates all forms of injustice. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission to adhere to the SADC norms and principles and other international best practices in the conduct of our elections. The media as a major stake holder in the election process, to give objective and balanced reports and fair coverage to all political players and strive to influence and promote peace. All eligible voters should exercise their democratic right to vote. The nation to seek peace and pursue it and invite all people to come and reason together as we undertake this process of electing our representatives at different levels. Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called children of God. (Matthew 5:9). All people of faith to prayerfully promote peace, love, justice and respect for diversity

Despite the above advice, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission withheld the results from the public and refused to announce the winner. Instead, ZANU PF on 19 April initiated a recount process of about 23 constituencies before the public could know the initial results. When results were officially announced, Tsvangirai got 47.9% of the vote while Mugabe got 42.7%, creating a situation that provided for a run-off, as there was no outright winner.

The ZCC and EFZ expressed deep concern over the deteriorating political, security, economic and human rights situation in Zimbabwe following the 29 March 2008 national elections and released the following statement (Catholic Communications Network 2008):

Before the elections, we issued statements urging Zimbabweans to conduct themselves peacefully and with tolerance towards those who held different views and political
affiliation from one’s own. After the elections, we issued statements commending Zimbabweans for the generally peaceful and politically mature manner in which they conducted themselves before, during and soon after the elections… Reports that are coming through to us from our Churches and members throughout the country indicate that the peaceful environment has, regrettably, changed: …Organized violence perpetrated against individuals, families and communities who are accused of campaigning or voting for the “wrong” political party in the March 29, 2008 elections has been unleashed throughout the country, particularly in the countryside and in some high density urban areas.

People are being abducted, tortured, humiliated by being asked to repeat slogans of the political party they are alleged not to support, ordered to attend mass meetings where they are told they voted for the 'wrong' candidate and should never repeat it in the run-off election for President, and, in some cases, people are murdered.

In true Calvinistic manner, churches stood as a voice of morality by condemning the political violence and lack of political tolerance after the 29 March elections in Zimbabwe.

Evaluation

From the foregoing discussion we can pose the question of whether the churches can claim to have Calvin on their side in their relationship with the state. The Christian churches in their public role in the democratisation process in Zimbabwe continue to exercise their moral influence. The Catholic, Evangelical, Pentecostal and Protestant churches participated in the democratisation of the country through their para-church agencies such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, EFZ and the ZCC. However, the focus of this article is on the role of Calvinistic churches.

Jesus mandated the church: “All authority in heaven and on earth is mine. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations … teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you” (Mt 28:19-20). The aspect of the church that concerns us here is her role as a teacher and moral guide. The church should demand obedience to a code of social ethics in the manner of the eighth century prophets. The code of social ethics is a dimension of religion that touches upon life and welfare in this world. It is religious jurisprudence and is characterised by must dos and must not dos regarding social and individual life. The church proclaims the moral order on the human universe, i.e. it passes moral judgements on any matters of concern. The clearest articulation of this is found in Pius XI’s social encyclical, Quadragesimo anno, promulgated in 1931, when the world was in the throes of a depression. The moral order is based upon the dignity of each and every person. Whenever any component of society, e.g. the political or economic system, debases human dignity by violating basic human rights, the church becomes involved by upholding the moral order. The church has the divine right to guide and direct God’s people by criticising and condemning the unjust and oppressive social structures. This is the role of the Catholic social teaching and is characteristic of Calvinistic ideas on church-state relations. Whenever the political, economic, or social order touches and affects the moral order, then the church speaks out of her competency.

Calvinism espouses that rulers ought to govern justly otherwise they will pay the penalty before God. Calvinistic churches in Zimbabwe clearly pointed out that the state must be called to account by the Word of God.

Conclusion

Calvin spelled out the place of the Christian faith in church-state relations. He believed that the church should not be subject to the state, or vice versa. He espoused that the state should not intrude on the operations of the church. However, it has a duty to protect the church and its ability to function as the church. The relationship between the organised church and state in Zimbabwe, especially with regard to democratic space for association, has been at the centre of conflict between Christians and the state. It can be argued that Calvin’s ecclesiology guides the Calvinistic churches in their relations in 21st century Zimbabwe. The church in Zimbabwe has benefited from John Calvin’s insights. Church-state
relationships are critical. The church and the body politic cannot live and develop in sheer isolation from, and ignorance of, one another.

Works consulted

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