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ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY :
TO THE CONGREGATION OF THE ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT THE
EASTER SERVICE

ZION CITY, MORIA : 19 APRIL 1992

Your Grace, Bishop Lekganyane; other Ministers of the ZCC; the: Hon
State President Mr de Klerk and Mrs de Klerk: the President of the

ANC Dr Mandela; Brothers and Sisters in Christ. I feel greatly
privileged to rise before this vast congregation of Zion
Christians, humbly to confess my faith to the world. I plead for
forgiveness that brings tolerance and I appeal for peace across all
of Southern Africa so that people may rise to their God-created
potentials and that the work of the Church can proceed according to
the Will of God.

s a Christian I have learnt from my mother's knee onwards that
prayer actually does work. That is why I accepted the Bishop's
invitation to come here to pray with you. There is a God - the
Father of Jesus Christ our Saviour who actually hears us when we
pray. I believe that if there were no prayers, or if there were no
God, or if there were no Christian churches in South Africa, we
would long since have been engulfed in the most hideous violence
that mankind has ever seen.

I think we are fortunate that South Africa is a Christian country.
However we err and however we sin as a people, this country is
distinguished by the fact that it is a Christian country. For me
this means that God is in every political camp, and that the Spirit
of Christ is working across all political boundaries and across all
race boundaries. This means that whenever Black brother is
fighting Black brother, Christ is on both sides of that fight -
urging the contestants to turn to love each other, and to put the
glory of God and the Kingdom of God as that which we should all be
striving for.

My brothers and sisters, I commence my few remarks praising God and
confessing my faith in God, and saying that were it not for God
there would have been a horrible carnage in the most hideous race-
war the world has ever seen. It was this strong belief that this
is God's world which inspired me to believe for the last four
decades that change in South Africa will take place through
peaceful means rather than through war and bloodshed.

There has been no race-war in this country because we are
Christians and because Christ is here, inspiring us on every side
of the South African conflict.

My brothers and sisters, as a first step in our search for further
Christian solutions to our country's problems, we must proclaim

the greatness of God and we must give the Almighty praise for not having allowed South Africa to become totally engulfed in violence, although I must now confess that the present levels of violence in this country are unacceptable. â\200\230

The second thing we must do, I believe, as Christians, is to confess our sins and to seek forgiveness from those we have knowingly or unknowingly wronged.

There cannot be love and unity in our country unless the people confess their sins and live out their faith by forgiving those who have wronged them.

I ask you all just to pause for a moment and consider my statement that it is a total miracle that CODESA is now at work and that we have a State President and a South African Government which has released all political prisoners, unbanned all political organisations and which is now working with Black political leaders and organisations to establish an open democracy in which there will be no racism permitted in the constitution or in the Government. It is also a miracle that the three of us, President de Klerk, the President of the ANC and I, are standing here before you to participate in these prayers for peace.

A matter of five years ago nobody would actually have been bold enough to predict that by 1992 there would be a CODESA and the search for justice, democracy and peace in a multi-racial gathering which brought together the ANC, the SACP, the South African Government and the IFP.

Five years ago, or even four years ago, or even just over three years ago in fact, there was no capital in the world, no nation in the world, no government in the world, in which people actually believed that we here in this country would bring about the final liberation of the Black man through non-violent means and through negotiations. Yet this is happening today.

My brothers and sisters, unless we recognise the greatness of God and love Him, and worship Him, and unless we pay deep respect to our Lord - the God of all creation, and unless we confess our belief in Him and praise Him for what He has already done for us how can we go on praying to Him for a greater miracle yet . - that the cessation of hostilities between warring Black factions in this country does not take place?

It is what God has already done for us that makes me so totally ashamed of the violence which has so marred Black political life in recent years. It is the fact that we are a Christian country which has thus far avoided a race-war and which has pushed revolution aside in favour of negotiations, which makes me so terribly ashamed of the hideous violence that has been rising so tragically.

I am sometimes deeply ashamed of being a Black South African sometimes when I see the violence that is taking place in Black townships and rural Black areas. I am deeply concerned about the future when I see the extent to which the hideous violence which

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takes place, does more than just kill people. Violence is producing a whole cult of intolerance in many of our Black townships. Violence is not only killing people, it is spreading fear and hatred at the same time. It is as though Satan himself is there next to all those pulling the triggers of AK47's; pulling the pins out of handgrenades before throwing them and striking matches to set people alight with necklaces. .

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The choice of violence as a means of settling disputes between people is always wrong. Killing for political purposes is an evil which must be eradicated from our society.

I would like to say boldly and publicly today, that on no single occasion have I ever sat down, either by myself or in the company of IFP leaders, to even contemplate the use of violence. I have never made any decision anywhere to use violence for political purposes. I know of no IFP meeting being held anywhere, at any time, that has planned the use of violence or made decisions to use violence. And yet members of the IFP are today just as involved in the hideous violence as members of other political organisations.

I today again, in front of this vast congregation, not only declare my faith in God and my commitment as a Christian, but I stand before you and re-dedicate myself and my party to work against violence and to bring peace to our country.

The IFP was a full working member of the peace initiative which took place in 1991. I was personally there at the State President's Conference on Violence and Intimidation, which was held in Pretoria in May, 1991. IFP Work Groups were full participants in the peace process which followed the State President's Conference on Violence and Intimidation. The IFP was fully committed to peace in all the Work Groups we set up which finally produced the National Peace Accord. I and the IFP signed the National Peace Accord. We serve on the structures of the National Peace Accord; we proclaim peace, we work for peace and we ourselves refuse to be drawn into making use of violence. And yet violence continues unabating.

Violence is hideous. It is wrong and it must stop.

I believe that God, in all His great mercy, is going to give us an opportunity as the Black people of South Africa, to put South Africa right. God has created the circumstances in which we can now do so through the politics of negotiation and by employing non-violent tactics and strategies. We are being given an opportunity to prepare South Africa to be a better place for our children, their children after them and for future generations.

Nowhere in all the history of this country has there ever been a time in which so much could be done to put right that which has been so very wrong. Nowhere in the history of the country has there ever been the opportunity that we now have, to banish racism

forever and to establish a fair and just society in a true and open democracy.

must rise to the occasion as Christians and be in the forefront of the great push that must now take place to bring about peace and stability so that as a people we can respond to the opportunities that God has created for us.

Never before down the long decades, and generations even, of the Black struggle for liberation has there ever been anything like the present opportunities of victory against racism, colonialism and oppression. When I think of the long line of martyrs, and heroes and heroines who have struggled for the whole of this century to make South Africa a good place for all its people, my heart bursts with joy to think of them now being witness to the opening up of the opportunities for peace and progress towards democracy that there now are.

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I am also however aware that violence is wrong because it is stopping us from preparing a place for the new generation. Over half of all Black South Africans in this country are 15 years of age and younger. These are our children. It is this generation's role to make sure that the next generation is better off than we were. Every day of the week now, and every week of the month, and every month of the year, people are leaving rural areas and drifting to towns and cities because they cannot survive the poverty in rural areas any longer.

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place where they might just be able to make and sell

something. They are going to the cities because they have no other option.

Yet ' it is in the cities, to which the poorest of the poor are going, that violence has erupted so brutally. How much time do we have before the violence that is erupting in cities begets more violence as is the wont of violence? Acts of violence beget revenge violence. Revenge violence begets blood-feud violence. All this i king together creates the circumstances in which criminal violence is added to everything else. Violence by its

takes place, does more than just kill people. Violence is producing a whole cult of intolerance in many of our Black townships. Violence is not only killing people, it is spreading fear and hatred at the same time. It is as though Satan himself is there next to all those pulling the triggers of AK47's; pulling the pins out of handgrenades before throwing them and striking matches to set people alight with necklaces.

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very nature spreads and contaminates as it spreads. If we do not stop it now, it will spread out of control.

My own political thinking was very strongly influenced by two of the greatest men that I have ever read about - the Reverend Dr Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi. As a young man I marvelled at their insights and their capacity to lead their people against racism and White domination. In his book 'Strength of Love' Martin Luther King said:

"An overflowing love which seeks nothing in return, agape, is the love of God operating in the human heart. At this level, we love men not because we like them, not because their ways appeal to us, nor even because they possess some type of divine spark; we love every man because God loves him. At this level, we love the person who does the evil deed, although we hate the deed that he does."

â\200\230Writing somewhere else he wrote:

"In a world facing the revolt of ragged and hungry masses of God's children; in a world torn between the tensions of East and West, white and coloured, individualists and collectivists; in a world whose cultural and spiritual power lags so far behind her technological capabilities that we live each day on the verge of nuclear co-annihilation; in this world, non-violence is no longer an option for intellectual analysis, it is an imperative for action."

He strove always to inject new meaning into the American way of life. He loved Black Americans into walking tall and harnessing spiritual forces for revolutionary social change. His constant call to employ love was made against the background thought that action outside the parameters of love, could only lead to shame. In his book 'What Manner of Man' Lerone Bennett recalled Dr. King saying in a sermon:

"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that spitefully use you. If we fail to do this our protest will end up as a meaningless drama on the stage of history, and its memory will be shrouded with the ugly garments of shame."

Millions of Black South Africans cry out for the kind of love that the Reverend Dr King so evidenced. The message of Dr. King to Black Americans is a message which is particularly applicable to our South African situation. The message of his life and his labours for the benefit of his people condemns the worst that there is in the South African struggle as we watch the upward spiralling of internecine Black-on-Black confrontation. His message condemns the worst that there is in the inhumanity so evidenced as violence is used against persons in the name of the struggle for liberation in this country.

To me the Reverend Dr Martin Luther King so beautifully echoes the message that our Lord gives to us in the Beatitudes in St Matthew 5:3-11. â\200\230

"Blessed are the poor in spirit

For theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are those who mourn

For they will be comforted.

Blessed are the meek

For they will inherit the earth.

Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness
For they will be filled.

Blessed are the merciful

For they will be shown mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart

For they will see God.

Blessed are the Peacemakers

For they will be called Sons of God.

Blessed are those who are persecuted because of Righteousness
For theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are you when people insult you; persecute you and
falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me.
Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in Heaven,
for in the same way they persecuted the Prophets who were
before you.

Your Grace, Bishop Lekganyane, I can assure you that for me coming here has been one of the great moving Christian experiences of my life. I will return greatly strengthened. I will take up my responsibilities when I get back home with a deeper awareness that Christians everywhere are praying for peace and will, in the end, triumph over evil and over violence. I thank you, Your Grace, for the wonderful opportunity you have given us to share this Christian fellowship.

My message to you Christians gathered here today is that the world is God's world. South Africa belongs to God. You are the children

of God. South Africa is your country. Christ will walk with you to make it a better country. Christ will work with you to make it a peaceful country. Rely on Christ. Know that Christ works

through the Zion Christian Church and through Christians.

Christ wants to work through you. What you as Christians want and can do is far more powerful than what political parties can do. Be

Christian. Stand up for Christ. Go out into the world when you leave this place, and take Christ with you. Believe these things and do these things and there will indeed be peace. Then there

will be justice. Then there will be freedom and finally there will be a South Africa in which God triumphed with His people.

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