

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

FIFTEENTH KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PRAYER BREAKFAST

Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
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Mr. Kunene, the Master of Ceremonies, Bishop of Zululand, Your Grace My Lord Bishops, other Christian lleaders and religious leaders of other faiths, His Worship the Deputy-Mayor, Councillor Breytenbach, His Excellency Ambassador Yang of Taiwan, the Hon. the American Consul-General Mr. Harris, Her Brittanic Majesty's Consul in Durban Mr. Davey, other Honourable Members of the Consular-Corps, Dr. Paton, Mr. Renaud, the Honourable the Deputy-Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Honourable colleagues in the KwaZulu Assembly, my brothers and sisters.

Although you have been formally welcomed to this Fifteenth Prayer Breakfast, llet me add my personal welcome to all of you this morning. There are many faces which I see that have been around these tables at this Prayer Breakfast for the last fifteen years. There are many faces which we have added over the years. There are other faces that are missing, of \_those 0of our brothers, particularly amongst our colleagues in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Prominent among the missing faces at this Head table is that of our father-in-God and our brother in the Lord, the Right Reverend Dr. Alphaeus Hamilton Zulu who was called to higher

services Jjust last week. I am sure that I speak for all of us in this room when I say that we miss him, and that we will miss him for many years to come. No one who has ever been in contact with

him can ever forget this servant of Christ. There are many lessons which he has left behind, which will be nagging challenges to all of us, for what remains of our own lives. I shall refer to these later in this address.

South Africa lis a multi-racial society and in saying this I am saying more than that South Africa's Black, lIndian, Coloured and White communities form one society. South African society is more than wa 'society. in which there is a:juxtaposition ofi' races -or.:a mingling of people of different race groups in this <country's

social and economic life. The true multi-racial nature of South Africa is evolving in a process in which effusions are taking place across racial boundaries. There is the normal process OF

acculturation lin which one cultural group borrows from another cultural group, and the cultural values of one cultural group, find expression in another cultural group.

The full richness of South Africa's multi-racial society will yet emerge, but we can already see it coming and already the complexity of South African society is developing a richness about it which will make major contributions to literature, the arts and the whole realm of man's philosophy about man.

However, the process of acculturation is a double-edged sword. It is not only the best that is gleaned and borrowed from one culture by another culture. In fact, it seems that man is very prone to borrow the worst first, and then to borrow the best second, to be left with an internal process of developing a new best as the old best is used, to combat the old worst.

When I look at the role of the Church in South African society, I always recognise how important this give and take between cultural groups is. Missionaries came to South Africa locked into the ideas and concepts of their day and age and for them Christianity was Western civilised Christianity. They confused cultural imperatives

with imperatives which the Gospel spells out for us. Frequently they set out to make holy war on Black cultural traits simply because they were alien to them. Together with this war against

Black cultural traits and customs, there was that particular brand of White Christian racism, which saw the Black man as a heathen and saw him as somewhat inferior as a human being. That is how the derogatory term of Kaffir was borrowed into the English language to emphasise that Blacks were infidels.

Our own beloved Bishop Alphaeus Hamilton Zulu who died less than two weeks ago was the first Black Anglican priest ever to be given full responsibility as a priest in charge of an Anglican Parish in this Diocese, with his friend Fr. Clement Garland Mdhlahla. He was the first Black priest ever to be elected as a Bishop. But only in relatively recent times that my own Church, the Anglican Church, has been able to grapple successfully with the question of racism when it comes to electing people to high office in the Church. It was not sufficient to be accepted in baptism and confirmation as a member of Christ's body. As much as Blacks were not yet mature enough to participate in ruling the country, they were not yet ripe to rule even in the church.

There are tragically, however, many realms in parish church life in which racism still rears its ugly head. This does not condemn the Anglican Church or any other Church within which one still comes across racism, whether it be blatant racism or hidden racism. The Church is a place where real war is being waged against racism. It is a place where gains in the fight against racism have sent out trend-setting influences into society at large. The Church is still struggling to find its true identity in this society of ours which is still in the process of becoming what it ought to be. We are a Church very much in transition.

We live in a time when South Africa's foundations are shaking. The values on which a sane society committed to Justice, peace and prosperity depend are all under siege in our strife-torn country. The shaking of our foundations comes from many quarters but Western civilisation is one of these sources. The inadequacies of Western civilisation were mixed with the advantages of Western civilisation for those who received their norms from it, as they shaped our society.

White politicians in our country have often in times past justified their policies as necessary for its survival. This was ironically a justification for separate development. It was ironically a justification for the kind of attitudes and behaviour on which Whites and the Church depended, unmindful of the hideous suffering that they caused to Blacks out there beyond their sight. The White man did not mix with the Black man. He did not go to visit him where he lived. He did not know the name of the wife of the Black man. He did not know his children. They lived out there somewhere in a Black area quite out of sight. It is sad that by and large this is still the case even for those of us who claim to be brothers and sisters in Christ. We still live in different worlds. This is not merely because of the Group Areas Act. I and my wife, stayed in the house of Dr. Alan Paton and Mrs. Dorrie Paton, and that of Arnold and Rosemary Zulman when it was illegal to do so. I am sure Arnold Zulman can still hear the gruff voice that said on

the other side of the telephone line in the early hours of the morning

"Are you Arnold Zulman? We know that you are a friend of Buthelezi - we whites do not like it."

The Patons and the Zulmans were breaking the law, and I and my wife knew that we were also accessories before and after the fact!

The hideous suffering that was caused by White racial supremacists was not challenged by the perceived effect it had on Black society. Because Whites did not see the consequences of what they were doing at first hand, they continued with what they were doing. They did not realise that no culture is the expression of the righteousness of God and what used to be called Western Christian civilisation is no exception. For example, in the hearts and minds and attitudes of Western powers racial separation nestled comfortably as an accepted norm even within the Western Church. I give this simply as a sign of the fallibility of man precisely when he believes himself to be the wisest and the best!

Evidence of that fallibility grows daily more obvious in what I may dare to describe as a civilisation in decay. I am by no means alone in thinking these thoughts, and we are by no means immune from the infection. Obvious signs are evident in:

1 The collapse of marriage and family life and the barnyard morality of our time, accompanied by unparalleled vulgarity unquestioned by parts of the media.

20 In the devaluation of the sanctity of human life demonstrated, validated and inculcated by the unprecedented slaughter of the innocents by the million, through such practices as abortion on demand. 1In the perceptions of many, this 1is seen as a greater crime against humanity than Hitler's gas chambers.

3. It is evident in the aimlessness of 1life which finds expression in drug addiction and in the dramatic increase of young suicides.

4. And perhaps in the financial instability which afflicts us, and so on.

What 1is perhaps most disturbing of all is that the Church, which once gave significance and moral direction in the West and elsewhere, and which made an essential contribution to civilised living by inculcating the value and sanctity of human life before God, 1is by and large now impotent to do so. Ironically this is so at the very time when the Church is madly seeking to be relevant to the world and to be identified with it.

When I look at White Western civilised forces as forces which were a mixed blessing at the best of times, and which in this age of decay have many very negative aspects, I am not making racist judgements. I am not one of those who regard the so-called savage as noble and innocent. When I speak about Western civilisation I talk about it in both South Africa's Black and White communities.

The urbanisation process and objective social and economic factors are ever-increasingly ruling Black lives and inculcating in Blacks deficiencies to which I am referring. There is a joint Black/White participation in these deficiencies. They are there, however, and in our apartheid society the deficiencies are magnified far more easily than the real strength and merits of Western Â«civilisation.

Apartheid 1is a hideous travesty of social and political Jjustice. It brings out the worst in everybody involved in its perpetuation and tragically, it also so often brings out the worst in those who are fighting to eradicate it. There is a joint participation in the hideous as violence spirals upwards. Violence and counter-violence is a Black/White phenomena and wherever one finds the politics of confrontation courting violence or one finds people espousing violence for political purposes, one finds a marked tendency to perceive the world as a world man must put right for man. Those involved in the perpetuation of apartheid or in violent opposition to it, have a kind of prescribing arrogance about them - a kind of insistence that they alone, can perceive the whole truth, and what they advocate alone, can save South Africa.

In the ordering of a world of which he is only a steward of God, man is unable by the use of his own intelligence to stem the tide of decay, even when he may urgently desire to do it. This is\* "so because he fails to perceive that the way in which he uses his faculties is part of the corruption.

I have come to understand that this is why the Father in Heaven gave us Jesus, not simply as an example but also to cleanse and

deliver us, and to make us sons of His Kingdom. But what is more we find He came also to inform our minds and hearts by His own Spirit . This is the only way we can live and serve His world in

tandem with Him.

The book of Proverbs encourages me with its Godly wisdom. In chapter 3 v 5-8 .it tells us "Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and do not rely on your own insight. In all: your ' ways

acknowledge Him, and He will make straight your paths. Be not wise in your own eyes; fear the Lord, and turn away from evil. It will be healing to your flesh and refreshment to your bones." This is the sort of wisdom of God which I know as a Christian I must seek to live by. And I ask for your prayers to do so. It is the kind of wisdom which the Lord gave to our beloved Bishop and brother in the Lord, Alphaeus Zulu. It was the wisdom from God which he received and shared with us, throughout his ministry on this planet, in Church and State.

It can only be received when we will trust in the Lord and not rely on our own insights. What a humiliation that is for our old ego! No man or nation and no Church can do right except it be given from above.

I have a hunch that what looks like signs of the collapse of the Western way of life in which we share, bears a direct relationship to the decline of the Church, not only in numbers but even more in authority. It has lost its authority because it no longer believes in its own message. When we most need to hear the Lord's authentic and Bible rooted Word, we have a Christianity that tumbles over itself to endorse the latest secular panaceas. When we most need to hear a Supernatural word of God beyond our own knowing, we have a Church at its most secular, as it identifies with particular power structures.

It is difficult to be a Christian layman seeking to lead his people with integrity when the Church's foundations which we have a right

to expect will stand unmoved, wobble and shake. I have been brought up to read and rely on the Scriptures. I know, for example, that "He only is my rock and my salvation, my fortress; I shall not be greatly moved." Psalm 62 v 2. This is -what . the

psalms have taught me. God is my rock and salvation.

Now we learn there is another way to salvation, espoused by the

Church:. It . comes by the Church's. direct intervention. 'as "â\200\234a political power. 1.:0lk â\200\230Hot ssleatn . this ifrem Christ, As a politician, moreover, I have always known that there lis no salvation through politics! Now if the Church's direct intervention in the political process is the Church's way of salvation we no longer have any need of the cross on Calvary. No

wonder there is a decline of faith. The Church itself no longer believes in the power of the Lamb of God to bring about His all embracing salvation. Why should anyone else believe in Jesus?

It is difficult\*to be a layman: in: the Church.Â» It seems to me these days that the lay people have also to shoulder responsibility for being the defenders of the faith in place of our heirarchies. We lay people still believe im the Virgin birth. We still believe in the bodily resurrection of Jesus from the dead. We still â\200\234ccannot condone the ordination of practicing homosexuals. Chfist is .our Rock. But in the West the Church has become very unrocklike! It looks llike an accommodating Church. Can our Church really be all things to all men?

We will still believe lin the faith and maintain the ancient tradition of the Church as held by such as Alphaeus 2Zulu, whose faith and wisdom were applied not only to Church affairs but to all those things which press upon us painfully in our land.

He : spoke â\200\230â\200\230frankly â\200\230and cleariv-of whatâ\200\234it is kikeito be part .of a nation deprived of its inheritance. He strove ceaselessly for the deliverance and upliftment of his people, wherever his gifts and energy could be used effectively. But he was also a patriot who cared for this whole land. He knew the limitations of political solutions but also the urgent need of them. But he knew also that people who are lin darkness cannot produce a society bathed in light.

He knew that salvation cannot be found in human ideologies or power but only in the righteousness of God, whose Name is Jesus.

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As a loyal son of the Church I am moved by love and, I believe the truth of God to say, that the Church which we love is part of the problem. I say this for two reasons.

18 The Church <contributes to the intensity of the strife we experience because it cannot distinguish between the absolute righteousness of God and the relative righteousness which is all that can find expression through political action. When we speak and act as though our political convictions bear the imprimatur of the Living God, we turn our opponents into devils to be destroyed. The young in particular are moved by this to an unhelpful fanaticism. This is producing daily

tragedies. Is it surprising that we have been witnesses to so much violence in South Africa in the past three years, and to its brutalities even more nearer home in Pietermaritzburg?

2% By identifying itself with a particular political movement the Church..â\202-an "â\200\230no- longer fulfill. & â\200\230reconciling.â\200\235 role ' -ia. the conflicts of our land. Because it identifies with the world's "solutions" it cannot mediate God's solution. This is nothing less than tragic. '

This annual Prayer Breakfast which I host is one of the most meaningful events of my whole year. Every year when I am here with you all, I have a deep sense of the capacity of human beings to share the deeper meanings of life with each other. I have a deep sense that we are sinners together entirely dependent on Christ's forgiving mercy. I speak with no feeling of self-righteousness. I have a deep sense of the power of God quite capable of reconciling the people of South Africa one to the other and of bridging the tragic chasms in our strife-torn country.

I would like to share with you today the deep sense of distress I feel during the rest of the year once I leave the fellowship of

this -occasion. I.: tread 2a yvery difficultroad . and as. aBlack leader I lead in awesomely difficult circumstances. Everything I do is dictated by my conscience. I seek to do what is right and I

seek to employ noble means to achieve noble ends. I seek to do the will of the people as a democrat. I find myself shackled with no latitude in which I can adopt my own individual stance or express my own point of view. I must always articulate the will of the masses as the masses convey their will to me. I am shackled to the masses and I am also shackled to the Church.

Theproad -1 Eread is not-onlkyidifficult but it:vis also . .ax very lonesome road lin which real fellowship arouses in me the feeling that a battered and worn traveller across a vast desert would feel if he came across an oasis. Somehow real fellowship becomes a rare thing in a Society as torn apart by strife as South Africa is. The divisions amongst professing Christians in this troubled land can now only be compared to the tragedy which we witness in Northern Ireland.

I share with you the fact that it is dominantly fellowship largely with laymen that sustains my Christian soul and regenerates my faith that God is alive and at work in our society. I find myself, committed as I am to do what I have to do in the pursuit of the objectives that the masses have set me, strangely distant from many of South Africa's prominent Church leaders. I terribly miss the fellowship of Church leaders which was always so important to me in the past. I try to be faithful to the masses I serve as well as to my Church. This was never so irreconcilable in the past, as I find. \*it- o be today:

As a Christian I have obviously searched my soul quite willing to confess my own sins and my own inadequacies which could alienate me from our country's Church leaders. I cannot, however, find fault with myself where in all conscience I perceive only legitimate commitment and not fault that I alone can put right that which is wrong. There is fault on both sides. On the s. side of Church leaders there is, I believe, a tragic lack of humility which failed unity in the Church about vital issues we face, should produce. We have a divided Church and this country's Church leaders do not speak with one voice. They lack a collective leadership which has authority and which directs the people of this country to do the will of God. In the dark days we are going through as soldiers of Christ, how can we hope to triumph as an army which is without its Generals?

Church leaders these days all too frequently leap into political confrontation taking one side against another. They work within the Church to identify it with in-vogue passing political bandwagons, and they pass absolute judgements on those who dare to think differently to themselves. What grieves me even more is that these Church leaders who involve themselves in Party political strife, have moved ever further away from local church congregations in their journeys to outer space, new-fangled politics. They have left the people of South Africa behind them. They disdain the masses and they posture as saviours who alone have complete wisdom.

I yearn for the humility of our Lord in our leadership. Our Lord had no disdain for the ordinary people which some would falsely describe as the common people, the vulgus. He was so often chided by the self-righteous for appearing to be consorting with the lowest of the low. I often think in the dead of night, awake and agonising about what to me is my alienation from the Church's leadership. That I could well be the one who is wrong. But must I be forsaken on that account? Assuming that I am in fact the one who is wrong - did He not say that that it was not those who were well who needed physicians but they that are sick?

In "Mat.#9 i2sverses 10780 8  
L0ms e And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the  
house, behold many publicans and sinners came and  
sat down with him and his disciples.

R1 And when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto his  
disciples, why eateth your Master with publicans and  
sinners?

E27 i But when Jesus heard that, he said unto them, they  
that be whole need not a physician, but they that  
are sick.

3 e But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have  
mercy and not sacrifice : for I am not come to call  
the righteous, but sinners to repentance.



I plead for the Church to play its proper role in society. It is perhaps not without significance that I am not alone in this. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has pleaded for the Church of England to do what the State can never do, namely to communicate the righteousness of God to the people. We ask for no less, and we demand no more from the Church's leadership.

We may well plead with the Church that she should stop trying to do what the Father did not give Jesus to do, namely to set up a messianic government in Israel. I ask this because the Church's role is more far reaching than that. Without the vision and forgiveness of God, and the grace to forgive one another, both the people and governments perish.

Look up and live! "In all these things we are more than conquerors through Him who loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life .. nor things present nor things to come ... will be able to separate us from the love of God in Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom 8 v 37-39.