

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

A FEW REMARKS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU,
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE

ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING ARRANGED BY THE REV. L.D. BUTHELEZI
OF KWAZULU CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN ULUNDI ON 27 JANUARY 1988 WITH:

Mr. Brian Shaw - Teacher and Evangelist from Australia
Pastor Morgan Jonathan - Pastor of Harvest Time, Durban
Mrs. Peta Hulets - Evangelistic Financial Missionary

Miss Isabel Lakay

From the very inception of taking up my leadership role in politics
I have been concerned about the Church/State relationship in South

Africa. For over a century after White missionaries first came to
South Africa, a central emphasis in the work of the Church was an
unconscious equation between Christianity and civilisation as it
was known in the West. Missionaries in the Church moulded and

shaped Black South Africans into behaving as Westerners while they
were preaching the Word and doing magnificent evangelical work. In
this century the Church emerged as part of the White establishment
and in a natural extension of this sub-conscious role of the Church
which was directed at cultural rather than spiritual matters, the
Church began to support the State in the systematisation of a
racist South Africa.

This inevitably led to a Black reaction and by the middle of this
century determined efforts were being made to free Church life from
the colonial shackles which had hampered its work for many
generations. I entered political life at a stage in which a great
many prominent Black leaders were devout Christians. They
participated in a struggle for liberation which was noble and which
served the kind of values which the Church had always preached -
love, tolerance and the settling of differences in discussion and
negotiation.

The harshness of apartheid, however, grew ever-increasingly
intolerant of what really amounted to decent and legitimate
democratic opposition by Black South Africans striving for their
God-given rights of being equal before the law and the
constitution. Draconian law after Draconian law was put on the
Statute Books and ever-increasingly, decent action aimed at decent
ends was crushed by brutal State force. This growth of dictatorial
State power was always opposed by leading White Christians and
South African Church history is salvaged from ignominy by the
actions of these brave sons and daughters of South Africa. The
element of Christian protest and witness to the truth was always
there as a golden thread in the Church's development.

During the last century there was the brave campaigning against
slavery and for the rest of the century there was always one or
more witnesses to truth testifying for Christian wisdom which

sought justice in government. In this part of South Africa we had our own Bishop Colenso whom we remember even today with great warmth. His shining example bore fruit and ever since his life here in the 1850's to 1880's, the tradition of Christian commitment to decency in politics has continued to resist succumbing to the overtures of the State. The State has always maintained that religion should not be dragged into politics and that the Church should confine itself to its own activities.

The examples of Bishop Colenso, Dr. Joost de Blank, Canon French-Betygh, Canon Collins, Bishop Winter and others kept the relevance of the Church alive. This is a precious heritage which I have always deeply valued. In my own political leadership I have always attempted to bring Christian dynamism into whatever I was doing. I lead a people who are basically a Christian people in this continent of Africa and who yearn for the same things that all Christians everywhere yearn for - Peace, stability, progress and a humanism in society which makes governments work for the benefit of the people through non-racial, democratic institutions.

I have latterly grown ever more apprehensive about the survival of Christian decency in this country. We have a whole new generation of Black South Africans who were inducted into a violent society in which Blacks have declared an armed struggle and White youth are

militarised from their teens. The Black youth of today know mob violence as an arbiter in disputes. They know the politics of intimidation as a mechanism of gaining what they want. The

violence that has been inherent in this society for so long now is having a terrible effect on the psyche of Black youth.

It is this generation of Black youth with this experience of life which is being inducted into politics to be the cannon fodder of those who are committed to bring about radical change through violent means. I am alarmed at the extent to which high profile Church leaders, who are the kind of men and women who could play such a vital role in the development of a decent South Africa, lend themselves to the deepening of the atmosphere of confrontation leading to violence. It is as though these Church leaders are trying to atone for a century of Church history in which the Church was kept alive only by a minority of dedicated Christians. They act as though they have some inner compulsion to go way out front and to identify with Blacks in the struggle regardless of what their particular identification is costing the development of a Christian society.

Archbishops, Bishops and clergymen, are identifying with the African National Congress which is totally committed to bringing about change through revolution in an armed struggle, and which allies the armed struggle to desperate attempts to generalise the kind of violence which has now become endemic in many Black quarters. They want the destruction of South Africa and the destruction of even the best that there has been. They want to

divert the whole of history and develop South Africa into a one-Party, Marxist State. Like revolutionaries throughout the world, they thrive on the politics of intimidation and attempt to brutalise today's young generation into becoming brutal actors in a society where violence is established as the only mechanism of control.

These Church leaders are applauded across the length and breadth of the world. In every Western country there are Christian pressure groups and organisations aiming to support the development of violence as a means of bringing about change. There has in recent years been a growing perception in these circles that the African National Congress must be assisted to win in some incomprehensible belief that the Marxist, one-Party State they intend establishing will further the aims of justice and the Church itself.

However high profile and however influential these Christian leaders in South Africa are, who identify with radical revolutionaries aiming to bring about change through the shedding of blood, the vast majority of Black South Africans remain committed to non-violent, democratic politics as they continue to work for their full inclusion as equals in South African society.

The extent to which Black-on-Black violence has evolved in latter years, is an indication of the extent to which this vast silent majority of Black South Africans committed to decency in politics, have to be intimidated and brutalised into conformity to the will of revolutionaries. '

As a political leader I have again and again been appalled by the extent to which international Christian donor agencies use the ANC as their reference group in deciding how to dispense their largesse in South Africa. Time and again Church groups in this part of South Africa, and Inkatha itself, have applied to Christian donor agencies for development funds for desperately needed humanitarian work amongst the poorest of the poor. Time and again we have returned empty handed because many of the major donor agencies in Western Europe are dictated to by the African National Congress and by those who work with them in South Africa. They advise donor agencies not to give the people of KwaZulu desperately needed development funds. Time and again they advise donor agencies only to give money to the SACC, the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference, the UDF and COSATU for projects which the ANC endorses in the background.

I believe that Christ is Supreme; that there is hope in this country and that Christian decency can in the end win the day. I also believe that God is at work moving this country towards a Divinely appointed end. I believe in the power of the Gospel. I believe in Christian hope and I believe that to take up weapons to kill my fellow South Africans would be a hideous negation of everything I understand the Gospel to mean.

I have no doubt whatsoever that apartheid is doomed and that there is now a historical poignancy of time in which the politics of reconciliation could get off the ground. It is the intensity of the truth of this statement about the readiness of time for significant change, that is driving revolutionaries to ever greater excesses in their attempts to destroy the basis of a negotiated settlement in this country.

Revolutionaries preach despair, warn of blood baths and campaign across the length and breadth of the world for the acceptance of the notion that non-violent opposition to apartheid has always failed and will continue to fail. They work through a very vast multi-million dollar propaganda programme to persuade the world that only armed insurrection offers a viable course of action. I do not believe they are right. Decency can yet win and the Christian ethic can yet remain an integral part of the process of changing this country.

I have to face the reality that revolutionaries succeed with greater ease when people are so desperate that they have nothing to lose. Spreading poverty throughout Africa has proven to be the fatal enemy of democracy. Spreading poverty in South Africa will do here what it has done elsewhere in Africa. A reality here is that the ANC desperately attempts to block development funds from being distributed in KwaZulu, completely careless of the fact that the poorest of the poor here will get yet poorer. They do not want Inkatha to be instrumental in uplifting the people. They do not want Inkatha's deep commitment to humanitarian aims to be translated into successful action. They do not want the people to be helped to help themselves. Thus far they have been lamentably successful in their endeavours to block desperately needed aid to come into KwaZulu.

I plead with you here today to hear me when I say that my own concerns are historically valid. I see myself as simply a pawn in the hands of God playing whatever role I can play in the outworking of history. As a Christian the burden of my responsibility is my political leadership in which I strive for the kind of just society in which the Church can play a meaningful and definitive role. I appeal for development funds for KwaZulu for the sake of the people. I personally have arrived politically. I have established Inkatha as the largest Black movement which the history of this country has ever known. I did so without foreign aid. I do not need foreign aid for narrow Party political purposes. I appeal for aid that is humanitarian aid concerned with suffering mankind in this part of the world.