

CLARION CALL

Volume 3, 1986



The Church and Violence
WHO STANDS WHERE?

It's time for churches to stand up and be counted

WHO IS BACKING PEACEFUL CHANGE – AND WHO IS BACKING THE ANC ?

The debate over support for violence to bring about fundamental change in South Africa has long been obscured by complex and (sometimes deliberately) confusing dialogue.

The time has come when the simple question must be asked: precisely where do the Anglican and Catholic churches, in particular, stand on this issue? And, furthermore, if violence is abhorred in principle, what of church support, overt and covert, for organisations openly committed to the so-called "armed struggle"?

Christian South Africans and the West are receiving conflicting signals.

The Anglican and Catholic churches in SA have not yet expressed themselves on the question of violence — thereby giving some clergymen the latitude to speak their own minds on the subject. The same applies to the issue of sanctions and disinvestment.

Some church newsletters now talk of "using only enough force to repel the aggressor (and) to take up arms . . . can only be used when all peaceful negotiations have failed . . ." (The Southern Cross Catholic newspaper, August 10, 1986.)

Do some church leaders already believe that all peaceful negotiations have failed in South Africa? Clarion Call is aware, for instance, of interviews given by the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, in which he has expressed his opinion that violence is inevitable.

Archbishop Hurley also openly identifies himself with an organisation, the United

Democratic Front, which tolerates pro-violence elements among its supporters. The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, The Most Rev Desmond Tutu, (a Nobel Peace Prize laureate) has in numerous published interviews stated quite clearly that he believes that "non-violence calls have not worked . . ."

Archbishop Tutu has openly (and divisively) called for support for the External Mission of the African National Congress (ANC) which is committed to the violent overthrow of the SA Government and receives arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc for this purpose.

In doing so Archbishop Tutu has given his personal blessing for this organisation whose officially stated aim is to kill people for political gain. In an interview in Johannesburg on August 22 (Sapa reports), he made it clear that ". . . when I speak, I speak as Desmond Tutu."

He has also talked of a "just war" and, in an interview reported by Reuters from a religious festival he attended in Powys, Wales, Archbishop Tutu was quoted as saying that should he one day give support for violence ". . . it would be a merely traditional position of the church that it is justifiable for Christians to overthrow an unjust dispensation . . ."

Apartheid is evil and the policies of the SA Government are unjust. But is it too late for decency and democracy to prevail? Is bloodshed really all that is left? There is overwhelming evidence that the majority of black South Africans and a significant number of whites want to work towards

sharing power in this country. They want reconciliation and are prepared to work towards peaceful change.

Officials past and present of the South African Council of Churches make no secret of their support for the pro-violence External Mission of the ANC and in various consultations with church bodies abroad openly ask for financial and other support for the ANC. This is documented further on in this issue.

South African church bodies (like the SACC) and individual clergymen call for disinvestment and sanctions. When children die because sanctions and disinvestment have robbed parents of jobs and the ability to feed their families, is this not a form of violence?

Church leaders including Archbishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak claim within South Africa and abroad that blacks "are prepared to suffer . . ." What mandate do Archbishop Tutu and Rev Boesak have from the broad mass of black South Africans to say this?

In August a 20-year-old mother of three was given a suspended sentence by a Rand Supreme Court judge for infanticide after being found guilty of throwing her daughter into an overflow pipe shortly after she was born.

She told the court that both she and her husband were unemployed and ". . . I saw the only course open to me was causing the death of my baby. I placed her 10 minutes old and still living in the manhole . . ." (The Star, August 5, 1986).

This is the stark reality of the kind of "suffering" Archbishop Tutu supports.

There is no record that we can find of a single church diocese supporting sanctions and disinvestment. Has Archbishop Tutu ever polled the general membership of the Anglican church to ask their opinion and wisdom on disinvestment and sanctions? The organisation both he and the Rev Allan Boesak support, the UDF, has also not polled its rank and file supporters — it is not membership based — on these issues.

The answer is that they do NOT speak for the majority of black South Africa.

The utterly amazing thing is that nowhere abroad is this fact ever mentioned.

Archbishop Tutu and the Rev Boesak are saying, in effect, that black South Africans have told them that they are prepared to watch their children die from starvation.

Are they and their children also prepared to starve along with the black masses? Are

these highly visible proponents of sanctions here and those abroad willing to accept responsibility for the hundreds of thousands of children who will be irreparably stunted and brain damaged through malnutrition?

An independent and non-aligned welfare organisation, Operation Hunger, believes that an "Ethiopia-type catastrophe" faces South Africa. (Sowetan, August 20, 1986) More than 50 percent of all black South Africans are under 15 years of age. They are not wage earners. Blacks are cash dependent to feed, clothe, house and educate themselves. Already, more than 1,5 million blacks in SA are totally reliant on welfare and feeding schemes.

Disinvestment and sanctions will mean the loss of thousands upon thousands of jobs. Not one black worker employed by a

foreign firm is known to have voted with his feet in support of sanctions and left his job. Church leaders know this. Political

leaders know this. So do others who have assumed the mantle of political leadership. There are few black South African leaders who are constituency-based politicians.

There is only one mass political organisation, Inkatha, which is membership-based and holds regular general elections for the appointment of its officials.

Inkatha, with 1,3 million members, is vehemently opposed to apartheid and the racist policies of the SA Government. It does, however, believe in non-violence, negotiation and peaceful change. It has steadfastly refused to endorse the anti-apartheid tactic of disinvestment and sanctions while, of course, continuing to work towards its goal of a united, democratic, non-racial, future for South Africa. Here you have 1,3 million members of a black organisation who have clearly articulated their views.

This issue of Clarion Call reports on what church leaders, church organisations and others are actually saying about violence, sanctions and disinvestment.

Information has been taken from official church documents as well as from church newspapers and newsletters, SA and international newspaper reports and other reliable sources.

We believe that time has come for honesty in this debate. There has been enough obfuscation.

The Editor

Disension in the ranks?

THE ANGLICAN

In July this year the Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, claimed that the views expressed by Bishop (now Archbishop) Desmond Tutu on sanctions, disinvestment and violence were in his "personal" capacity and did not represent those of the Anglican Church as a whole. The Anglican Church, Bishop Nuttall stressed, had not called for economic sanctions against South Africa and "... we grieve over every type of violence in our society ..." Bishop Tutu had "called for sanctions in his personal capacity ..." and had "reasons" for this which ought to be respected and not condemned. (Business Day, July 29, 1986 and The Citizen, July 30 — Sapa reports.)

He was commenting on an address made by the King of the Zulus, Goodwill Zwelithini, in which the King (an Anglican) was highly critical of various church endorsements for sanctions and warned of "preachers of the Gospel" increasingly being seen urging people to support the politics of desperation and the politics of violence "under the cloak of religion ..."

It should be noted that the King made no mention whatsoever of Bishop Tutu in his address and it was Bishop Nuttall who brought his name into the issue in his critical reply to the King's speech. There are more than two million Anglicans in South Africa of all races and Bishop Nuttall was obviously referring to stances of the Anglican Church in SA.

Again in July, Anglican leaders in the United Kingdom voted overwhelmingly for economic sanctions against South Africa. (The Natal Mercury, July 8,

1986, The Citizen, July 8, 1986 — Sapa and Associated Press reports).

In York, Church of England leaders voted 394-21 with 12 abstentions after a three-hour debate at the regular summer session of the general synod — the policy-making body of bishops, clergy and laity. At the synod meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, the spiritual head of the church and leader of the world's 70 million Anglicans, said he had received a personal telex from Bishop Tutu — then Bishop of Johannesburg.

The Anglican Primate said Bishop Tutu had cabled: "Please, please help us. Thank you for your concern and caring about our situation. We know that justice and goodwill will prevail and that there is nothing they can do against the church of God. Not even hell can prevail against it."

The approved resolution from the church's board for social responsibility said that to help bring about a non-racial democratic South Africa the British Government should "deploy effective economic sanctions." It said banks and business corporations should do everything they could, including withdrawing from the South African economy, to increase the pressure.

The resolution was strongly endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

There were a few speakers against sanctions, led by a Conservative MP, Sir William van Straubenzee, a Church Estates Commissioner, who likened the synod debate to any he could have heard at the Trade Unions Congress.

There were cries of "shame on

you" when an amendment condemning acts of violence by the SA Government and the African National Congress (ANC) was narrowly rejected on a show of hands.

The ANC received what appeared to be approval from delegates for resorting to violence after "trying for a long time for a peaceful approach ..."

Meanwhile, and also in July, the US Catholic Conference wrote to the US Senate endorsing legislation mandating sanctions against South Africa.

The stand taken by the hierarchy of the Anglican church, Bishop Nuttall's defensiveness, backing for Archbishop Tutu's "personal" views, and criticism of the comments made by King of the Zulus, (see full report further on) has opened considerable debate in both the Anglican and Catholic churches in SA. Regrettably, no general ballot of rank-and-file opinion within these churches has been undertaken.

Typical letters to the Press from professed Anglicans are often highly critical of Archbishop Tutu. Newspaper reports have quoted Anglicans as saying they will withhold contributions and others have said they have stopped going to church.

Mr Gordon Steward, an Anglican, wrote a letter to the Press (Citizen, August 20, 1986) saying he had increased his monthly stop-order (to the church) in order to "compensate for those who have mistakenly withdrawn their own offerings."

He said he believed that "God in his wisdom will judge Bishop Tutu as indeed He will judge us ..."

He added: "However

CHURCH

desirable it is to have a Bishop who is universally liked and respected, we do not worship Bishops or any other priest. This rule also applies to the Roman Catholic's whose church has survived some quite appalling Popes throughout her long history.

"To withhold contributions to diocesan funds or to withdraw from Sunday worship is, in fact, elevating Bishop Tutu to a Godly level. Even if one considered him to be the greatest prelate that ever lived this would be an act of idolatory.

"My personal opinion of Bishop Tutu as a politician is much the same as my opinion of around 98 percent of South African politicians . . . disastrous."

Countless other letters to the Press indicate a deep anxiety among Christian South Africans over the political profiles of Archbishop Tutu and other church leaders.

A letter in the black newspaper City Press (June 22, 1986) from E M Allison of Johannesburg said: "Like J M Dobsons of Bluff (City Press, May 25) I am an Anglican parishioner. But unlike him/her I do not condone Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for economic sanctions against SA.

"Can true Christians like Tutu really believe that Christ — who loves all people — think we can condone sanctions which would result in the loss of jobs for many?

"Christ would never say 'sorry there'll be no food for you because the Roman authorities aren't doing what they should.'"

"Tutu must not forget his own words: 'Let us not be ashamed of our actions after we have achieved liberation . . .'"



The Archbishop of Canterbury — endorsed sanctions vote.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Do his views represent those of the majority of Anglicans?

There are volumes of newspaper files on Archbishop Desmond Tutu — he is probably one of the most quoted men in the world at the present time.

For a while it was unclear as to whether he supported disinvestment and sanctions now or in the near future. While abroad he was often reported as calling for immediate action. At home in South Africa he appeared to be more cautious with remarks such as "... if things don't change, I will call for sanctions in two years ...". He did, in fact, tell this to the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, in The Hague, just over a year ago. Archbishop Tutu has now stated that he fully supports punitive economic sanctions with immediate effect. In a recent interview he admitted that he did not speak for the Anglican Church. "When I speak, I speak as Desmond Tutu," he told a Press conference in Johannesburg. What, then, is his stand on violence?

In January this year, speaking to editors and reporters of the Washington Post, he predicted militant black attacks in SA on "soft targets" such as school buses and also conjured up the image of black servants poisoning their employers. (The Star, January 10, 1986.) He suggested his own patience was "wearing thin" in the search for non-violent ways to overthrow apartheid. It appears as if Archbishop Tutu is of the opinion that violence is inevitable. Does this

mean that the Nobel Peace Prize laureate has given up working for peaceful change? Is it perhaps naïve to believe that he is unaware that a great many people believe his pronouncements "give the go-ahead" to violence. Chief M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha said recently that "... given the circumstances which actually prevail in South Africa, Bishop Tutu's pronouncements on violence lend respectability to revolutionary violence." It is not only in his pronouncements that Archbishop Tutu separates himself from positions which the Anglican Church in SA has, in fact, adopted.

In his address during his enthronement ceremony when he became the Bishop of Johannesburg he said: "We will not have peace until we have justice and how can we have that without the participation of the premier black liberation group, the ANC ...". In action he again and again identifies with the pro-violence External Mission of the ANC and in South Africa he has taken a party political position by accepting nomination as a patron of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front.

Is Archbishop Tutu not now qualifying what he says about violence in exactly the same way he qualified what he first said about sanctions? At North Carolina Central University in May this year he said: "Peaceful protest has become virtually impossible in our land. We don't want to use

violence but what can we do? There can come a time when it will be justified to use force to overthrow an unjust organisation ...". (Sowetan, May 12, 1986.)

This theme has become a constant one. There are numerous examples.

In Vienna, Austria he said time was running out before blacks took up arms.

"I am opposed to all forms of violence ... but there may come a time when it is justified to overthrow a system violently." (Business Day, May 13, 1986.)

In Kingston, Jamaica, in August this year he said he believed that efforts by opponents of apartheid who advocate non-violence had not worked. (Sapa-Reuter reports, August 19, 1986.)

Does this mean that the time will soon come when Archbishop Tutu will openly support violence too?

It appears he believes the Anglican church will, eventually, support violence. He told an anti-apartheid rally of about 10 000 people in Toronto, Canada, in June that "... the church would justify violence as a last resort to overthrow the South African Government ...". (Sowetan, June 2, 1986.)

His warm relationships both in South Africa and abroad with supporters of the ANC (and its officials) are well known. Meetings with the President of the External Mission of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, are public knowledge. Archbishop Tutu has openly

called for support for the External Mission of the ANC which receives arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc for the express purpose of killing people for political gain. The ANC is now engaged in planting bombs in suburban shopping malls, outside popular bars frequented by young people, in dustbins at bus stops, on farm roads and elsewhere.

The ANC has refused to condemn the barbaric practice used by its supporters in SA of placing a "necklace" of petrol-filled car tyres around the necks of its opponents and burning them to death. Others are kicked and stoned in gruesome orgies of violence (even at funerals) and filmed by international television crews.

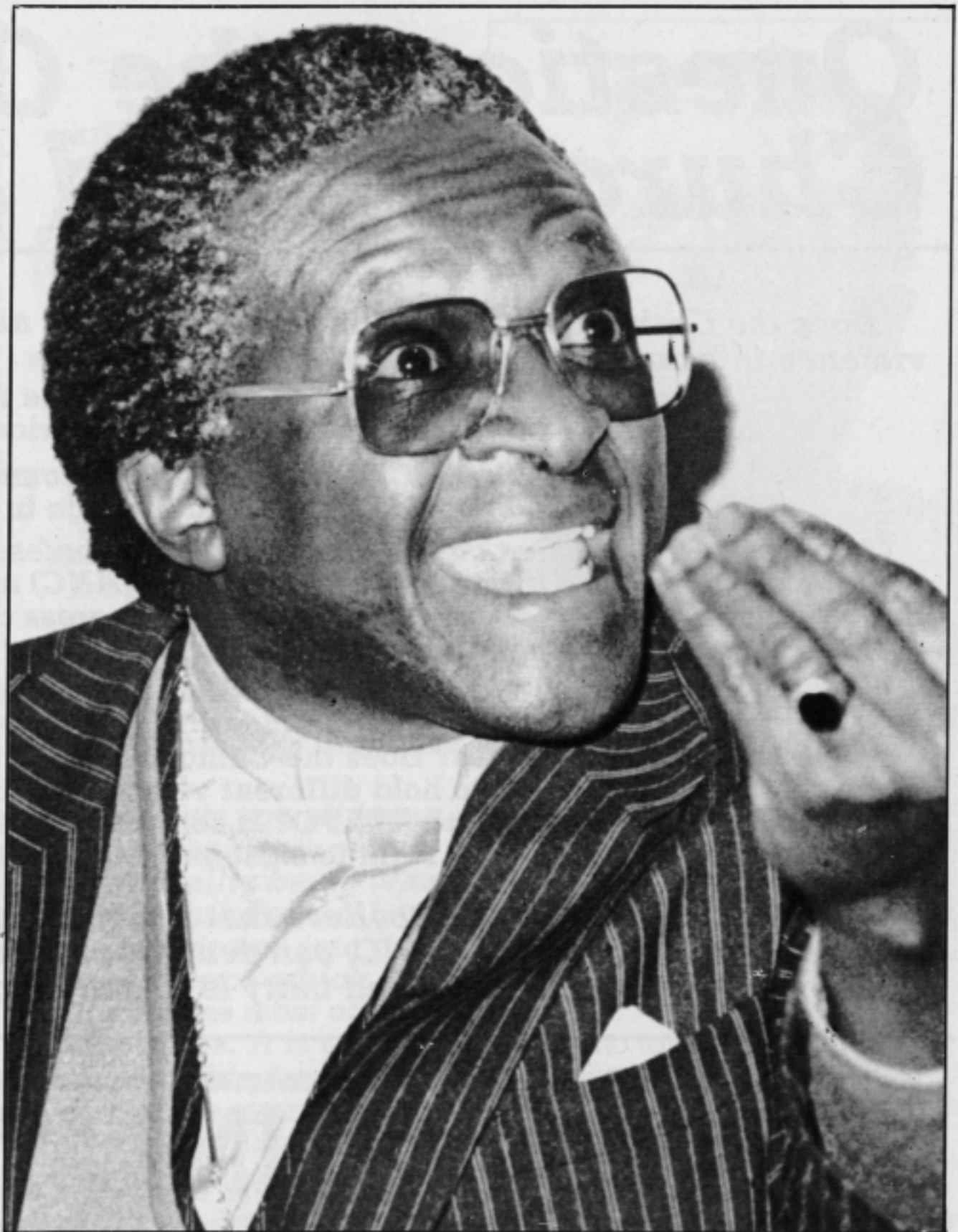
Last year, at California State University, ANC exiles Alois Moloi and Tim Ngubane had this to tell their audience: "Among us we have people who have openly collaborated with the enemy . . . they have to be eliminated. We want to make the death of a collaborator so grotesque that people will never think of collaborating . . ."

There is evidence that elements within the External Mission of the ANC want to assassinate the President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This, then, is the organisation which Archbishop Tutu sees as the liberators of South Africa. It is the organisation to which he has given his apparently unqualified support and he has asked the West to do the same. Archbishop Tutu has, concurrent with his support for the External Mission of the ANC, shown his opposition of the mass 1,3 million-member anti-violence movement, Inkatha, and he has openly sided with political opponents of Inkatha. His mediating role has been a dubious one.

Archbishop Tutu defends the involvement of the church in politics saying such a role is not incompatible with the Bible.

"After reading the Bible, how can people say religion and



politics can't mix?" he told the World Methodist Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in July. (Sapa report, *The Citizen*, July 29, 1986.)

Influential international political journalist and Newsweek correspondent, Peter Youngusband, writing in the *London Daily Mail* (April 17, 1986) had this to say about Archbishop Tutu — then Bishop of Johannesburg: ". . . Parishioners in the Anglican diocese of Johannesburg, who see a lot of their Bishop on television and in the newspapers, have complained that they don't see enough of him in church . . ."

"Parishioners are resigning in disgust by the score — or just drifting away to other churches, or even into godlessness due to disillusionment

over their Bishop.

"It is not just that he makes political speeches. In his many public statements, Bishop Tutu almost seems to advocate violence as a resolution for South Africa's problems.

"He is an expert in the art of semantics . . .

"Such has been the fall-off in Church membership and subscriptions in his parish — among conservative blacks as well as whites — that the diocese of Johannesburg has slid more than R200 000 into the red . . . to his credit . . . he has raised money in the US . . .

"What is certain at present is that as Bishop Tutu amasses peace prizes and medallions and burnishes his undoubtedly political image, God's work, it is claimed by many, is being left unattended."

Questions the Catholic Church should answer

Does the Catholic Church believe that there are alternatives to violence in bringing about radical change?

Has the Catholic Church come to conclude that non-violent tactics and strategies have been by-passed by historical realities?

Does the Catholic Church view blacks committed to violence and the armed struggle — to bring about change in SA — as waging a just war?

Is the Kairos document correct in calling for a confessional church which sides with the African National Congress (ANC) and elements in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) as well as other black groups which deny that reform is possible?

Does the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) afford the national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, the right to exist and to pursue its aims and objectives? Does the Catholic Church grant Chief M G Buthelezi the democratic right to hold different views from the External Mission of the ANC, UDF, COSATU and AZAPO? If so, will bodies such as the SACBC do anything to defend that right to exist and express itself?

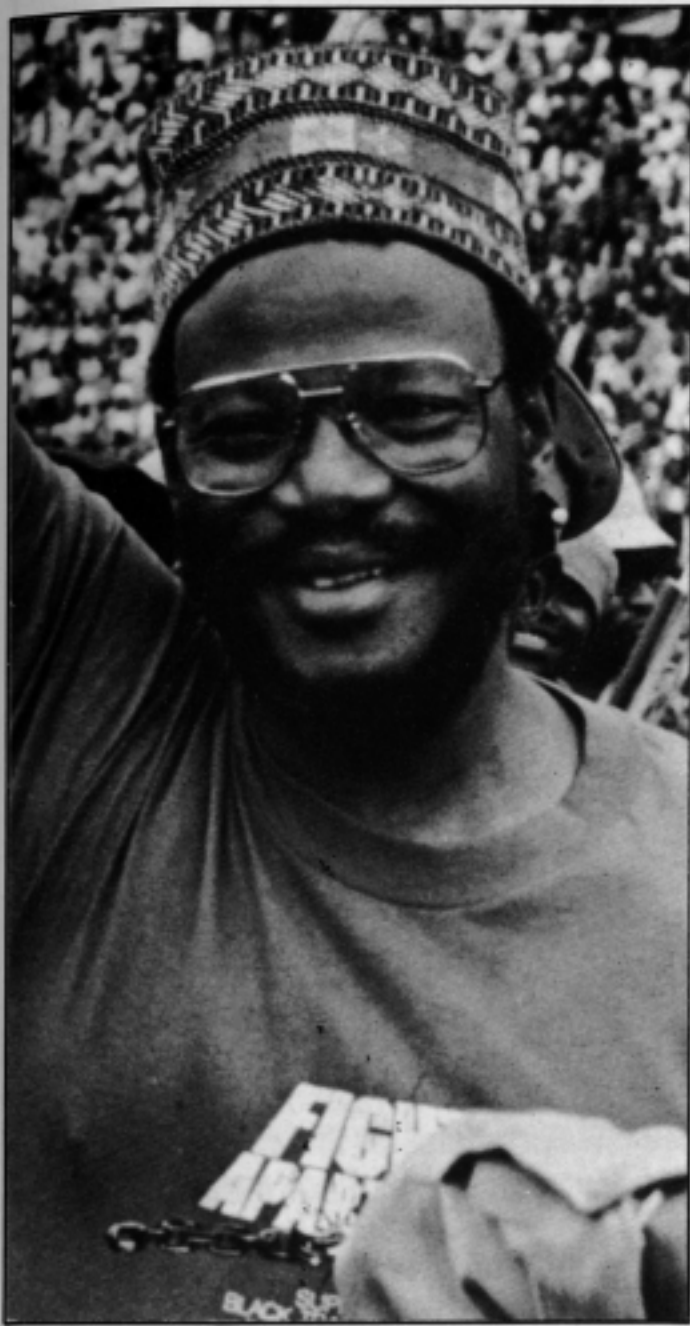
Does the Catholic Church believe that revolutionary organisations, like the External Mission of the ANC, can demand subservience and obedience and that this dictacted unity is morally legitimate?

BISHOPS AND INKATHA MEET

These and other questions were raised at a recent meeting in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, between the leaders of Inkatha and a delegation from the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC). They have yet to be answered. The Catholic delegation, led SACBC chairman, the Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, were seeking information about Inkatha. Chief M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, told the group he hoped the meeting would make its own contribution towards "understanding and reconciliation" — not only between Inkatha and the SACBC but between black

groups. Both groups, he said, disagreed with each other about issues "central to the reasons why people are killing each other in South Africa . . ." From Inkatha's side, it was necessary to pose a number of questions. "We do not pose them as political rhetoric or superciliously or facetiously — they are simply questions which we believe need to be answered." Inkatha was aware, Chief Buthelezi said, that churches in South Africa were still groping towards an understanding of what was taking place. Inter-church and infra-church consensus had not yet been reached. "We would, however, like to

know where the weight of opinion lies in the South African Bishops' Conference." There were some Catholic activist priests, like Father Mkhathshwa, the Secretary of the Bishops' Conference, who clearly had taken sides against Inkatha. There were in fact, clerics who went so far in their opposition of Inkatha to deny its right to exist. Chief Buthelezi told Archbishop Hurley: "Your Grace, you of all people must be aware of the great complexity of human emotion and the deep tragedy that follows upon the political conflict between black group and black group in this country. "We pose questions (above) . . .



Chief M G Buthelezi

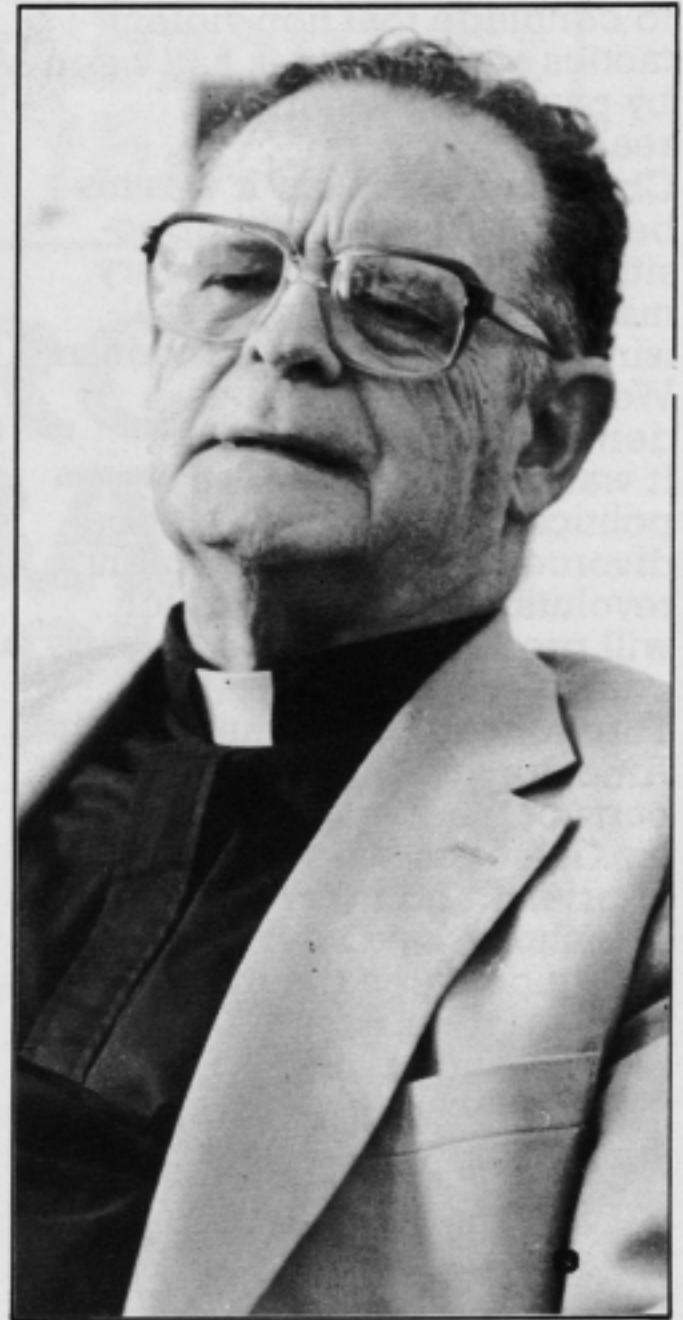
because we need to know whether this delegation from the SACBC affords us the right to exist and to pursue our aims and objectives. If we do have that right, then we asked whether bodies such as the SACBC have done anything to defend our right to exist." Inkatha did not claim "political sainthood" and Inkatha did not regard itself as "the sole saviours" of South Africa. "We see the need for the co-existence of a multiplicity of black organisations. We see the need for that unity which can be woven around the pursuit of coinciding objectives wherever they exist. "We in Inkatha reject any dictated unity based on total subservience to aims and objectives of revolutionary organisations." Chief Buthelezi added that the External Mission of the ANC claimed to be the "sole representative of black South Africa" at the United Nations and at the OAU. It claimed to be the vanguard movement in South Africa and

"We will not have a democratic parliamentary system if we do not have democratic political groups vying for the right to control Parliament . . ."
Chief M G Buthelezi.

"Given the limitations of our day and age and national environment, Inkatha could not be more democratic than it is . . . is there a black group in South Africa which is more democratic than Inkatha?"

"As priests you all know that human nature and human frailty being what it is, Inkatha's members will be drawn into the violence which dominates most of our townships. It is totally impossible for me to discipline every single member of Inkatha into pacifist behaviour in a climate in which violence has been so vigorously stimulated . . ."

"What black political organisation in South Africa is to be exempt from the criticisms levelled against Inkatha? UDF kills AZAPO, AZAPO kills UDF. The UDF kills Inkatha . . . The ANC officially and actively pursues civil war in this country . . . these are the realities within which Inkatha pursues its commitment to democracy and to non-violent tactics and strategies . . ."



Archbishop Denis Hurley

it had no tolerance to opposition amongst its rank and file members and it did not tolerate opposition to its aims and objectives among ordinary South Africans. "They themselves have created a situation in which you are either for them or against them," he said. "They seek the kind of unity which we cannot subscribe to. "It would seem to us that the Catholic Church must either hold that a just war is being waged and in Bishop Tutu's words there can be a time when evil means must be used to fight evil — and that the dictated unity of the kind the ANC Mission in Exile is insisting on is morally legitimate — or that the Catholic Church must hold the view that we are not fighting a just war because there are alternatives to violence in bringing about radical change." The question therefore had to be asked as the whether or not the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference had come

to conclude that non-violent tactics and strategies had been by-passed by historical realities.

Chief Buthelezi said it was his belief that democratic opposition to apartheid has a very major role to play in normalising South Africa as a modern Western industrial-type democracy.

It was a cardinal truth in politics that means cannot be divorced from ends. "Violent revolution is a means which will produce a future one-party state in this country."

Throughout Europe and North America and in many other parts of the world, millions of lay Catholics, many thousands of priests and many hundreds of Bishops, saw no incompatibility between the industrialised democracies of Europe and North America and the Gospel.

"I see no incompatibility between a future industrialised democracy in South Africa and the Gospel. On balance, I see the greatest alleviation of desperate human suffering in this country being achieved through the maximum development of the free enterprise system. This is not an ideological statement. It is a humanitarian statement.

"When, therefore, I think about means to ends in South African politics, I think about democratic opposition as being the most moral choice, given our circumstances."

Democracy was more than an idiom or an ideal. Democracy could only be expressed in democratic behaviour and truly democratic behaviour could only be safeguarded by democratic constitutions for organisations.

"We will not have a democratic parliamentary system if we do not have democratic political groups vying for the right to control Parliament."

Chief Buthelezi said that "given the limitations of our day and age and national environment," Inkatha could not be more democratic than it is.

Inkatha's Annual General Conference was the supreme body of the movement. Inkatha's leaders were elected

by it and it not only determined the aims and objectives of the movement but, also, tactics and strategies.

"It is a conference which represents over 1,3 million members. Inkatha's leaders are accountable to this conference each and every year."

"Inkatha members have been hacked to death, they have been 'necklaced', their houses have been burnt to the ground. Faced with what amounts to butchery of Inkatha members, one can only expect violent reaction to violent onslaught . . ."

"We in Inkatha are as adamantly committed to the eradication of apartheid as any other black group in this country. We are not committed to a socialist future and this is the distinguishing factor between us and the ANC Mission in Exile. Does the Catholic Church think this is a crime?"

Inkatha had been accused of being undemocratic. It had been accused of coercing ordinary workers and peasants into becoming members. It had been accused of being hypocritical and actually using violence in a way which denied its democratic commitment to non-violence.

Chief Buthelezi asked the SACBC delegation: "All I say is: is there a black group in South Africa which is more democratic than Inkatha?"

Inkatha members had been hacked to death, they had been "necklaced", their houses had been burnt to the ground. Faced with what amounted to butchery of Inkatha members, one could only expect violent reaction to

violent onslaught.

"What Black political organisation in South Africa is to be exempt from the criticisms levelled against Inkatha?" asked Chief Buthelezi.

AZAPO killed UDF, UDF killed AZAPO and the ANC actively pursued civil war in SA. The ANC exploded bombs in shopping centres, hotels, street corners and planted land mines on farm roads — knowing full well that ordinary blacks would be the victims of their bloody onslaught.

The ANC urged the assassination of black town councillors. The ANC had ordered his assassination and they urged the whole of black South Africa to annihilate Inkatha.

"These are the realities within which Inkatha pursues its commitment to democracy and to non-violent tactics and strategies," he said.

The External Mission of the ANC and, "in their wake", the UDF and COSATU had raised the question of non-participation to the status of being a hallowed principle in the black struggle for liberation.

"It is not my principle, it is not Inkatha's principle, it is not a Christian principle. It is dictated as a principle by those who are not committed to democracy in practice now while we struggle for our liberation."

The question had to be asked: "Does the Catholic Church grant me the democratic right to hold different views from the ANC Mission in Exile, UDF and COSATU and from AZAPO in the pursuit of Inkatha's aim and objectives?"

Inkatha was adamantly committed to the eradication of apartheid but it was not committed to a socialist future and this was the distinguishing factor between Inkatha and the ANC Mission in Exile.

"Does the Catholic Church think that this is a crime? Does the Catholic Church exhort black South Africans to use aims and objectives more suitable to the establishment of a one-party socialist state, than they are suitable for the eventual outcome of a multi-party democracy?"

The speech that finally brought the debate out into the open

“DO CHURCH LEADERS BACK VIOLENCE?” — ZULU KING ASKS

“... beware of preachers of the Gospel that will increasingly be seen urging our people to support the politics of desperation, and the politics of violence, under the cloak of religion . . .” King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu

In the tiny town of Matabele in the Ndwedine District of KwaZulu, an address to fellow Christians by His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu of the Zulus created headlines throughout South Africa.

At the July festival of the church of Nazareth, to which thousands of worshippers from throughout the country had flocked, the King (an Anglican) asked simply: “Do the Anglican and Catholic churches support violence?” He then gave his reasons for his “grave concern” over this issue.

Emphasising that his role was not a political one he added, however, that it “. . . is my duty to promote the unity of all people.”

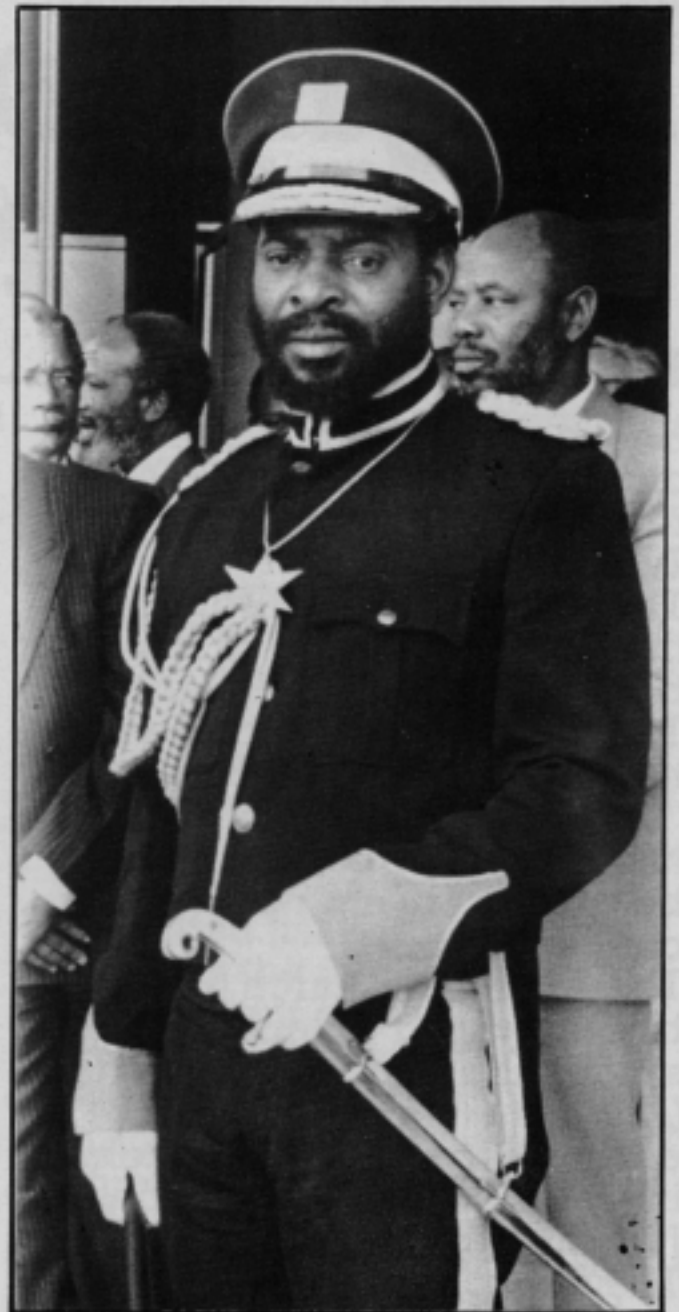
It was time there was honesty within the Christian churches on the issue of violence. He said that although the Zulu nation and its Kings had fought in the forefront of the liberation struggle for more than 100 years, he refused to call on his people to adopt violence at

this stage.

There were preachers, however, who “. . . will increasingly be seen urging our people to support the politics of desperation, and the politics of violence, under the cloak of religion . . .”

“My family and the Zulu nation do not need mentors to tell them about the liberation struggle . . . we have been in the thick of it for more than 100 years. It was, in fact, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, King Dinuzulu’s son-in-law, who came up with the idea of founding the now banned African National Congress.”

The King said he did not fear asking his subjects to die for their freedom although he did



King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu

“... there have been definite efforts to use mainline Churches as a cover for party political thinking and action. Nowhere is this more demonstrated that it is by the South African Council of Churches which has today a list of political organisations which they designate as true or authentic liberation movements . . .”

“My grievance is only that this makes political ideology the centre of the people’s religion instead of making Christ the centre-piece of each Christian’s life.”

not believe that the stage had been reached when he could call on them.

“I come from a stock of people who know how to fight for freedom. I would, however, be irresponsible to call on my people to take up arms in order to be mowed down by the South African Defence Force — and to die futilely without us achieving our freedom.

“In the same way, the mainline Protestant Churches and the

Catholic Church have now called for sanctions and economic pressures on South Africa without carrying out any survey amongst Christians who belong to these Churches on whether ordinary Christians do support disinvestment and sanctions . . .”

The King said that when President P W Botha had recently unveiled the SAAF’s new Cheetah fighter aircraft, he had well appreciated what his uncle, Chief Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, meant when he emphasised that “the present white minority in South Africa” was armed to the teeth.

“As a descendant of warrior Kings, I consider it childish to indulge in sabre-rattling games with someone who is far better armed than you are,” he added. Black churches had to brace themselves to offer greater resistance to campaigns — in which the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the SA Catholic Bishops’ Conference were in the forefront — which were bound to worsen deprivation and further compound the problems of black poverty.

Righteous indignation ... or hypocrisy?

The Anglican and Catholic churches wasted little time in replying to the King of the Zulus.

The Rt. Rev. Michael Nuttall, the Anglican Bishop of Natal, brought Archbishop Desmond Tutu into the debate by saying he had called for sanctions in “his personal capacity” and had reasons which “ought to be respected and not condemned . . .”

The Anglican Church (in SA) had not called for economic sanctions against SA, he said. (Anglican leaders in the UK did, however, vote overwhelmingly for economic sanctions in July this year — Editor.)

The Churches made no reference to their involvement with the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Bishop Nuttall added: “I just don’t know how he could have said that the Anglican and Catholic hierarchies are supporting violence to bring about change . . . we have consistently condemned repressive violence on the part of the State, and what we call,

“The Anglican church is an affiliate of the South African Council of Churches. The SACC has passed a resolution supporting sanctions. Furthermore, the actions of the SACC and its office bearers indicate support for the External Mission of the ANC. It is the official policy of the ANC to kill people . . . The Anglican church has never, to my knowledge, distanced itself from stances taken by the SACC . . .”

Chief M G Buthelezi.

retaliatory violence.” (At the Anglican synod in York in July, an amendment condemning acts of violence by the SA Government and the African National Congress was rejected — Editor.)

The Catholic newspaper, The Southern Cross, commented that it was

“amazed” at the King’s charge and “refute it outrightly . . .” (The Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, openly supports the United Democratic Front which in turn supports the pro-violence ANC. Archbishop Hurley has also stated that he believes violence is “inevitable . . .” — Editor)

A lengthy editorial in the Southern Cross went on to say that “injustice is a form of violence” and that “denial of fundamental rights is a form of violence.”

“It is legitimate to resist aggression,” the editorial continued.

“Christ tells us to turn the other cheek. He also said: I did not come to bring peace but a sword (Mt 10:34).

“. . . to take up arms to secure rights is a most serious matter. It can only be legitimate when all peaceful negotiations have failed. It can be called for only by those who are recognised as leaders.”

Clarion Call asks the question: Who decides on those “who

OPEN BACKING FOR THE ANC — DO MEMBERS SUPPORT THIS?

are recognised as leaders"? The Church and other church organisations — or the broad mass of black South Africans who have voted on the issue? The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has a list of political organisations which they designate as true or authentic liberation movements and those that they regard as not true liberation movements. On top of their favoured list is the pro-violence External Mission of the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front. The national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, with 1.3 million members and elected officials, is not considered a "true" liberation movement by the SACC. As the King of the Zulus does not engage in public political debates, his uncle, Chief M G Buthelezi, "put forward His Majesty's viewpoint" and responded to Bishop Nuttall's denial of church involvement in sanctions and violence. Chief Buthelezi, like the King, is also an Anglican. "It is high time that South African churches were forced to state, quite unambiguously, exactly where they stand on these issues and the King has wisely brought this out into the open," Chief Buthelezi said in a Press statement. "Bishop Nuttall attempts to disassociate the Anglican Church from the stance taken "in his personal capacity" by Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu regarding sanctions. This line of thought and explanation is patently ridiculous — apart from the fact that the King made no mention whatsoever of Bishop Tutu in his address." The King, as the head of the Zulu nation numbering seven million people, had every right to articulate his distress about issues such as sanctions and violence which would affect his people.

Bishop Nuttall knew "full well" that the Anglican church was an affiliate of the South African Council of Churches. The SACC had passed a resolution supporting sanctions. Furthermore, the actions of the SACC and its office bearers also clearly indicated support for the External Mission of the ANC. It was the official policy of the ANC to kill people. During various "consultations" with overseas church groups, including the Netherlands Council of Churches, the SACC had openly identified itself with the ANC, UDF and SACTU. Chief Buthelezi said he was forced to remind Bishop Nuttall of a document drawn up by the Netherlands Council of Churches following its consultation with the South African Council of Churches in November last year. The document, entitled "The Hour of Truth", reported that "... one can no longer speak of peaceful change ... there is a fundamental difference between the primary violence of the oppressors and the counter violence aimed at the liberation of the oppressed ... " "It should be emphasised that this document was drawn up by the Dutch Council of Churches from views expressed during their consultation with the South African Council of Churches. The SACC therefore, in effect, put its name to the document," Chief Buthelezi added. "During the consultation the SACC openly identified itself with the ANC, the UDF and SACTU. I have the translated document in my possession. "The document reports that contacts between the ANC and political forces in the Netherlands need to be encouraged and to be revalued. It adds that the Dutch Council of Churches could co-operate by listening to the ANC and by admitting

representatives into their delegations ... " The consultation between the Dutch Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches resulted in an open statement declaring that the liberation struggle of the South African people was "represented by the ANC and the UDF ... " Inkatha was viciously maligned in the document as being a "collaborator" and "serving white masters". Chief Buthelezi asked: "Bishop Nuttall — and the Anglican Church — is associated with the SACC. Does he or his Church believe that Inkatha, with 1.3 million members, "collaborates" with the SA Government? "Why has Bishop Nuttall and the SACC not spoken out against this document which is so overt in its support for the ANC and so vicious with regard to Inkatha and Kwa-Zulu? It dealt directly with people who form part of Bishop Nuttall's diocese. Does the SACC not consult with its affiliates about consultations and their consequences. "The Anglican Church has never, to my knowledge, distanced itself from stances taken by the SACC. The involvement of the Catholic church is the same and the Catholic Bishops' Conference supports economic pressures," Chief Buthelezi continued. "There is a considerable amount of hypocrisy connected with the political actions of the Anglican and Catholic churches in South Africa. It seems to me that Bishop Nuttall is trying to deny this. "Let the debate begin ... let the broad mass of Christians in this country speak out now. Do they support disinvestment and sanctions? Do they support violence? It is time their voice was heard."

THE CRISIS OF VIOLENCE FOR CHRISTIANS

WHERE DOES THE CHURCH STAND ON THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE?

A consultation organised by the Zululand Council of Churches in Durban in August unwittingly highlighted hostilities within the Christian "brotherhood" in SA and the extent to which political "sides" have already been taken. Non-church organisations were invited to participate including representatives of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government. The Vicar-General of the Catholic Archdiocese of Durban, Monsignor Paul Nadal, walked out of the consultation because of the "non-church" bodies present. He said he was told it would be a meeting of church leaders and he was not prepared to remain and participate in the presence of the invited guests.

and the Minister of Welfare and Pensions, Mr S Sithebe. They presented a document to the consultation prepared by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Chief Buthelezi said there was a situation in South Africa in which, in the pursuit of justice, earnest and prayerful Christian endeavour clashed with earnest and prayerful Christian endeavour. There was a great deal of Christian sincerity on both sides on the many issues which deeply divided one South African from another. Christians in South Africa were "crying out" for reconciliation of one Christian to another and the role of Church leaders needed to be examined

ciently aware of the fact that "we have a crisis of leadership amongst Anglicans . . ." The questions he could ask about Anglicans were questions with a very much wider relevance. "The higher one's office is, the more one has to forfeit the right of individual expression of opinion and the more entitled other people are to regard one's utterances as official statements," he said. "When therefore I refer to Bishop Desmond Tutu in the context of a crisis of Anglican leadership, please bear this in mind." Bishop (now Archbishop) Tutu went beyond the main body of Anglican opinion both at the laity level and at the clergy level in many of his utterances.

WHY DOESN'T THE CHURCH CONDEMN THE ANC BECAUSE IT KILLS PEOPLE AND URGES SOUTH AFRICANS TO CREATE A SITUATION OF CIVIL WAR?

The consultation was delayed by a discussion regarding the invited guests and it was finally decided that those who had been invited would be allowed to attend. Monsignor Nadal subsequently "disassociated" himself from proceedings. Others represented (following the departure of Monsignor Nadal) included the Anglican, Methodist, and United Congregational churches. A brief statement following the consultation said it had been "a very useful consultation and complex issues were dealt with." Inkatha and KwaZulu were represented by the Minister of Health, Dr F T Mdlalose, the National Organiser of Inkatha,

frequently and earnestly. "Where Church leaders become part of the problems of division, there is a need to sit down together and to ask some very fundamental questions," Chief Buthelezi said. There was a leadership crisis in the Church which had not been properly recognised. "It is more than a crisis in which it can be said that the Church has not yet found the answers and there are bound to be divergent opinions about what the Church should be doing . . ." Because he was an Anglican, Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was only right for him to question whether Anglican Church leaders were suffi-

"Bishop Tutu has now finally called for punitive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. He has been hinting at what his position actually is for a long time . . . The Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt. Rev Michael Nuttall, says that the Anglican Church has not called for economic sanctions against South Africa and that Bishop Tutu has called for sanctions in his personal capacity . . . "I do not presume to put words in Bishop Nuttall's mouth, but I think I would be correct in making the assumption that Bishop Tutu is also expressing personal opinions when he talks about the question of violence. "But whether or not Bishop

HAS THE CHURCH BEEN INTIMIDATED BY VIOLENCE?



“... We will make a mockery of Christian fellowship if we do not have the courage to table the realities around us, put a name to them and talk about them. The crisis of leadership in South African Christian Churches gives licence and latitude to individual radicalism in the name of the Church. Such individuals gather in organisations like the South African Council of Churches and present their thinking to the world as consensus South African Christian thinking . . .

“Are we really moving towards that kind of quagmire of blood in which there are only accusations and counter-accusations about who are the villains and who are the saints?”

Chief Minister M G Buthelezi

Nuttall and other Anglican Bishops agree that Bishop Tutu is going far ahead of the Anglican Church when he talks on the question of violence, and whether or not they individually would agree with him, there must be agreement that Bishop Tutu adopts positions in this regard which the Anglican Church itself has not adopted.

“Given the circumstances which actually prevail in South Africa, Bishop Tutu’s pronouncements on violence lend respectability to revolutionary violence.” It was not only in his pronouncements that Bishop Tutu separates himself from positions which the Anglican Church had in fact adopted. He also separated himself from the Anglican Church by some of his actions.

In his address during his enthronement ceremony when he became Bishop of Johannesburg he said: “We will not have peace until we have justice and how can we have that without the participation of

the premier black liberation group, the ANC.”

Chief Buthelezi said that in action Bishop Tutu again and again identified with the ANC Mission in Exile and in South Africa he became a party politician when he accepted nomination as a patron of the United Democratic Front. The Anglican Church, as a Church, recognised that there was gross injustice in South Africa. It recognised the right of black individuals to struggle for their liberation from this injustice. The Anglican Church recognised the hideousness of apartheid. The Anglican Church had not blessed the ANC as the premier liberation organisation and it had not expressed the view that the United Democratic Front represented the Church’s best interests here on the ground in the country’s struggle for liberation.

“Bishop Tutu, however, talks and behaves as though this was the case, not only in South Africa but throughout the world.

“We do have a crisis of leadership in the Anglican Church, no matter how frequently Bishops claim that Bishop Tutu speaks in his personal capacity.”

The Anglican Church had not called for bringing about the downfall of the Government by revolutionary means. It had not pronounced that all non-violent means of bringing about really radical change could not work. “We are not yet fighting a just war in this country,” Chief Buthelezi continued. “The Anglican Church does not support the Kairos document’s rationale that this is now the case. The Harare Declaration does not sum up the position of the Anglican Church in South Africa.

“When Bishop Tutu declares himself personally against violence but adds that the time has come in South Africa for everybody to oppose apartheid, whether or not they have opted for violence, he ranks violence as important as non-violence in the pursuit of justice . . .”



THE CRISIS OF VIOLENCE

It was time for concerned Christians to table the realities around them and to put a name to them and to talk about them. The crisis of leadership in South African Christian Churches gave licence and latitude to individual radicalism in the name of the Church. Such individuals gathered in organisations like the South

African Council of Churches and presented their thinking to the world as consensus South African Christian thinking. "The SACC has quite definitely adopted a Party political attitude to me and to Inkatha and it most definitely has adopted an attitude of support of the United Democratic Front and the ANC Mission in Exile.

ARE OUR BISHOPS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT BEING SEEN TO BE ALIENATED BY SOME BLACK FACTIONS THAN THEY ARE ABOUT THE DICTATES OF THEIR HOLY CALLING?

This is simple fact. "Diakonia is hostile to Inkatha and it is hostile to me, and it is simple fact that the hostility of the SACC and Diakonia to what I am doing is Party political motivated." Chief Buthelezi said he knew of no SACC document which set out the reasons for why its leading office bearers adopted a pro-ANC, pro-UDF stance and an anti-Inkatha stance. "It is a simple fact that the SACC supports its office bearers and personnel in virulent anti-Inkatha propaganda. It is fact that Diakonia houses individuals who do the same. Neither Anglicans nor Catholics in their capacities as Church men and Church women have come to consensus that the attacks on Inkatha and my leadership are justifiable and that Church leaders in the SACC and Diakonia are correct in their support for the



The ANC Mission in Exile, in numerous broadcasts over the air by Radio Freedom, urges South Africans to create a situation of civil war.

The ANC has placed bombs in shopping malls, in dustbins at bus stops, at hotels, on country roads and in cars in busy streets outside city buildings. If we are fighting a "just war", as Bishop Tutu hints to be the case, it is not time our Bishops and Archbishops sought consensus on their Churches that this is the case?

Can a "just war" be declared by holy default?

Is it not tragically inadequate for some Bishops and clergy to lament all violence when confronted with the ANC Mission in Exile's

organised attempts to spread violence?

Why is the ANC not attacked as the ANC because it is doing so many of the things which in terms of the Bishops' own statements are indefensible? Has the Church now been intimidated by violence?

Are our Bishops now more concerned about being seen to be alienated from some black factions than they are by the dictates of their holy calling?

Will we be able to establish a just government in this country by violence? Is it not time that the Church went beyond its statements of understanding why we have got violence in South Africa and sought consensus about why it should condemn that which it understands?

WHAT IS IT IN INKATHA'S AIMS AND OBJECTIVES THAT THE CHURCH SHOULD CONDEMN?

ANC and the UDF."

Chief Buthelezi then discussed the appalling spiral of black-on-black violence in South Africa.

"AZAPO members have killed UDF members and UDF members have killed AZAPO members. AZAPO and UDF members have killed Inkatha members and UDF members have died at the hands of Inkatha members. These are the facts of life.

"I deplore this internecine black conflict and I state very simply that Inkatha is in fact

committed to non-violent tactics and strategies. We are committed to black unity but amidst violence which has spread throughout South Africa, no leader can ensure that every member of his or her organisation never resorts to violence.

"There really is in Inkatha a deep dismay amongst its members that some of them have been hacked to pieces and burnt alive because of their commitment to Inkatha's aims and objectives and tactics and strategies.

"There is among some members of Inkatha an appalling realisation that everything they stand for will be annihilated by acts of brutal violence on the part of other blacks if they do not defend their rights to believe what they believe.

"Are we really moving towards that kind of quagmire of blood in which there are only accusations and counter-accusations about who are the villains and who are the saints?

"Is there no way in which Church leaders can now address the hideousness of political slayings in this country. Prominent Churchmen sadly fan the flames of black-on-black confrontation and actually indirectly encourage black to kill black."

Chief Buthelezi asked: "Where does the Church stand on the question of violence?"

WHY IS IT THAT ARCHBISHOP HURLEY, BISHOP TUTU, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN ANTI-INKATHA ACTION!

Christian tradition backs a "just war", says Hurley.

The Archbishop of Durban and Chairman of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Most Rev. Denis Hurley, responded publicly to his meeting with Chief M G Buthelezi and Inkatha officials.

Chief Buthelezi had asked him to state whether the church regarded the ANC's programme of using violence to bring about a dictatorial socialist one-party state in South Africa as morally legitimate.

In an interview with the Durban Daily News (August 23, 1986) Archbishop Hurley was quoted as saying that the church had never approved of violence in South Africa — "neither the institutionalised violence of the state nor the violence of the ANC armed struggle."

He added, however, that the church had to respect the consciences of people who came to a different decision from church leaders in this matter.

Archbishop Hurley said in his statement that in responding to Chief Buthelezi he would like to refer to a meeting held between representatives of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference and the ANC in Lusaka in April.

"One of the ANC delegates referred to a recent publication of the Holy See on liberation theology in which it was stated that if all other means failed recourse could be had to violence in the struggle against oppression.

"We conceded that this was a position accepted in traditional Christian theology — the theology of a just war and the

"We do not approve of violence . . . however, we have to respect the consciences of people who have come to a different decision from church leaders in this matter . . ." Archbishop Denis Hurley.

overthrowing of tyranny or just revolution. The ANC representatives said they did not expect us to support them in their decision to wage the armed struggle but that we had to admit that they had Christian tradition on their side." Archbishop Hurley said that he had told Chief Buthelezi that the church had never approved of violence in South Africa, neither the institutionalised violence of the state nor the violence of the ANC armed struggle.

"But, we had to respect the conscience of people who come to a different decision from church leaders in this

"ANC delegates justify their recourse to the armed struggle because they have got nowhere after 50 years of attempted peaceful persuasion . . . they (told us) they did not expect us to support them in their decision to wage the armed struggle but that we had to admit that they had Christian tradition on their side . . ."

matter . . .

"I also stated that there was an abundance of evidence in history concerning recourse to violence in an attempt to right wrongs. It would be naïve to believe that such violent reactions could be easily eliminated.

"I also mentioned that in our Lusaka conversation the Catholic Bishops had raised the issue of indiscriminate bombing and attacks on civilians and mentioned that the ANC delegates had replied that it was not their strategy to make direct attacks on civilians but that they were not always able to control their representatives.

"I recalled also that we had endeavoured to persuade the ANC that they should deplore and repudiate indiscriminate bombings."

Archbishop Hurley added that in the meeting with Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha officials he had pointed out that the Zulu King had said: "I myself believe that we have not yet reached a stage when I can call on my people to take up arms. I do not say that such a time will never come. It may well come but this is not yet the time."

The Archbishop said Chief Buthelezi had told him that this was also the position of Inkatha. It had never ruled out violence entirely.

"I replied to Chief Buthelezi that the difference therefore between Inkatha and the ANC was a matter of timing. The ANC had judged that the time for the armed struggle had already come. Inkatha had not."

The crucial central issue has been avoided:

Is the ANC fighting a just war?

VIOLENCE
NEGOTIATION

Chief M G Buthelezi says he believes that Archbishop Hurley has avoided several crucial questions in the church/violence debate. Every Christian knew that there was a division between pacifists who did not believe in a just war under any circumstances and those who believed a just war was morally justifiable. Archbishop Hurley had correctly pointed out that he and Inkatha had never precluded the possibility of a day when black South Africans would have to fight a just war. Inkatha, however, believed that the time had not yet come for a just war. The Archbishop's remark was, in the circumstances, glib.

Does Archbishop Denis Hurley mean that the Church has taken a stand in opposition to violence but believes that individual Christians are free to adopt a contrary stand?

Archbishop Hurley still did not say whether the Catholic Church believed a just war was at present being fought by the External Mission of the ANC and others.

Is what the Archbishop says not a round-about way of saying that the Catholic Church does not know where it stands on the issue of violence? (See opposite page, statement by Archbishop Hurley)

He avoided stating whether the Catholic Church believed a just war was being fought. Now was not the time for theological semantics.

"We need the Churches to boldly proclaim Christian responsibility in this time of crisis. Christians need the guidance of their Churches.

"If, in the view of the Catholic Church, a just war is not now being waged, then the Arch-

bishop should say so simply and boldly." If there was not a just war, then the External Mission of the ANC needed to be condemned for resorting to violence and others needed to be praised for not succumbing to the temptation of seeking recourse against injustice through violence.

The Catholic Church must surely by now either believe that a just war is being fought or that a just war is not being fought.

The other issue which Archbishop Hurley avoided in this debate was whether the Church was bound by its own perceptions and its own responsibility to the Gospel to stand by the poor and the oppressed who had not yet turned to the use of violence for political purposes.

"I see no encouragement in Archbishop Hurley's statement directed at the millions of black South Africans who cling tenaciously to the view that it is right to continue employing democratic and non-violent means to bring about radical change."

Archbishop Hurley had said in a statement that the Church did not approve of violence but it had to "... respect the consciences of people who have come to a different decision from Church leaders in this matter ..."

Meanwhile, statistics showed that 335 people had died from the horror of "necklacing" (car tyres filled with petrol, placed around a victim's neck, and set alight) and that a further 269 people had been burnt to death by other means since the eruption of violence.

Chief Buthelezi said: "My question to Archbishop Hurley and to the Catholic Church remains: Where is the Catholic Church's total condemnation of this kind of brutality? Does Archbishop Hurley also leave it to individual Christian consciences to decide whether they tolerate their Church member's consciences approving of the "necklacing" of people? It is this kind of question which Archbishop Hurley avoids."

Archbishop Hurley had said that the Catholic Bishops had raised the question of indiscriminate bombing and attacks on

Will the Church encourage blacks who cling to non-violent tactics?

civilians when they had met officials of the ANC Mission in Exile in Lusaka.

The ANC had replied that they were not always able to control their representatives.

"Naivety can sometimes be profound but this naivety in which Archbishop Hurley extricates himself from the question of the moral justification of "necklaces" and indiscriminate bombing is very, very irresponsible," said Chief Buthelezi.

"It is as though indiscriminate attacks on civilians are rare slips of control. They are, in fact, the name of the game.

"In broadcasts to black South Africa, the ANC Mission in Exile says the "necklace" is their weapon. Mr Oliver Tambo told British parliamentarians that it was not their weapon but he could not condemn the "necklace" method of burning people alive. The ANC Mission in Exile does not condemn what Archbishop Hurley regards as lapses of discipline.

More than 600 people have been burnt to death since the eruption of violence in South Africa. Where is the Catholic Church's total condemnation of this kind of brutality?

"The ANC Mission in Exile broadcasts to black South Africa that they should kill black town councillors and others they label "stooges". In their broadcasts they exhort black South Africans to spread civil war and to spread violence from black townships into white areas.

"Archbishop Hurley is very quiet on the

question of whether or not the Catholic Church agrees that black town councillors should be murdered."

Does Archbishop Hurley also leave it to individual Christian consciences to decide whether they tolerate people "necklacing" people? And do they tolerate their Church members' consciences approving of the "necklacing" of people?

The ANC had referred Archbishop Hurley and the Catholic Bishops to a recent publication of the Holy See on liberation theology.

Archbishop Hurley had said: "The ANC's representatives had said they did not expect us to support them in their decision to wage the armed struggle but that we had to admit that they had Christian tradition on their side."

Chief Buthelezi said the time had come when the Archbishop could not escape the question about the theological possibility of a just war.

"Quite independently of whether or not a just war could now be morally justified in South Africa, my question is and I repeat it: Is the ANC Mission in Exile right now waging a just war?"

Chief Buthelezi said just wars did not give licence to immoral behaviour. The question of whether a just war could be waged should be separated from the question of whether the ANC Mission in Exile was actually waging a just war.

"Both these questions need to be answered and they need to be answered separately and clearly."

Who Hurley supports

Archbishop Hurley acknowledges that he identifies with the United Democratic Front (which in turn supports the External Mission of the ANC) but says the UDF is not a political party but a coalition of associations.

At the same time he defends his flat refusal to conduct a prayer meeting at the April launch of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and to allow the Catholic Church to be observers because "this would amount to taking a political stand . . ."

The Indaba, meanwhile, is not a party political event. The Indaba is a non-racial cross-section of political opinion seeking to define non-violent changes that can be brought about at first and second tier levels of government.

Why can't Archbishop Hurley give his blessing to a sincere attempt by men and women of goodwill to do what the Indaba is doing?

Is the answer not to be found in the fact that he identifies with the UDF and the ANC Mission in Exile who have refused to participate in the

Indaba? Is this not party political?

Is it not true that Archbishop Hurley gauges black public opinion and the will of the black public in general to be truly reflected by black activists in the UDF and the ANC!

Archbishop Hurley knows that UDF leadership has no means of gauging the feelings of the membership of the conglomerate of organisations which have affiliated to the UDF.

And yet, he disregards Inkatha in spite of the fact that Inkatha has well worked democratic mechanisms to ensure that its leadership reflects the will of members.

He disregards the fact that Inkatha's members number over 1.3 million which makes it the largest black organisation ever to have emerged in the history of this country.

Is it not time that Archbishop Hurley named the countries in which the kind of struggle now being waged by the ANC Mission in Exile has actually produced the kind of justice the absence of which justified the armed struggle? Does not one armed struggle only lead to another armed struggle?

Black-on-black violence mounts as Inkatha members and others are murdered, assaulted, and homes and property destroyed.

WHO IS TO BLAME?



An Inkatha member stoned and burnt to death in Lamontville near Durban in 1985 following a Shaka's Day celebration addressed by King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief M G Buthelezi. Inkatha members going to the rally and returning to their homes were waylaid and attacked.

Following the ANC Mission in Exile's call for its supporters to make South Africa "ungovernable" and to "eliminate" those who oppose its policy of violence, numerous members of Inkatha and their families have been murdered and others assaulted. Homes and Government property have been destroyed worth millions of rands. Documentary evidence attesting to this is irrefutable as are British Broadcasting Corporation transcripts of radio broadcasts by the ANC Mission in Exile calling for an escalation of violence. And yet, a carefully orchestrated media campaign mounted by the ANC Mission in Exile and the United Democratic Front has cynically attempted to lay the blame for some of this violence and

counter violence at the feet of Inkatha. UDF patrons and supporters, for instance, go to great lengths to attempt to show the foreign Press, in particular, that it is the UDF who is the "innocent" and "injured" party. This is clearly factually incorrect. Does the UDF actually deny that it supports the ANC Mission in Exile? Does it believe that it is blameless in the tragic saga of violence? A book has been published in which the author, who clearly appears to support the UDF, Mr Nicholas Haysom, attempts to largely blame Inkatha for various incidents of violence. Scant mention is made of the UDF in this regard. The irony of this is that Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha are deeply committed to non-violent tactics and strategies.

Inkatha was launched in 1975 and in its 11-year existence has faithfully attempted to pursue its commitment to peaceful change. The UDF was launched three years ago and almost overnight ghastly orgies of violence erupted as the UDF and its affiliates attempted to make parts of Natal and KwaZulu "no go" areas for Inkatha and Chief M G Buthelezi. A typical example of this was the unsuccessful campaign run by the Rev. Mcebisi Xundu, an executive member of JORAC (an affiliate of the UDF), to drive Inkatha and KwaZulu out of Lamontville. Inkatha members had their homes petrol-bombed (including Mr Robert Sikhakhane, chairman of Inkatha in Ward 2 of Lamontville) and others (including Inkatha member

Mrs May Ngubane) were assaulted. (The Natal Mercury, September 12, 1984).

It is the ANC Mission in Exile which pursues violence as a matter of policy and receives arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc for this purpose.

It is a simple statement of fact that since the formation of the United Democratic Front and coupled with the ANC's call to make the country "ungovernable", large scale reports throughout the country of

black-on-black violence and counter violence have escalated.

Newspapers are filled with stories of violent attacks on the homes of Inkatha members. Black-on-black attacks have also been made on the persons and property of UDF members. It is relevant that in areas where Inkatha has no presence whatsoever, the death toll relating to black-on-black violence is even higher than in Natal/KwaZulu and the Transvaal.

Official figures show, for instance, that the so-called "necklace" has claimed the lives of 335 people in South Africa since last year — and 269 people were burnt to death by other methods. (City Press, August 24, 1986).

The Eastern Cape, Lebowa and the Northern Transvaal are the areas where "necklaces" have been used most. The UDF and AZAPO and other student organisations operate in these areas, Inkatha does not.

The following are brief reports highlighting some of the attacks made on Inkatha supporters (as well as other well-known incidents) during the past year.

... In July 1985 Inkatha supporters Themba and Zakhele Msani fought off a stone-throwing mob of more than 100 people who attacked their Lamontville home screaming "Gatsha is a dog, you are the dogs of Gatsha." (A

reference to Chief M G Buthelezi, whose middle name is Gatsha). (The Natal Mercury, 1985)

... Soon after, following three consecutive nights of violence, Mrs Tryzinia Msomi, Mrs Phumephi Mngondo and Mr Mbisusiwe Msomi, also Inkatha supporters, were photographed in their gutted home following a petrol bomb attack the previous evening. (The Daily News, July 17, 1985)

... In August riots broke out in areas around Durban following a UDF demonstration protesting the murder of Durban lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge. More than 20 people died and millions of rands worth of property was destroyed. (The Natal Mercury, August 9, 1985)

It is worth noting that during the August 1985 riots, UDF supporter and Natal Indian Congress leader, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, described how Indian vigilantes attacked homeless blacks who had moved into the historic Gandhi settlement founded by Mahatma Gandhi at Phoenix. The settlement was destroyed. "I nearly died there," said Mr Ramgobin, who fled from the mob which he described as "... about 300 armed Phoenix vigilantes attacking the blacks ..." Mrs Fatima Meer also, at the time, described an Indian attack on the settlement. (Sunday Times, August 11, 1985)

NOW THE UDF IS ATTEMPTING TO BLAME INKATHA FOR THE ATTACK.

... In September a bomb exploded in the toilet of Umlazi's Executive Hotel and sprayed shards of glass into groups of black children. The hotel is owned by a senior

member of Inkatha. (The Natal Mercury, September 30, 1985)

... Also in September six people died in clashes in Lamontville following a Shaka's Day celebration. Inkatha and non-Inkatha people were involved.

... The home of Mrs Gertie Ngubane, an Inkatha member and Ningizimu Community Councillor for Ward 1 in Lamontville was stoned and windows were smashed. "Mrs Ngubane was the third Inkatha member to be attacked this week." (The Natal Mercury, September 14, 1985).

... A month after this Mr Francis Dhlamini, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member and Inkatha central committee member, was brutally gunned down as he fled his petrol-bombed home. Mr Dhlamini died instantly. His wounded son managed to escape. (The Daily News, October 29, 1985)

... In November two youths were shot after the home of Umlazi councillor and Inkatha official, Mr Josiah Cele, had been stoned and set on fire by a group of youths. (The Natal Mercury, November 19, 1985)

... In February this year two grenades were thrown at the home of the chairman of Ningizumu Community councillor and life chairman of the Inkatha Women's Brigade, Mrs Ella Nxasana. (The Daily News, February 17, 1986)

... In March the life's work of Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, secretary of the Buthelezi Commission, was destroyed when his office at the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal was set on fire. (The Daily News, March 24, 1986)

... In April the home of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member and Inkatha central committee member, Mr Winnington Sabelo, was petrol bombed. (The Natal Mercury, April 28, 1986)

... The same month arsonists struck the Sugar Milling Research Institute in Durban and painted "Sugar Supports Buthelezi" on the walls. (Sowetan, April 24, 1986)

... Soon after houses, cars and a petrol station belonging to a former member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Gobizizwe Bhengu, were destroyed when youths went on a rampage. (The Daily News, April 28, 1986)

... In June two people were killed and more than 40 people were injured when petrol bombs were thrown at buses carrying Inkatha supporters from a rally in Soweto addressed by Chief M G Buthelezi. A time bomb was placed behind the stage of the stadium earlier in the week. (The Star, June 30, 1986)

... In August Mr Winnington Sabelo's wife, Mrs Evelyn Sabelo, was killed and her three children seriously injured when a hand grenade was hurled at their home and they were fired at with AK 47's in Umlazi. The Sabelo's were previously attacked in April (see above). (The Daily News, August 23, 1986)

... The same weekend, Siphokazi, the five-year-old daughter of Inkatha member and Imbali councillor, Austin Kweyama, was killed in a hand grenade attack on her parent's Maritzburg home. (City Press, August 31, 1986.)

And so it goes on and on. Space does not permit a more comprehensive account of attacks on Inkatha supporters and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and their families.

Inkatha deplores this violence. It does, however, maintain that its members have a right to defend themselves. The actual situation is that UDF and AZAPO members are killing each other and Inkatha members. There are also UDF and AZAPO members who-



The August 31, 1986 funeral of Mrs Evelyn Sabelo, murdered wife of Inkatha Central Committee member and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Mr Winnington Sabelo. Mrs Sabelo died in an AK 47 gunfire and grenade attack at her Umlazi home. Three of the couple's children were seriously injured in the attack. The home was petrol-bombed in April.

have died at the hands of Inkatha members. Inkatha's position is that the ANC Mission in Exile and certain organisations including the UDF have provoked a level of violence in Natal/KwaZulu which was not previously known.

Commenting on the brutal murder of Mrs Winnington Sabelo in August this year, Chief Buthelezi said: "It is not African for women and children to be targets in a war and I am concerned about the extent to which this kind of crime will brutalize those who are on the receiving end of this dastardly violence.

"The black civil war I warned

about has now materialised. I cannot see what can break the spiral of violence in the light of the reluctance of those who have opted for violence to talk to us.

"I fear it seems that the only language we can expect in the circumstances is that of the gun, grenades and bombs. It is clear that the stakes are loaded against those of us who are committed to non-violence . . ." At the annual conference of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in Ulundi in August, a minute of silence was held in memory of all the members of Inkatha and others who had died at the hands of fellow black South Africans.



The November 1985 funeral of Inkatha Central Committee member and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Mr Francis Dhlamini. Mr Dhlamini was gunned down as he was fleeing from a busload of armed men who petrol-bombed his home at KwaMashu near Durban.

Mrs Coretta Scott King

Widow of slain US civil rights leader used by Archbishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak in divisive black political feud.

Chief M G Buthelezi has apologised — on behalf of black South Africa — to Mrs Coretta Scott King for the shameful manner in which she was politically manipulated during her visit to the country by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak.

Mrs King personally telephoned Chief Buthelezi to apologise for having to cancel a meeting she had requested with him. Chief Buthelezi is well-known to the King family and has visited Atlanta and met with the late Dr King's father.

Political pressures placed on her had obviously been intolerable and Chief Buthelezi said his "heart bled" for Mrs King for being subjected to this. Mrs King had also previously cancelled a scheduled meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha, as Dr Boesak and Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Dr Nelson Mandela, had made it clear in Press reports that they would not see her if she met Mr Botha. Dr Boesak confirmed to the Press that he had

"pressured" Mrs King. He described Chief Buthelezi's statement as "not worthy of comment". Archbishop Tutu, when told of her cancellation of the meetings, laughed and remarked: "Wonderful."

Mrs King visited South Africa in September as a guest of Archbishop Tutu to attend his enthronement as Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town. Chief Buthelezi said in a statement following his



Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of slain US civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King.

telephone conversation with Mrs King that it was "tragic" that some black South Africans were using the memory of Dr Martin Luther King as a "political weapon" to pursue their advantages in political feuding which divided black South Africa.

People like Archbishop Tutu did not want Mrs King to be part of the process of recon-

ciliation between black and white and black and black. The widow of such an illustrious son of America could have shown that black Americans could rise above internecine party political feuding which "so lamentably characterises black South African politics." "As a black leader I apologise to Mrs King for the indignity which the pressures which have

been exerted on her must have made her experience," Chief Buthelezi added.

"I must say as an Anglican, that I am shamed by an Archbishop who can stoop so low in being divisive in the black community. His action is party political as is that of Dr Allan Boesak. Both of them are patrons of the United Democratic Front and they acted as such in exerting pressure on Mrs King.

"As Mrs King spoke to me over the 'phone to apologise for not seeing me, my heart bled for her as the widow of a figure we

Chief Buthelezi said Mrs King had clearly intended to "rise above strife-torn black politics" in South Africa.

He had on his book shelves the book "Stride Towards Freedom" authored by Dr Martin Luther King — which Mrs King had autographed and sent to him. In his book "Where Do We Go From Here", Dr King talked about his continued commitment to non-violence. In a meeting with Stokely Carmichael, Cleveland Sellers and Floyd McKissick, who wanted to add violence to the

South African struggle for liberation are deeply offended by those who have persuaded Mrs King neither to see the State President nor myself," he added.

"The life and the martyrdom of Martin Luther King is belittled by blacks in South Africa who want to make party political use out of Mrs King.

Dr King had also written: "The American racial revolution has been a revolution to 'get in' rather than to overthrow. We want to share in the American economy, the housing market,



Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

revere — Dr Martin Luther King. My heart bled for her for being subjected to these kind of dirty political pressures and to be forced to do what Dr King would not have ever agreed to do.

"To take advantage of her position for the sake of petty political games in South Africa amounts to political rape. It is hideous and despicable.

"My respect for Mrs Coretta Scott King as the widow of Dr Martin Luther King will not be diminished by these sordid political games, which are evidence of despicable and demeaning pettiness.

"Hers was an invidious position as the guest of those who twisted her arm. How mean and how unbecoming of men of the cloth."

"Hers was an invidious position as the guest of those who twisted her arm. How mean and how unbecoming of men of the cloth . . . My respect for Mrs Coretta Scott King, as the widow of Dr Martin Luther King, will not be diminished by these sordid clerical political games, which are evidence of despicable and demeaning pettiness . . ." Chief M G Buthelezi.

American Negro protest movement, Dr King faced the need to defend his non-violent approach and wrote:

"As I listened to all these comments, the words fell on my ears like strange music from a foreign land. My hearing was not attuned to the sound of such bitterness." He went on to write:

"I tried to make it clear that besides opposing violence on principle, I could image nothing more impractical and disastrous than for any of us, through misguided judgement, to precipitate a violent confrontation in Mississippi. We had neither the resources nor the techniques to win."

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Martin Luther King was fired by Christian principles but he was also fired by a pragmatism which made him a true leader. He refused to lead his people into failure.

"The principles and the pragmatism which I serve in the



Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

the educational system and the social opportunities. This goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be non-violent. If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory. If one needs more adequate education, shooting the principal will not help. If housing is the goal, only building and construction will produce that end. To destroy anything, person or property, cannot bring us closer to the goal that we seek."

Chief Buthelezi said that "millions of black South Africans" endorsed every word of this statement. People like Archbishop Tutu, however, did not want Mrs King to be part of the process of reconciliation between black and white and black and black.

Open support for the ANC — and sil

The South African Council of Churches

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has long been known for its open support for the External Mission of the ANC. It is also known to have decided which movements within the country should — or should not — be supported. Much has been written about this but one document in particular sets out precisely what the SACC is telling Christians throughout the world. Following a "consultation" with the SACC in November last year, a document was drawn up by the Netherlands Council of Churches entitled "The Hour of Truth".

It reported that "... one can no longer speak of peaceful change ... there is a fundamental difference between the primary violence of the oppressors and the counter violence aimed at the

liberation of the oppressed ..."

The document also reported that contacts between the ANC and political forces in the Netherlands needed to be encouraged and that the Council of Churches in that country could co-operate by listening to the ANC and by admitting representatives into their delegations.

As this document was drawn up by the Netherlands Council of Churches following its consultation with the South African Council of Churches the SACC, in effect, puts its name to it. During the consultation the SACC openly identified itself with the ANC, the UDF and SACTU.

The consultation resulted in an open statement declaring that the liberation struggle of the South African people was "represented by the ANC and the UDF ..."

The question therefore needs to be asked: Has the Anglican church, or any other church affiliated to the SACC, distanced itself from stances taken by the SACC? The answer is no.

The SACC actively sows seeds of dissension between political groups and others within South Africa and abroad.

A typical example of its divisive manipulation was highlighted when a meeting Chief M G Buthelezi was to have held in Switzerland last year with members of the Federation of Evangelical Churches of Switzerland was cancelled. An explanation was given to Chief Buthelezi that the general secretary of the SACC, Dr Beyers Naude, had "hinted" that it would be "irresponsible" for



ence from affiliate Church members

Chief Buthelezi to be given a church platform in Switzerland and that Chief Buthelezi held a "different position" from that of the SACC. Other highly damaging allegations were alleged to have been made by Dr Naude about Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

This, then, is the role being played by the South African Council of Churches. It is clearly not a conciliatory one nor one aimed at fostering black unity or peaceful negotiation between black and black, black and white and white and white.

It has taken the side of the External Mission of the ANC which in turn is committed to the so-called "armed struggle" and uses grenades, AK 47 rifles and limpet mines in pursuit of political power. The SACC, in addition, supports disinvestment and sanctions.

Why, then, has there been little or no Christian debate about this — particularly within Churches affiliated to the

SACC?

The Netherlands Council of Churches, guided by the SACC, reported that the 1,3 million non-violence Inkatha movement, led by Chief Buthelezi, was a "collaborator" movement and "served white masters . . ."

Do Archbishops and Bishops of the Anglican and Catholic Churches in South Africa support this statement?

Does Bishop Michael Nuttall of the Anglican Church in Natal believe this to be the case? As this vicious and untruthful attack dealt directly with people who form part of Bishop Nuttall's diocese, why has he not seen fit to question the SACC's role in this document which so patently slanders Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha?

The Netherlands Church document openly supported the Kairos document. It went on that ". . . one of the

reasons to give the ANC a platform in the churches is the vast support for the ANC among black South Africa. When we want to listen to blacks, we have to listen to the ANC. It is important to do that what is forbidden to do inside the country, namely to name as 'the authentic leaders of the people' the leaders of the ANC and their organisation . . ."

What of the vast support

(1,3 million members) for Inkatha and non-violence?

Instead, the document notes that the Council of Churches intends to start an international anti-Inkatha propaganda campaign about ". . . the negative effects of the ideology and policy of Inkatha on the liberation struggle . . ."

Overleaf are the aims and objectives of Inkatha.



Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Inkatha's aims and objectives

- *To foster the spirit of unity among Black people throughout South Africa and between them and their Black brothers in Southern Africa and to keep alive and foster the traditions of the people;*
- *to help promote and encourage the development of the Black people spiritually, economically, educationally and politically;*
- *to establish contact and liaise with cultural groups in Southern Africa with a view to the establishment of a common society;*
- *to stamp out all forms of corruption, exploitation of man by man and intimidation;*
- *to ensure acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity and treatment for all peoples in all walks of life;*
- *to co-operate with any movement or organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the people and to secure the most efficient production and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation in the best interests of the people;*
- *to abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed;*
- *to promote and support worthy indigenous customs and cultures;*
- *to protect, encourage and promote trade, commerce, industry, agriculture and conservation of natural resources by all means in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all sectors of the economy;*
- *to give effect to the principles approved from time to time by the appropriate organs of the Movement;*
- *to ensure observance of the fundamental freedoms and human rights;*
- *to inculcate and foster a vigorous consciousness of patriotism and a strong sense of national unity based on a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our land;*
- *to co-operate locally and internationally with all progressive African and other nationalist movements and political parties which work for the complete eradication of all forms of colonialism, racialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African Unity; and*
- *to carry on any other activities which in the opinion of the Movement are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the National Movement and to do such things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objectives.*



Left to right: Rev C J Mtetwa, chairman of the security committee of Inkatha, Dr F T Mdlalose, chairman of the national council of Inkatha, Dr O D Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, Chief S H Gumede, deputy secretary-general of Inkatha.

The Kairos Document

- State Theology
- Church Theology
- Prophetic Theology

“Whatever the people decide to use to eliminate those enemy elements is their decision. If they decide to use necklacing, we support it . . .”

Mr Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC Mission in Exile, as reported in an interview with the London Sunday Times. Published in The Daily News, September 16, 1986.

One side of the debate regarding the violence of oppression and the violence used in resistance to oppression is set out in the Kairos Document, an unsigned “Challenge to the Church” compiled by “concerned Christians”, most of whom are known to be closely involved with the South African Council of Churches.

The document, in essence, justifies the violence of the External Mission of the ANC because in its view the ANC is fighting tyranny and it is opposing a regime which is inherently evil and beyond redemption and the politics of negotiation.

When theorising on violence, the Kairos Document does NOT take into account, for instance, the violence which is NOT directed against the SA regime but against black South Africans. Endemic violence of the most horrible kind which is directed at the political opponents of the ANC Mission in Exile.

It makes no mention that the “necklace” has been claimed as an ANC weapon. ANC President, Mr Oliver Tambo, attempted at the recent Non-Aligned Movement Conference in Harare to play down the involvement of the ANC in this barbaric practice but only recently, in London, the

Secretary-General of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, told the London Sunday Times that “collaborators with the enemy” had to be eliminated.

Asked if this included necklacing, Mr Nzo is reported to have nodded emphatically, according to the London Sunday Times.

The newspaper further quoted Mr Nzo as saying: “Whatever the people decide to use to eliminate those enemy elements is their decision. If they decide to use necklacing, we support it.” (The Daily News, September 16, 1986).

The Kairos Document does not mention the ANC Mission in Exile or the UDF or COSAS but, in the introduction, it says: “In opposition to tyranny and oppression Christians may be required to take solidarity action or join significant political movements working towards the overthrow of tyranny where clear Christian choices may not be possible or available . . .”

The document pleads for a prophetic faith which needs “spirituality of combat”.

It goes on to say that there are “strong liberation movements which have received support from the ecumenical community because they are the representatives of the suffering people.

“The time has come for the Churches to declare their

alliance with the forces of liberation against the apartheid regime.” Clearly, the authors of the document are identifying with the ANC Mission in Exile and the UDF.

The document is, in fact, a plea for the ANC Mission in Exile, the UDF and COSATU. The document asks the Church to give party political support to these organisations. It does not discuss the criteria which Christians should use to decide which political organisation is “the representative of the suffering people.”

The document talks about there being three theologies: State Theology which justifies apartheid; Church Theology which addresses the oppressor and not the oppressed and Prophetic Theology, which it postulates is the only true theology.

Apartheid IS reprehensible, but the Kairos Document negates political reality. It invites Christians to take revolutionary action within a framework it establishes. It screams out against the politics of negotiation.

The authors of the document say in effect that the South African regime is so intensely evil that it cannot be expected to reform. As an example it says: “The reforms that come from the top are never satisfactory. They seldom do more than make oppression more effective and more acceptable.”

The Kairos Document distorts the nature of politics and it distorts the nature of society because it ignores the fact that just as the use of violence against apartheid can never bring about justice, the use of violence against apartheid of the kind it supports, will never produce justice.

STOP PRESS:

Archbishop Denis Hurley replies to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"When violence is so widespread, it is not for us to make pronouncements about just or unjust war."

Archbishop Denis Hurley has now partly responded to the various questions put to him by Chief M G Buthelezi.

The main points of his reply follow:

"The Chief Minister asks if the Catholic Church believes that a just war is being fought by the ANC . . . It is extremely difficult to discuss just war while avoiding signification or meaning, but no doubt the Chief Minister's semantic thrust is that he does not want the issue clouded by a fog of theological technicalities.

"I shall spare him these, not even listing the various criteria that theologians have formulated for the just war. Instead, I shall deal with what appear to be the two main issues he raises, namely, whether the ANC is right at arriving at the conclusion that the situation of injustice under apartheid is such that an armed struggle is the only way to remedy it and, second, whether the methods it promotes, recommends or tolerates render its armed struggle unjust.

"My answer is that the Catholic Church in South Africa, represented in dealing with such matters by the Catholic Bishops' Conference, has yet made no pronouncement on these questions.

"It may do so in the future but in doing so would have to weigh very carefully the advisability of attempting a theological and moral judgement concerning just or unjust war in a situation created by the enormous injustice of apartheid.

"To single out the behaviour of the ANC for labelling unjust when the total context in which that behaviour is occurring is a bear-pit of injustices, is an injustice in itself.

"When fisticuffs have broken out between all the members of two rival football teams, it is not just to whistle up one side for foul

play, especially if it is not the side that began the fight.

"The ANC is firmly convinced that the South African Government began the fight by continuing and confirming apartheid after the decades of pleading and persuading from 1912 to World War II and the decade and a half of direct confrontation that ended with Sharpeville.

"Despairing that the whites would never understand and change their ways, Mr Nelson Mandela began the armed struggle in 1961, the same Mr Nelson Mandela whose friendship and approval the Chief Minister is so avid to claim.

"In regard to bombing, necklacing and burning, the Bishops' Conference expressed its horror and detestation as vigorously as it had denounced unacceptable and barbarous behaviour on the part of the security forces.

"People were killed without pity. One cannot but deplore such indiscriminate slaughter . . . The question arises:

Is the strategy of sabotage being escalated into unlimited terrorism, or is this the act of a group of hot-heads taking matters into their own hands? . . .

"We published a similar reaction to the car bomb explosion in Durban on the morning of April 3, 1984.

"We continue to deplore and condemn the horror of bombing.

"At the end of 1984 in our report on police conduct during townships protests we wrote: ' . . . The legacy of bitterness and resentment that all this wanton violence engenders serves only to postpone a just and lasting settlement of the issues dividing our country . . .

" . . . we are well aware that others besides the police are engaged in illegal and violent activities. We also recognise

what the police have done in protecting the innocent from criminals and hooligans . . . we acknowledge that some persons and groups may exploit this situation for their own criminal ends. We concede, too, there may have been times when the police were provoked or needed to protect themselves . . .

"In January, 1986, I referred, in the course of my report to the plenary session of the Bishops' Conference to the "gruesome necklace of fire . . ."

"All this supports what I said in my first response to the Chief Minister: that the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference deplores both the violence of the State and the violence of the ANC — and the violence of any other body guilty of it.

"When violence is so widespread, it is not for us to make pronouncements about just or unjust war.

"In regard to Inkatha's non-violent stand, one cannot but endorse and approve it, but one would like to be less uncertain about Inkatha's role in many a situation of conflict in our province.

"The Chief Minister himself admits that 'no leader can ensure that every member of his or her organisation never resorts to violence.'

"About my attitude (Archbishop Hurley is a patron of the UDF — Editor) to the UDF, I am surprised to learn from the Chief Minister that I identified with the UDF and justified my identification by saying that the UDF was not a political body but a coalition of associations.

"What I said was that church bodies may find themselves making common cause with one or other affiliate of the UDF in regard to some grievance or project like rents or housing, but obviously this does not constitute identification with the UDF as a whole.

"It is a pity that we have to spend so much time on this kind of polemic. The cause of peace is far more important. We should be devoting more time and energy to that."

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