

**MEETING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN CHAMBER OF BUSINESS
CRIME AND VIOLENCE
THEIR CAUSES AND WHAT CAN BE DONE
IN PARTNERSHIP WITH BUSINESS TO REDUCE THEM
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SENATOR P POWELL, MR DT NTOMBELA, MPP, DR ZB JIYANE, MP
AND MR D DURHAM, MPP
DURBAN CLUB : OCTOBER 26, 1995**

Mr Forder, KwaZulu Natal Provincial Manager of SACOB, other members of SACOB present, ladies and gentlemen. I am most grateful for this opportunity to address you on the causes of crime and violence, and to explore what political parties and business can do together to reduce them.

The first thing that must be said about crime and violence is that while violence is particularly problematic in KwaZulu Natal, we must address violence as a national problem. The harsh interchanges between Deputy President De Klerk and the President are a measure of the intractable nature of violence in our society. The previous National Party government could not bring violence under control. The ANC made slashing attack after slashing attack on Mr de Klerk's government and accusing it of harbouring third force elements and actually backing criminal and political violence. Now we are witness Mr de Klerk making harsh attacks on the present ANC government for not bringing violence under control.

Violence is a national problem. The CBD of Johannesburg is shunned after dark. By day Johannesburg is a pale reflection of what it used to be. Everywhere there have been alarming increases in serious crime, and the hijacking of cars and trucks are now daily events.

National crime is not our focus for today, but unless we recognise that we will never be successful in dealing with crime and violence at the provincial level, unless we address its

national determinants as part of the problem.

Part of the problem here in KwaZulu Natal is the process of integrating MK with the police force and the army has led to gross inefficiency and the loss of morales. Violence is flourishing because we have inefficient policing, and the police we do have, are not there at the right place and right time. Even more problematic - the cancer of political partisanship is eating away at the effectiveness and the image of the police and army. Community trust in our security forces which should have been on the increase after the democratization of our country, is in fact destroyed in worst hit areas because the police and the army are themselves involved in violence and killing.

That is a very strong statement to make and I make it knowing full well that it should not be made unless I can back it up with fact. Ladies and gentlemen we are here today to look at a very serious problem, please do not turn a deaf ear to some of the things I am going to say, because they do not accord with what you read in the press or hear from my and Inkatha's political enemies.

Please hear me out with an open mind. When you hear of the kind of things which are actually happening I think you will be able to see more clearly, the depths of the problems we are dealing with, and hopefully, you will be able to join hands with me in grabbing thorny nettles. I am now going to tell you of the kind of events which have taking place in recent weeks.

INCIDENTS INVOLVING SAPS AND SANDF MEMBERS IN THE KWAZULU NATAL MIDLANDS

1. Wembezi: 19 August 1995

Members of the SANDF in the company of the SAPS assault Messrs. X. Dladla, S. Phakati, M. Ndlovu and V. Shezi in Wembezi on Saturday the 19 August 1995 at 13h25.

A SANDF patrol in vehicle BKR 913 M assaulted the above mentioned members of the IFP with rifle bits, their helmets and kicked them.

Two SAPS vehicles were present during the assault on the IFP members and a third SAPS vehicle passed by the incident and SAPS members can stand by and witnessed an assault and did not intervene to stop the commission of a crime.

2. Bulwer: 20 August 1995

Three busses returning from an Imbizo at Kings Park are stopped at a joint SANDF/SAPS roadblock.

The SANDF demand to search the busses and confront Mr. Amon Ndlovu who is carrying a G3 rifle with necessary permit.

Members of the SANDF proceed to assault him, destroy the permit and damage the rifle. Sixty seven witnesses were present when this assault took place.

3. Wembezi: 19 August 1995

Six IFP youths are taken from VQ Section Wembezi after being assaulted in front of witnesses by members of the SANDF.

The SANDF members are travelling in vehicle BKW 052 M. They take the IFP youths to Depot Section which is the ANC section of Wembezi and subject them to degrading and inhumane treatment. The youths are taken to Estcourt SAPS and released by the police.

4. Murder of Jabulani Khumalo: 1995-09-05

Mr. Jabulani Khumalo, Chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party branch in VQ Section Wembezi is approached by members of the community who inform him that Constable Mandla Buthelezi (SAPS) is firing at people in the area with an R1 rifle. Mr. Khumalo sends some of the complainants to the Wembezi Police station to ask for help. A vehicle is dispatched to the place where the shooting is taking place and Constable Buthelezi allegedly enters the vehicle. No attempt is made to take away the rifle. The vehicle stops outside the home of Mr. Khumalo and Constable Buthelezi allegedly shoots and kills him from the vehicle.

This murder comes after meetings with the Station Commander of Wembezi, the Station Commander of Estcourt, the District Commissioner from Ladysmith and Area Commissioner. At all of these meetings complaints about the SAPS members stationed at Wembezi are made in detail and appeals made for action against Constable Buthelezi who has allegedly been involved in previous incidents in the township. An IFP leader present at one of these meetings has witnessed a particular incident involving a direct confrontation between the Wembezi Station Commander and constable Buthelezi. No steps are taken despite all these requests and Mr. Khumalo is murdered.

5. Attempted murder of Mr. Sihle Ngubane: 1995-09-14

On the 14-09-1995 a resident of the home of the late Jabulani Khumalo observed a gunman armed with an R1 rifle in an adjoining property and called Mr. Sihle Khumalo out of the house. It is alleged that Constable Jerome Fana Khanyile (SAPS) then opened fire on the home and numerous rounds hit the house. Mr. Khumalo narrowly escaped death during this incident. An attempted murder charge is laid against Constable Khanyile and urgent representations are made to have Constable Khanyile removed from the township. Despite such requests he is present throughout the weekend of the funeral of the late Mr. Khumalo and numerous complaints are received of involvement by Constable Khanyile in confrontations involving members of the ANC.

6. Murder of Mr. Nash Protus Ngubane: 1995-09-14

At approximately 01h00 on the 14th September 1995 Mr. Nash Ngubane, Inkatha Freedom Party Chairman from Impendle was woken by people outside his home demanding entry. He allegedly identified them as members of the SAPS from Pietermaritzburg and admitted them to his home despite the fact that they did not have a search warrant. Four members of the SAPS allegedly entered his home in the presence of his wife, Bongwe and produce SAPS identification. They demanded to see licences/permits for a G3 rifle and handgun in his home. He produced the documentation requested and they have information regarding other weapons in possession of his bodyguards. He explained that he had no bodyguards, but they instructed him to accompany them to Impendle police station. He allegedly left in the company of two SAPS vehicles.

Later that day his body was allegedly discovered alongside the Bulwer road and this was reported to his wife who inquired from the Impendle SAPS station and was told

that her husband was not brought to the station. When the SAPS detectives arrived at their home she allegedly identified two of the detectives assigned to the investigation as being two of the SAPS members who had taken her husband away. Her aunt later allegedly identified a further SAPS member as one of the persons accompanying the four members who entered the house.

7 ATTACK ON FUNERAL: WEMBEZI 16 September 1995

Three mourners were injured in an attack on mourners returning from the funeral of Jabulani Khumalo, IFP chairman of the VQ Section Branch in Wembezi on Saturday 16th September 1995. Mr. Khumalo was allegedly murdered by Constable Mandla Buthelezi of the SAPS outside his Wembezi home. The families were attacked again on Thursday allegedly by Constable Jerome Fana Khanyile and numerous shots were fired with a rifle into the house.

After the funeral of Mr. Khumalo mourners were returning to the family home in VQ Section. A human hiding in the house 1651 VQ Section opened fire with an AK47 rifle on mourners in the vicinity of the Khumalo home wounding Mr. M.F. Mvelase (19). An AK47 rifle was recovered from the house minutes after the attack by members of the SAPS. The person who allegedly fired on the mourners escaped but has been identified as a local resident by the mourners. Mr. Miya and Ms. Mbona were hospitalised with serious gunshot wounds.

The attack took place despite calls for peace by the IFP before the funeral and the presence of a large number of SAPS and SANDF personnel in the immediate vicinity. Prior to the shooting the two homes of the Madlala family in VQ Section who have been repeatedly attacked in recent months were attacked and extensive damage was

done. A petrol bomb was thrown at the home and shots were fired. No one was injured in the attack which took place while people were attending the funeral.

8. Attempted murder of induna Ephraim Malan Dubazane and Mr. Simpiwe Mngadi:
1995-09-18

On the 18th September a large group of ANC youth gathered outside the Estcourt Magistrates Court to lend support to Constable Buthelezi who was appearing in court. The mother of an IFP leader is also appearing in court and small groups of IFP members accompany her to the court. Conflict broke out between the two groups and Constable Khanyile fired numerous shots at Induna Dubazane and Mr. Mngadi who are both senior IFP leaders in the area. They narrowly escaped death and Khanyile was finally arrested.

9. Death of Mr. M. Bhengu: 25/09/1995

Mr. Mbongeni Mapeqe Bhengu was severely assaulted by the SANDF on Monday the 25 September 1995 at Impendle. He was left on the mountain after the assault by the SANDF patrol who were involved in the assault of another 12 IFP members who have registered assault charges.

SAPS took him to Greys Hospital and he was refused admission. He returned on Tuesday and was vomiting blood. He also had numerous lacerations on his right arm. He died on the 29 September 1995 of internal injuries resulting from the assault.

10. MURDER OF HENRY NHLANHLA GUMEDE (14) Draycott: 27/09/1995

On the 27 September 1995 at approximately 20h30 a SANDF patrol in the Draycott area pursued Nhlanhla Gumede. It is alleged that he was shot by a member of the SANDF near his home. The SANDF initially reported that he was shot by accident when a soldier tripped and accidentally fired his rifle and later stated that he had been armed with a home made firearm. The SANDF patrol was not accompanied by any members of the SAPS.

11. ATTACK ON MR. E. THUSI: ISIMINZA AREA: 30/09/1995

On the 30 September 1995, Mr. Ephraim Thusi, the IFP chairman was attacked by a group of ANC supporters from Stoffelton. He defended his home and an ANC member was killed. He was later arrested by the SAPS and the three shotguns issued to Inkosi D.T. Molefe were taken away by the police.

12. ATTACK ON INKOSI D.T. MOLEFE: ISIMINZA: 1/10/1995

On the 1st October 1995 Inkosi Molefe received information that his homestead was to be attacked following the confiscation of the tree shotguns issued for his protection. He reported this to the Himeville SAPS who failed to respond.

At approximately 20h15 two cars unloaded a group of men near Inkosi's home and they then attacked the homestead killing Inkosi, sister Josephine Molefe (49) and Mr. Mofokeng (66).

The assailants used an AK47 rifle, shotgun and pistols and burned down three of the buildings in the homestead. They then attacked and burned down the home of the IFP

Chairman, Mr. Thusi. This attack was directly linked to the removal of the three shotguns by the SAPS.

13. MURDER OF PANI MIYA: WEMBEZI: 1/10/1995

At approximately 21h30 on the 1st October 1995, Mr. Pani Miya (19) an IFP member was murdered by a group of assailants who chased him into Ngxongo store in Gannegoek Section in Wembezi.

Eye-witness have alleged that the assailants were members of the SANDF and that at least one member was in uniform. The SANDF members allegedly prevented IFP members from assisting Mr. Miya.

14. ATTACK ON NZINGA AREA: 2 October 1995

At about 05h30 on the 2 October 1995 a group of youths attacked homesteads in the Nzinga areas of Impendle under Inkosi John Zuma and murdered Mr. Jabulani Zuma (36) and Mr. Mbongwa Ndlovu (37).

Mr. Bheka Mbanjwa and Mr. Mathew Mlothswa were both wounded by the attackers who attacked from the ANC area of Stoffelton. 15 homes were burned down by the attackers. It is alleged that Mr. Russel Negubo, Midlands chairman of POCRU was involved in the attack.

15. ATTACK ON MR. ZULU: KEATES DRIFT: 12 October 1995

The homestead of Mr. Mtonotshwala Zulu (45) in the Thulislewe Zulu areas of Keates Drift near Msinga was surrounded by members of the security forces (SANDF) at 01h00 on 12 October 1995 and a member of the SANDF was allegedly killed. Mr. Zulu alleges that unidentified people then began firing through the windows of his home and threw tear gas grenades into the home.

He managed to escape through the back door and ran, under fire from people who he could not at that stage identify, through the river and to his brothers home. They went to Tugela Ferry and fetched four members of the SAPS.

When they arrived at the homestead they found a large number of SANDF personnel and he identified himself as the owner of the kraal, the members of the SANDF grabbed him and severely assaulted him until he lost consciousness. They also allegedly told him that they were going to kill him and it was only the intervention of the SAPS who reminded the SANDF members that he had already registered a complaint at the Tugela Ferry police station which seems to have saved his life.

He regained consciousness some six hours later in the Tugela Ferry hospital. Two of his children were allegedly shot dead by the SANDF members, Hlanganani (13) and Celani (11). One was shot in the house and the body dragged into the lounge and the other was shot dead after climbing out of the window trying to escape the teargas.

Both his wives, Dela and Landiwe allege that they were assaulted by the SANDF. Two of his daughters, Zine (14) and Nonhlanahla (6) were allegedly assaulted by the soldiers. Both have facial and head injuries consistent with blows from rifles. The house was fired at repeatedly as many bullet holes are evident which indicate that the SANDF fired a volume of fire into the home.

- 16 Induna Nzimande of Stoffelton (an ANC supporter) has been arrested in connection with the murder of Inkosi T.D. Molefe and was found in possession of an AK47 rifle, an Uzi sub machine gun and a shotgun, all of which were illegal and seem to have been linked to the crime scene. It would appear that the Molefe family are divided on the issue of succession and that Induna Nzimande is backing one of the late Inkosi's brothers (an ANC supporter) in this dispute. Induna Molefe and the widow of the late Inkosi fear for their lives and are preparing to flee the area.

Those are events which took place in one area. They are being repeated in other areas as well. The problems are widespread and of astonishing depths and complexity. The police and army protect their own. Police and army units come and go. They are here today and gone tomorrow. And if the units are there tomorrow the individual culprits are often not there because they have been transferred elsewhere.

It is the IFP which is burying their dead. War is being waged against Inkatha. It is an old war. It was a war that started a long time ago and I sometimes despair of it ever ending because it is a war being waged behind the screens of vindictive and biased. We must have press freedom. We must have press freedom even if some reporters and editors abuse press freedom in using our daily newspapers to strike foul political blows against the enemies of the political party they support. Somehow, the image of those who lie in their political reporting are not penalised in their professions. There is very little editorial custodianship of truth. Reporters are free to punch party political lines under the guise of reporting what people. There is very little investigative journalism delving into the facts of the matter behind political propaganda and even slander.

There is nothing as pernicious, or perhaps even vicious, as vindictive rumour mongering. In

many discussions among political parties, church groups, businessmen, and civic organisations who have come together in a long sequence of peace moves in this province, war talk and the role of rumour mongering have repeatedly been isolated as major factors in the spread of violence - and the press has played its own role in spreading war talk and rumour.

I find an astonishing resistance among businessmen and the clergy to listen to what I have to say about those who are responsible for the instigation and spreading of violence. I am told that we leaders must not accuse each other of being responsible for violence. They do not want to take sides and deal with reality.

Let me say at once that I have never been able to deny that some IFP members have indulged in violence. What I can say with a great deal of authority and certainty is that neither I nor the IFP's national Council have ever debated the need for the IFP to employ violence. I can go further and say that I know of no IFP structure which has done so either.

I resisted the IFP being drawn into the armed struggle. I have opposed the use of violence for political purposes in every possible way in the IFP. I have the most to loose in the employment of violence. It was Inkatha members who suffered most from industrial violence and it is Inkatha members who suffered most when coercion and violence was used to back up boycott action. It was IFP mayors of black townships who lost their lives or were hounded out of their communities by the ANC and the UDF when it was active. The UDF and COSATU were formed to fight the IFP and in the launching of both these organisations the IFP was declared fair game for attack.

Insert quotes.

Let me make the emphatic statement that the culture of violence with which we are now so plagued with has its roots in the armed struggle and the exhortations to political killings which

pro-armed struggle propaganda disseminated. You can not deal realistically with violence if you do not recognise this fact. Let us dissect reality and find the root of the problem.

The violence that resulted from the call for political violence by the ANC and the violence which was bred by desperate poverty and despair among those who resorted to violent self-help destabilised black townships and combined to produce culture of violence which lives on into the events of today.

Mr Mandela's open letter to the then State President in 1991 carried the idiom of violence into the post apartheid era. The hideousness of his false accusations in it fanned the flames of violence. His address to the United Nations in which he again made wildly irresponsible accusations against me and the IFP gave momentum to that which he set running in his open letter.

The ANC's withdrawal from CODESA II and Mr Mandela's ultimatum to Mr de Klerk in July 1992 and the ANC's mass action in August in which more than a score of people died were rewarded by the capitulation of Mr de Klerk and the advent of the era of bosberaads in which the wheeling and dealing between the ANC and the NP left the ANC a victor enjoying the fruits of violence.

Before the ANC was freed from jail I was called a snake which must be hit on the head. After the ANC was unbanned I was accused of complicity in violence in Mr Mandela's open letter to the State President and in his address to the United Nations. The ANC called me a leader who was attempting to climb to success by trampling upwards on the corpses of the dead. Mr Mandela again said hideous things about me when on a visit to Japan and he later repeated these kind of accusations in Lusaka. I was the ANC said not a sell out leader like Mr Mphephu but that the ANC should work to destroy the social base on which I relied. All this

and a lot more forms the bedrock on which today's violence rests.

Ladies and gentlemen I am not harking back to the past. I am talking about things which are living on today. Right now Claremont is being destabilised. The ANC is going into homes and forcing IFP members to come with them to attend ANC meetings and to pay ANC money. In recent weeks the ANC has been setting up roadblocks in Claremont and the police have stood by idly watching them do so.

The ANC has passed a law which will enable the police to confiscate all the weapons that were issued to the Amakhosi of KwaZulu Natal for their self protection. In recent weeks some Amakhosi have been disarmed by police offices who confiscated their self defence rifles and they were killed a matter of days later.

The events I described earlier, what is happening in Claremont, the explosive situation which has begun evolving among the Amakhosi as they are being disarmed and then killed, and the presently mounting death toll among IFP leaders in many areas are ongoing events in a continuing attempt by the ANC to obliterate the IFP.

Mr Ramaphosa's categorization of the IFP as a product of apartheid and his refusal to deal with the IFP as a legitimate political party with a legitimate stake in the present democratization of South Africa are further reflections of the abnormality of South African society which fosters political violence. The refusal of Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mandela to honour the solemn undertaking that Mr Mandela gave to continue international mediation which brought the IFP into the 1994 elections have their roots in the past that I have been talking about.

The raping of the interim Constitution by continually amending it to suite the ANC and the

failure of the Government of National Unity, all have their own contributions to the momentum towards ever increasing violence which we are witnessing today. The Presidents self proclaimed responsibility for the Shell House massacre and the hideously selective action against some IFP members by Mr Mufamadi in which he is raking up hearsay and unproved evidence against people like Mr T Khoza and the Rev. CJ Mtetwa adds further fuel to the fires of violence.

Very clearly I have only been able to touch on some of the factors in an even wider range of factors which have a bearing on causes of crime and violence and therefore on what kind of solutions are demanded. South Africa will forever be grateful for the very prominent roll big business and national businessmen and women and regional businessmen and women played in getting the peace accord finalised and up and running. Businessmen and women in KwaZulu Natal who have dealt with this regions Peace Committee will be aware of how one must look at crime and violence contextually. Before going on to making some recommendations about where we should be going to from here in these matters, I would like to make a few more general observations.

It does not take a massive people to ferment violence and set whole townships aflame with it. It only takes small groups of people to blockade roads or prohibit to take buses or taxis to work. KwaZulu Natal black townships all have histories of intimidation leading to violence. In most of our black townships where people have been intimidated and have subjected to violence those responsible for instigating them have their initial successes. They continue to succeed until normal life in the townships become impossible. Then there is a peoples reaction, and violence and counter violence really flares until finally the utter necessity of having to go to work to bring back wage packets, and the utter necessity of keeping the streets open for passenger transport and the transport of essential food to township shops to put an end to it. Unfortunately the peace initiatives mounted by churches and businessmen in

partnership with political parties only beginning in the final phase of township violence that I have just described.

In the IFP's election manifesto we have called for the establishment of Crime Commissions. We propose that Crime Commissions be established in every city or township in troubled areas. These Commissions should be government funded and we hope that we can persuade the government of their necessity. We are also hoping that business corporations and companies will be able to supplement budgets for these Crime Commissions.

The Commissions will be more than talk shops and will establish fora from which crime preventions and violence prevention action programmes will be initiated. We are proposing that these Crime Commissions be representatives of political parties, the local authorities in the area, business organisations, civic organisations, trade unions, and women's organisations.

The work of these Commissions should work with local authorities and RDP job creation programmes as well as with RDP and other social and economic development programmes. We are hoping for community based responses to the Commissions' initiatives. Obviously this concept of Crime Commissions needs to be fleshed out in a series of consultations between all the stakeholders who will have to be involved if we are to succeed.

One of the problems with peace committee work is that they were never fully developed as they were originally conceived of. Originally the motion was that peace committees would ride on the back of reconstruction and development programmes. The thinking of peace programmes were to work as part and parcel of a process of normalising poverty stricken societies which have been ripped apart by violence, social reconstruction and peace initiatives should be associated with attacking social pathology in abnormal societies.

We now have a free society burdened only by the failure of democrats and the failure of economic developers. Remedying those failures will only be successful if we can really come to grips with the rise in crime and violence.

I propose that a small work group be established to look at the terms or reference of these Crime Commissions, and to come to agreements on their structures so that we can make a formal proposal to government on the reestablishment.

The phenomenon of violence is a product of history as well as a product of circumstances, and our reaction to violence must be based on both these elements. It does not help to avoid looking at the hard facts of the matter and to avoid ascribing responsibility where they lie. The attitude of those who believe that the causes and reasons for violence do not matter is also detrimental to the solution of this problem.

The fact is that four hundred and thirty leaders and office-bearers of the Inkatha Freedom Party have thus far been murdered in a systematic plan of mass assassination. These people were not killed in public violence but they were targeted for assassination while they were in their houses and places of work. The police opened criminal dockets for the overwhelming majority of these murders but no-one, and I repeat no-one, has yet been convicted for any of these killings. In any other country of the world the systematic assassination of four hundred members of any given organisation would become the first investigative priority of the police. We have witnessed enormous press coverage for other types of serial killing which have received international assistance and the co-operation of foreign police in the investigation. However, there has been not even one television programme or documentary debating the crucial issue of how these four hundred and thirty people were killed, by whom and why.

In addition to the IFP leaders and office-bearers who were killed, more than eleven thousand, and I repeat, eleven thousand IFP members and sympathisers have been killed by our political opponents. I wish for you to pause and think about the figure of more than eleven thousand people who have been killed and to think about their families and their communities and the level of anger and resentment which all this has generated amongst them. Notwithstanding their anger, there has not been on the side of the IFP body politics any type of organised retaliation or pursuit on the path of violence.

I plead that you ask yourself the inescapable question of who is responsible for violence. The IFP can document the names and addresses of the IFP victims and detail the circumstances of their killings. There is no such thing as an ANC death list. You know well that if even one of the ANC leaders were to be killed as a result of political violence it would make front-page headlines in newspapers across the country, and none of you has seen any such headlines. I find it inexcusable how the press can carry the statements of the ANC that the IFP is fomenting violence, without asking itself where the victims of the IFP's alleged violence are. All these continuing allegations of IFP hit squads are completely eluding the questions as to where the victims of their alleged activities lie. Where are the corpses of the IFP's alleged violence and hit squads?

We must open our eyes to what is happening in our country which, indeed marks the shaping of a new autocratic system, also based on the distortion of historical truths. When the ANC summons to Cape Town the Attorney General of this Province to reprimand him for his unwillingness to pursue a political agenda, we are given a clear sign of the degeneration of the system in which we live. In his professionalism, the Attorney General of this Province came to the self-evident conclusion that he could not longer justify spending tax-payers money in investigations on alleged IFP hit-squads, when not only is there no evidence whatsoever against the alleged perpetrators but more importantly, there are no identifiable victims of these

alleged crimes.

For nine months these investigations have gone on and on and on, producing enormous speculations which have constantly become the object of front page headlines in the newspapers, and yet no investigation has yet taken place with regards to the four hundred and thirty serial murders of IFP leaders and office-bearers. It is common investigative practice of any established police forces, that if four hundred and thirty members of any one organisation were murdered a common motive and a mastermind of such violence would be sought.

Before elections the IFP clearly documented that the violence taking place against us was the product of an identifiable pattern, reflecting a precise strategy of violence. Neither the Goldstone Commission nor the police followed up on our submissions conducting an investigation based on the assumption that violence followed a common strategy. You have heard President Mandela speaking in the Senate clearly admitting that he gave the order to the ANC security guards to shoot to kill the peaceful Zulu marchers who were demonstrating in the proximity of Shell House, the ANC's headquarters, on March 18, 1994. The record shows that the killing did not take place by the hands of frightened security guards, but was the product of the planned action of snipers who had been strategically located on the roofs of adjacent buildings.

This is a hard fact of history which our public opinion wishes to ignore or to consider as an isolated incident which is not part of a broader picture. They are not even shaken away from their desire of keeping their heads under the sand, when they are confronted with the fact that there is clear evidence on record that President Mandela himself obstructed the police investigation and withheld material evidence which was necessary to identify those who perpetrated the Shell House massacre. There was no willingness to recognise what was

happening even when all political parties , with the exception of the ANC, requested President Mandela to appoint an independent judicial condition of inquiry to look into the Shell house massacre, and he merely ignored this request. If you wish to look into the issue of violence, you must come to terms with the disturbing reality of who is responsible for violence.

The second disturbing question which everyone should have the courage of facing is why violence is taking place in our country. The reasons for violence are deeply political and affect the future of our country, as well as the future of the business community. For too long the business community has not realised that the problems which were underlying violence were the shared problems of our society which affected each of its segments without exclusions. Only recently the business community decided to take a look at what is happening in South Africa because violence was perceived as creating undesirable affects in the market place. Before then, violence was discarded with the hideous expression of "black on black violence", suggesting that such type of violence was the product of the dynamics of a separate undeserving world which could not affect the future of the whole of the country.

It must be remembered that violence in this region began in 1979 when the ANC identified the IFP as its major political opponent and a primary target of its political struggle. I know that this statement might sound paradoxical to some of you, and yet you must realise that the armed struggle wagged by the ANC has killed by far more IFP leaders and supporters than killed those who could be identified with the regime of apartheid. When the IFP refused to allow the ANC to use IFP structures as a safe haven for the ANC operatives engaged in armed struggle, the ANC identified fundamental political and philosophical differences between itself and the IFP which would have lead to an unavoidable political conflict. They knew that the day after liberation the National Party would become a political irrelevancy and a toothless tiger. They also knew that I and the IFP would never allow this country to be turned into the autocratic and dictatorial regime which the ANC has vowed to establish in South Africa. They

knew that we knew their plans and their tactics as well as their final objectives and that we are capable of identifying the steps and phases of their run towards autocracy.

Therefore, we are the only voice of dissent which can competently and openly speak about that which is going wrong in South Africa, and for this reason the ANC has a vested interest in silencing us. You must come to terms with the proposition that political violence is about silencing and crushing an affective opposition which expresses the only voice of dissent. The ANC has nothing to fear from the National Party which over and over again has proven to be incapable of recognising the real issue and to build political trenches to oppose the ANC right there where it counts.

Had it not been for the IFP there would have not been provinces during the interim stage, governed by the interim Constitution. The draft constitution to which the National Party had agreed to provided for the empowerment of provinces only once the final constitution had been written. That would have accelerated the ANC's run toward autocracy. However, as the IFP predicted the flawed interim Constitution has not been capable of stopping the ANC's run towards autocracy. Today provinces have been turned into mere administrative implementers of policy established at national level, and have no autonomous powers of policy formulation and decision making. The ANC is actively expanding on the authoritarian tradition of social, economic and cultural control which it has inherited from the legacy of the previous apartheid state.

You have seen the monstrosity of the Labour Relation Act and you must know that I was the only person in Cabinet who opposed it. The system of labour relations designed in our country is that of a corporative state based on national bargaining councils and the power of Nedlac to define industries and regulate the policies of the productive sector. I can tell you quite confidently that unless the ANC is stopped, it will be a matter of a few years before a

system will be in place which is designed to empower trade unions and government working together to hand down policy and directives for the productive and economic system to follow.

Issue after issue the IFP has identified the building of a new autocracy. We have denounced the scandal of land affairs which reproduces Soviet experiences of land management enabling the central Government to exercise social and political control over land which belonged to the people our country. We have denounced the Development Facilitation Act which for all intents and purposes has centralized at national level all significant aspects of policy formulation in the fields of planning, zoning and land development approval, which ought to be closely regarded prerogatives of local Government. We have opposed the National Education Policy Bill which would empower the central Government to make any and all decisions with respect to the educational system including syllabi, curricula and even the ratio of pupils and teachers in each class.

I could speak to you for hours and hours about the process of rationalization of powers which has emasculated provinces with respect to each aspect of policy formulation which was listed by the Constitution as an area of provincial autonomy, thereby betraying even the small promises of provincial autonomy which were made in the interim Constitution. It shall suffice to say that we objected over and over again to what was going on and when we were not heard we were left with no alternative but to withdraw our participation from the Intergovernmental Forum were the process of rationalization was conducted.

With respect to crime and violence, the competence of this province on police matters have been crushed, and we have no autonomous power to restructure the police and take the other actions which are necessary to bring the situation under control. I can ensure that if we had such powers we would take the firm and drastic measures which are required, including the fact that all police functions must be restructured to rely on community level policing, rather

than centralized control and initiative. One of the reasons of the present break down of law and order in this province is the preposterous cantralised management of our policing problems, to the extend that most daily decisions need to be taken by, or reported to the National Commissioner or to the Minister of Safety and Security himself. This system will never work and is paralysing effective action, while prompting the need for more massive deployments of military units in addition to the police, who end up to be similarly ineffective when they do not become a major part of the problem.

There simples and most effective way to a solution to the problem of criminal and political violence in this Province is to allow this Province the full powers required to handle this problem. Those who have known me for a number of years know that neither I or the IFP would show any hesitance or weakness in dealing with this problem using the firmness which it demands, and you know that we would know how to turn the present chaos of this Province into law, order and social discipline. For decades the IFP people have demonstrated strong social discipline, and we can restructure police to rely on community level policing great resources would be freed by the fact the communities would be policing themselves, and I can ensure you that they would do so quite effectively.

Once again the press has given no coverage to these issues which we have raised innumerable times in the intergovernmental forum and on other occasions. I say these things because they are part and parcel of the question that you must ask yourselves on why IFP leaders are being killed. It was only the IFP who denounced that the ANC is systematically pursuing the long term plan of undermining the autonomy of traditional communities in order to bring them under the control of the State. We are the only organization which stood firm to defend social and cultural pluralism, and I wish to sensitize you that in the final analyses the issue of the autonomy of traditional community is the same issue of the autonomy of the economic and productive system, universities, trade unions, professional associations, chambers of

commerce, and all the other institutions of civil society.

We have made an unwavering commitment to social, cultural and economic pluralism, and we can carry that commitment into real politics which can affectively oppose that which the ANC is trying to do. We are determined to adopt a constitution for this Province which entrenches the autonomy for this province within the unified system of South Africa. If we succeed in that goal the whole of South Africa could be saved from the impending danger of the ANC's autocracy. In fact, even one area of provincial autonomy, in which the independence of civil society from Government is respected and protected, would constitute an affective check and balance to protect the freedom and liberties of South African citizens and social, economic and cultural formations alike also in the rest of the country.

The issues are complex and multifaceted and we will not be able to find any solution to such issues unless we have the courage to look at reality for what it is and make the effort to understand and analysis the complexities of what we are dealing with. I am deeply committed to the peace process. I am deeply committed to the normalization of our South African society and I am deeply aware that we will have to adopt a bottom up approach if we are going to succeed.

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