

POLICE PASSING-OUT PARADE

ULUNDI POLICE TRAINING COLLEGE

ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, MINISTER OF POLICE
AND CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

ULUNDI : 8TH JULY 1992

Mr. Master of Ceremonies; members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present; the Honourable Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and other Honourable Deputy Ministers present; AmaKhosi; members of the Royal family and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly; the Commissioner of Police Major-General Buchner; Brigadier W.H. Steyn and other officials of the South African Police; the Deputy Commissioner of Police Brigadier Mathe, other officers and other members of the KwaZulu Police present; Major the Reverend M.S. Zondi, Chaplain; the Mayors of various towns present; Secretaries of the KwaZulu Government present and other senior officials; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I salute you, you who after today will be our newest and youngest officers of law and order. Until today, you were in training, you were learning the science of being a policeman. You have learnt what the Ulundi Police Training College has to teach, and today is proof that you have passed the test. For the sacrifices you have made along the way, for the hardship you have endured to get here, for the discipline you will show in the time to come, for your commitment to serving society and for your contribution to law and order, I salute you.

I am not alone today in honouring you. The dignitaries who have gathered here, and the full assembly here today of your families and friends, are here because of the importance we all attach to the work you do. We know that in your hands lie the peace and security and justice of our nation, that in your hands you hold the keys to peace and prosperity. You are important to us. We can have no freedom, and no rights of liberty and property unless you do your jobs well. The new democratic South Africa will have a Bill of Rights, but a Bill of Rights will be only a piece of paper unless Justice is exercised and the law is enforced by you on the ground.

We here today have entrusted you to serve the public, and we ask you to serve the public well. The public values freedom and life most of all, and treats any infringements of freedom and any threats to life most seriously. It is a measure then of the importance attached to the police that you are allowed to infringe upon freedom and to threaten life in the exercise of your duty.

Those of you who will be given arms to bear will be given the awesome responsibility to avoid threatening life, and avoid the use of power to injure and kill. You will be given powers, which if abused, will be a power of life and death over citizens. It is a great honour to be entrusted with a great power. It is also a huge burden. Treat your responsibilities as seriously as the public is serious about their right to life.

As members of the police force you will be given the power which, if abused, will interfere in people's private lives. In the course of your duties you will, at times, be instructed to use authority to direct public movement and to break up public assemblies. Never let this power lead you to infringe human rights.

The power you receive is not given lightly. A Bill of Rights will affirm what we all know instinctively - that people's rights to movement, association, expression, etc, are fundamental. The power of the police to deal with people's rights is given only on the basis that it serves to protect the rights of others. The police are important, for they preserve law and order, the police are powerful, because they receive powers to help the public. Always remember though that the police are bound by what duty authorises them to do. They are bound by duty to serve all the public and to honour the constitution.

Exercise your powers, because you have the task of ensuring justice. But exercise your powers wisely because your powers are given you on trust and are given to you in good faith. As members of the police, your task will be to serve the interest of the public, to enforce the law. In so doing, you will deal with people

who will feel are innocent or guilty of crimes. Remember this. It is not for the police to determine guilt. Guilt is decided by the judges and magistrates sitting in court. Guilt is decided by the courts only after the presumption of innocence has been dispelled.

If it is the task of the courts alone to determine guilt then the task of the police is to find the facts as they exist and to apply the law as it is. In the eyes of the police then, every human is a citizen, and every citizen is innocent, until the courts prove otherwise. The powers that you are given to infringe upon rights are given to you on the condition that you remember that the innocent must always be protected, and that even the guilty are citizens too.

Because you as police will receive the right to shoot, we train you to be shotlists. But because you may only shoot lawfully, in the exercise of your duty, and only in qualified conditions, we teach you the law too. And because the police force is a force under discipline, we drill you to understand the importance of obeying

lawful commands. Your power is focused by discipline, and controlled by law.

Today is a time for all the students here to celebrate their success and their achievements. Each one on the parade ground today has worked long and hard and endured many sacrifices to reach this point. Amongst the 37 women and 115 men who have successfully completed their initial training course, some have excelled more than the others, and in looking at those who have excelled, I see four aspects of the police force on display today; its duties, its discipline, its powers, and its camaraderie.

The duties of the police to enforce justice and to serve the public is symbolised by your training in law, and today we honour:

E Z MCHUNU (Platoon 5)
who is both Best Law student and Best Student Overall.

As Minister of Police it is my pleasure to congratulate this student on her achievement and it is pleasing to see that she has excelled in that aspect of the police which is the most important, law. In being the best law student she beat

Student constable E L H KHUMALO,

himself the holder of a Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of Zululand, which makes her achievement all the more distinguished. The victory of Platoon 5 as the Best Platoon Overall again shows the weight that the Ulundi Police Training College places on the police being the servants of the law, rather than simple bearers of weapons. In coming first overall, Platoon 5, under

Platoon Leader G G SIBIYA,
earned an 83% average in law and a 70% average in musketry.

The discipline of the police is symbolised by its drilling, and today we honour

B A MPUNGOSE (platoon 58)

as Best Drill Student, who best reflects the discipline of the police and the need to give and to obey lawful commands.

The power of the police is symbolised by its weapons, and today we honour

Z M MAGUBANE (Platoon 5) and P KHALISHWAYO (Platoon 59)
as Best Female and Male Rifle Shottists, and

G G RADEBE (Platoon 5) and C V MASINGA (Platoon 58)
as Best Female and Male Pistol Shottists.

These 4 students have shown their abilities in musketry and have put on display the powers of the police.

The students gave Drill and Physical Training displays during the year at:

The Pietermaritzburg Royal Agricultural Show;
The Zululand Agricultural and Industrial Show at Eshowe; and
The Zululand Trade Fair at Richards Bay.

The camaraderie of the police will have been reinforced by the time you have spent together and in the sufferings and pleasures you have shared. The hours and duties of the police are long and heavy, and it will often feel as if the policeman's life is lonely, and dangerous, and that the police are not appreciated. When that happens, do not forget that your brothers and sisters in uniform are with you, and will support you.

The soccer you have been playing, with Platoon 59, under Team captain M N Radebe, being the best soccer platoon, have been exercises in camaraderie.

Why do I emphasize this? Why do I stress what your classes in law must already have underlined? I remind you of your rights and powers as police in the same breath that I remind you of your duties towards citizens. I do this because these are troubled times. I do this because we stand before a new South Africa which still has the worst of the old South Africa. Never in our modern history have citizens been so threatened, have human rights been so meaningless. It is the tragedy of the transition to the new South Africa that the struggle for black liberation has been overtaken by struggles for power which leads some to perpetrate black violence, on blacks by blacks.

It is a tragedy that lives are being lost, property is being destroyed, that the fabric of South African society is tearing apart. It is an even greater tragedy that death and destruction are almost out of control. If I think of the tragedy of the massacre at Boipatong, and I recall that amongst the dead were 10 IFP members, then I know how senseless and sick this killing has become. Massacres move me to sorrow.

Before Boipatong there was the Crossroads massacre, when IFP members were killed en masse. Where was the huge outcry then? Where was the internationalisation of their deaths. Where were the churches then? And before that, were the many little acts of assassination and murder which have cost the lives of tens of thousands of South Africans. Neither the State nor the Churches have ever shared the sorrow of IFP members who have been killed in droves. On numerous occasions our members have been killed en masse, including women and babies.

As the leader of a political party which has lost so much in this violence; whose members have died, whose supporters have suffered, whose prestige has been so damaged by association with violence, I know personally what the cycle of death and destruction is costing the IFP, and KwaZulu, and South Africa.

But as much as the massacres move me to sorrow, the ANC moves me to anger. The military wing of the ANC is so obsessed with dominating the ANC that it uses tragedies like Boipatong as a springboard to jump the ANC out of the negotiations process. The ANC, like all parties, consists of hawks and doves, and the ANC hawks are killing the ANC doves. As a result, South Africa suffers.

The problem of violence cannot be solved with violence, only through negotiation and compromise. When the ANC hawks hijack the Boipatong tragedy to destroy CODESA, then negotiations end and violence restarts. When I say these things about the ANC, when I point to the mass action campaign - which is the wrong phrase, because these actions do not involve the mass of millions and millions of South Africans - I am not damning the ANC. The ANC has a job to do in the new South Africa; it has its members to serve and its supporters to protect. It has the right to express the opinions of citizens, because it is under a duty to serve their interests.

When the ANC serves its party political interests, then I, as a party political politician myself, stand back to let the ANC do its job. And when the ANC does its party political job well, then I, as a politician am impressed, and as a citizen, am pleased. But when the ANC does its job badly, then I, as a citizen, can complain.

When the ANC doves come to CODESA and insist upon consensus and good faith bargaining, then I fully agree with the ANC. But when the ANC hawks abort CODESA, when they renege on the duty to seek consensus by abandoning the other parties to CODESA, when they try to win through street violence what they should try to win through round table conferences then I, as a citizen, call "Foul!".

The ANC worries me. It is a strange mix of the utterly cynical and the stupidly naive. When it destroys parts of the economy to exert

political pressure, it proves to be monstrously cynical. When it believes the South African Government would simply surrender to shows of force then it is childishly naive.

But the cardinal sin of the ANC is its arrogance, and its pretence that it represents the nation. The various political parties fight for the rights of elements of the nation; no one party represents all the nation, and not even all the parties represent all the nation. The Chinese community in South Africa has not a single political representative anywhere. If the whole nation is not represented even by all the parties combined, then by what right

does one party - the ANC - presume to represent the national interest?

The truth is that the political parties represent larger or smaller groups of citizens, and as citizens, all groups have a place, and thus each political party has a place. The extremists of all sides have a place in the new South Africa, just as the centre does. A communist is a citizen, just as a racist is, and though their views are fundamentally at odds with what is ideal and real, as citizens they have rights of liberty too.

What a pity it is then that the IFP recognises the rights of all parties and all citizens, but the ANC does not. The ANC wants to infringe those liberties, and that is bad enough. But what is worse is that the ANC wants to bulldoze other people's wishes and preferences and options, just like the National Party and South African Government of old.

When the apartheid regime divided people into group areas, and began their demolitions and forced removals, the courts approved it by saying that it was a colossal social experiment in the interests of the nation. When the apartheid regime imposed terrible restrictions on the rights of citizens under the Terrorism Act, it insisted it was in order to safeguard the interest of the state and the security of the people. The apartheid regime was always quick to explain the violation of any individual's rights by reference to the national interest, to the public's rights. But the apartheid regime was lying, because you cannot separate the rights of the individual from the rights of the public, for the simple reason that the public is just another word for the individuals put together. So the apartheid regime lied, and it terrorised citizens according to the lie.

But the ANC does the same. When it leaves CODESA, it says it does so in the public interest. That is a lie. The public interest is served by negotiation and a commitment to compromise from all sides. If the ANC expected the South African Government to simply surrender, then it had totally misread history and had instead swallowed its own propaganda. If the ANC expected government surrender, no wonder it saw Government intransigence instead. The ANC blames intransigence when really its own delusions of grandeur and its misreading of history are at fault. If the ANC thought to get what it wanted without real compromise from its side too, then it lives in a fantasy world. But the ANC is strong enough to have its mistakes impact upon the real world, and now the ANC threatens to add its disastrous politics to our economic crisis.

When the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance takes to the streets and forces showdowns and plays at brinkmanship rather than statesmanship, then it shows that the ANC is splitting into two parts, the hawks and the doves, and that the hawks are winning. It is not the interests of the nation which are served when negotiations are aborted and civil war is threatened, but the interests of the ANC military wing.

Boipatong was a tragedy in more ways than we knew; it is a tragedy in that it gave the military wing the chance it had prayed for to stop CODESA, and to stop the political progress of the ANC's negotiators.

By switching the emphasis from CODESA to the streets, the initiative has been switched from negotiation to confrontation, and Hani's political career takes off at the expense of Mbeki's. What a tragedy it is when political infighting between factions in a party, translates into the destruction of peace and progress for a country.

Revolutionary success was always covered in the blood of another South African corpse, and every time the ANC seeks to advance its cause by aborting this negotiation or destroying that dialogue, it drags the country down just that extra bit more.

The further tragedy is that for all the importance of Boipatong, nothing was done afterwards to actually prevent further violence. In fact, just the opposite. Boipatong was used by the ANC hawks in order to abort CODESA, and the attention was shifted to further confrontation, and thus more violence.

If Boipatong was a massacre so important, why has the ANC not responded to numerous calls for the SAG, the ANC and the IFP to act publicly to avoid further disasters like Boipatong? I issued a public appeal to Dr Mandela to work with me for peace. Instead he chooses to score political points off the dead. Boipatong was an act of violence, so why then did the ANC choose to bypass the National Peace Accord and to react at CODESA instead? Why did the ANC ignore the forum for dispute resolution and destroy the vehicle for negotiation? Because Boipatong was useful for the hawks to destroy CODESA, because the 43 corpses at Boipatong were useful as an excuse to kill the negotiations process.

Why do I say all this to you, the police? Because you will serve the public and protect the citizens, and do your duty in a time of terrible hostility and tension. We have raised the standard of entry to the KwaZulu Police to a high level; no one standing on the parade ground has an education lower than matric, and the following student constables have degrees and diplomas too:

E L H KHUMALO has a Bachelor of Laws degree

R T BIYELA has a Senior Secondary School Teacher's Diploma

T S MZOTHO and S W BHENGU are ordained ministers with Diplomas in Theology

We have raised the entry requirements high, and we have worked you hard and trained you well, because your conditions will be difficult and your burdens will be heavy. We have given to Lieutenant-Colonel Dlamini and his staff, the task of training you to enforce the law in the new South Africa, and we thank him and his staff for shouldering that burden. Their wonderful work will live on in the good work that his students will do. We also thank Mrs Smith, the Regional Director, and her staff from the South African Red Cross for their contribution, and may I say how I appreciate the tuition in First Aid these wonderful people have given to our students.

I wish to finish now with some thoughts regarding the future. With all the changes which are sweeping the country, you must all be wondering how you will be affected, and how your jobs will be structured in the new South Africa. I cannot answer all the questions about the future, but I can say this; the police forces, like all the other arms of the state, will always be part of South Africa, and yet will retain their identity.

As you know, we are at the stage of deciding what to do with a South Africa which consists of a unitary state and a host of satellite regions. For the Inkatha Freedom Party the way forward is quite clear. All the constituent parts of South Africa will unite so that there is a common citizenship and a common sovereignty. At the same time, though, sovereignty will be shared between the national government and the regional governments, so that there will be a double government in any one region.

The question then is as to what the regions will look like in the Federal Republic of South Africa? My answer is that KwaZulu will never be broken up, will never be destroyed. Rather, the opposite will happen. We are already looking to Natal, to devise how to retain our joint regional integrity within the greater South Africa. The KwaZulu Police will not therefore be integrated with the South African Police, because the SAP will become the national police force. The KwaZulu Police Force will then become the regional police force. Both forces will operate in the same territory, both will have sovereignty in their separate responsibilities, and each will be entitled to be respected as the guardians of justice and the enforcers of the law.

I have spoken to you long and hard today, and you have had to stand in the Ulundi air for a good while. But before I let you go, I must say one more thing.

You stand today before the new South Africa, and you will face the challenges of the new South Africa. Apartheid is gone, and your career is no longer artificially limited. From now on, how high you fly and how far you go, depends upon your effort and your commitment. As the Minister of Police, I will watch out for those who excel, and will reward those who prove themselves to be champions of justice and keepers of the peace. As Chief Minister of KwaZulu, as a man who is accountable to the citizens - because when you act, you act under my authority - I will watch out for those who are derelict in their duty, and who bring disgrace to the Police, and dishonour to KwaZulu by violating the rights of the citizens of our nation.

We read in the Beatitudes in Matthew 5 that:
Blessed are the Peacemakers for they will be called Sons of God.

That is the challenge we face as a Force - to be peace-makers. Blessed are the Police when they faithfully serve God's people and I mean all of God's people.

I stand before you and I salute those who go forward today as members of the KwaZulu Police. Your training is done, and your future awaits you. Go with God, go in peace, go with our blessing and our thanks.

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Mr. Master of Ceremonies; â\200\234members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present;

Honourable Deputy Ministers present; AmaKhosi; members of the Royal

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and other officials of the South African Police; the Deputy

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shows of force)then it is childishly naïve.

But the cardinal sin of the ANC is its arrogance, and its pretence

that it represents the nation. The various political parties fight for the rights of elements of the nation; no one party represents all the nation, and not even all the parties-represent_ all the nation. The Chinese community in South Africa has not a single political representative anywhere. If the whole nation is not

represented even by all the parties combined, then by what right

does one party - the ANC - presume to represent the national interest?

The truth is that the political parties represent larger or smaller groups of citizens, and as citizens, all groups have a place, and thus each political party has_a place. The extremists - of-all.sides have a place in the new South Africa, Jjust as the-centre-does. A communist is a citizen, just as a racistâ\200\224is, and though their views are fundamentally at odds with what is ideal _and_real, as citizens

they have rights of-liberty too.

;ï-\201ï-\201%;at a pity it is then that the IFP recognises the rights of__all parties and all citizens, but the ANC does not. The ANC wants to

infringe those liberties, and that is bad enough. But what is worse

is that the ANC wants to bulldoze other_ peopleâ\200\231s__wishes and preferences . and -eptions, Jjust like the National Party-â\200\224and- South African Government_-of_old.

4Â¢;Â\$;en the apartheid regime divided people into group-â\200\224areas, and began their demolitions and forced removals, the courts approved it by saying that it was a colossal social-experimentâ\200\224in the interests of the nation. When the apartheid regimeâ\200\224imposed terrible restrictions on the rights of citizens under-the Terrorism Act, it insisted it was in order to safeguard the interest of-the-state and the security of the people. The apartheid regime was always quick to explain the violation of any individualâ\200\231s rights by reference to the nationalâ\200\224interest, to the publicâ\200\231s rights. But the apartheid

regime was lying, because you cannot separate the rights of the individual from the rights of the public, for the simple reason that the public is just another word for the individuals put together. So the apartheid regime lied, and it terrorised-citizens according to-the-lie.

But the ANC does-the same. When it leaves CODESA, it says it does so in the public interest. That is-a-lie. The public interest is

served by negotiation and a commitment to-compromise from all sides. If the ANC expected the South African Government to simply

surrender, then it had totally misread history _and- had_ instead swallowed its-own _propaganda. If the-ANC expected- government surrender, no wonder it saw Government intransigence-instead. The

ANC blames intransigence when really its own delusions of grandeur

and its misreading of history.-are-at.-fault. If the ANC thought to get what it wanted without real compromise from its side too, then it lives in a fantasy-world. But the ANC is strong-enough to have its mistakes impact uponâ\200\224~the-real world, and now the ANC-threatens

to add its disastrous politics-to-ourâ\200\224economicâ\200\224crisis.

When the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance takes to the streets andâ\200\224 forces showdowns and plays at brinkmanship rather than statesmanship, then

it shows that the ANC is splitting into-two parts, the hawks- and

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the doves, and that the hawks are winning. It is not the interests

of the nation which are served when negotiations are aborted and

civil war â\200\224is threatened, but the interests of the ANC-â\200\224military

wing.

/i-\\201Ã@ggipatong was a tragedy in more ways than we-knew; it is a tragedy

in that it gave the military wing the chance it had prayed for to stop â\\200\\224CODESA, and to stop the political progress of_ the ANCâ\\200\\231s negotiators.

By switching the emphasis from CODESA _to_ the streets, the initiative has been switched from negotiation to-confrontation, and Haniâ\\200\\231s political career takes off at-the expense of-Mbekiâ\\200\\231s. What a tragedy it is when political infighting between â\\200\\224 flanks in a party, translates into the destruction of peace and progress for a country.

//4Â\$evolutionary success was always covered in the blood of another

South African corpse, and every time the ANC seeks to advance its

cause by aborting this negotiation or destroying that dialogue, it drags the country down just that extra bit more.

The further tragedy is that for all the importance of â\200\224Boipatong, nothing was done afterwards to actually prevent furtherâ\200\224violence. In fact, just the opposite. Boipatong was used by the ANC hawks in order to abort CODESA, and the attention was shifted toâ\200\224 further confrontation, and thus more violence.

If Boipatong was-â\200\224a massacre-so -important, why has the â\200\224ANC not responded to numerous calls for the SAG, the ANC and the IFP to act publicly to avoid further disasters like Boipatong? I issued a public appeal to Dr Mandela to work with me for peace. Instead he chooses to score political points-off-the dead. Boipatong was an

act of violence, so why then did the ANC choose to- bypass- the National Peace Accord>and to react at CODESA-instead? Why did the ANC ignore the forum for dispute resolution and destroy the vehicle for negotiation? â\200\224 Because Boipatong was useful for the hawks to

destroy CODESA, â\200\224because the 43 corpses at Boipatong were useful as an excuse to kill the negotiations-process.

)Â¿?Â\$%iy do I say all this to you, the police? Because you will serve the public and protect-the-citizens, and do your_duty in-a time of

terrible hostilityâ\200\224and tension. We have raised the standard of entry to the KwaZulu Police to a high level; no one standing on the parade ground has an education lower than matric, and the following

student constables have degrees and diplomas too:

E L H KHUMALO has a Bachelor of Laws degree

R T BIYELA has a Senior Secondary School Teacher's Diploma

T S MZOTHO and S W BHENGU are ordained ministers with Diplomas

in Theology

;; have raised the entry requirements high, and we have worked you hard and trained you well, because your conditions -will be difficult and your burdens will be heavy. We have given to Lieutenant-Colonel Dlamini and his staff, the task of training you to enforce the law in the new South Africa, and we thank him and his staff for shouldering that burden. Their wonderful work will live on in the good work that his students will do. We also thank

Mrs Smith, the Regional Director, and her staff from the South

African Red Cross for their contribution, and may I say how I appreciate the tuition in First Aid these wonderful- people have given to our students.

/?;i wish to finish now with some thoughts regarding the future. With

all the changes which are sweeping the-country, you must all__be wondering how you will be affected, and how your_ jobs will be structured in the-â\200\224new South Africa. I cannotâ\200\224answerâ\200\224 all_ the questions about the future, but I can say this; the police forces, like all the other arms of the state, will always be part-of_South

Africa, and yet will retain their-identity.

As you know, we are at the stage of deciding what to do with a

South Africa which consists of a unitary state and a host of

satellite regions. For the Inkatha Freedom Party the wayâ\200\224forward is quite clear. All the constituent parts of South Africaâ\200\224will unite so -+that _there_is _a _common citizenshipâ\200\224and_.a - common sovereignty. At the same time, though, sovereignty will be shared

between the national government and the regional-â\200\224governments, so

that there will be a double government in-any one -region.
/â\200\231Iâ\200\230he

Federal Republic of South Africa? My answer is that KwaZulu will

question then is as to what the regions will look like in the

never be broken up, will never be destroyed. Rather, the opposite will happen. We are already looking to Natal, to devise how to retain our Jjoint regional integrity within the greater South

Africa. The KwaZulu Police will not therefore be integrated with

the South African Police, because the SAP will become the national police force. The KwaZulu Police Force will then become the regional police force. Both forces will operate in the same territory, both will have sovereignty in their separate responsibilities, and each will be entitled to be respected as the

guardians of justice and the enforcers of the law. Â¢

////;I have spoken to you long and hard today, and you have had to stand in the Ulundi air for a good while. But before I let you go, I must say one more thing.

You stand today before the new South Africa, and you will face the challenges of the new South Africa. Apartheid is gone, and your

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career is no longer artificially limited. From now on, how high
you fly and how far you go, depends upon yourâ\200\224 effortâ\200\224and . your
commitment. As the Minister of Police, I will watch out for those
who excel, and will reward those who prove â\200\224themselvesâ\200\224 to be
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champions of justiceâ\200\224and keepersâ\200\224of _the-peace. As Chief Minister
of KwaZulu-Natal I am a man who is accountable to the citizens - because
when you act, you act under my authority - I will watch out for
those who are derelict in their duty, and who bring disgrace to the
Police, and dishonour to KwaZulu

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by violating the rightsâ\200\224of the
citizens of our nation.

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We read in the Beatitudes in Matthew 5 that:

\iÃ©lessed are the Peacemakers for they will be called Sons of Godâ\200\231.

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That is the challenge we face as a Force - to be peace-makers.

Blessed are the Police when they faithfully serve God's people and

I mean all of God's people.

I stand before you and I salute those who go forward today as

members of the KwaZulu Police. Your training is done, and your

future awaits you. Go with God, go in peace, go with our blessing

and our thanks.

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